

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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Reviewer

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Comparative Politics

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INTRODUCTION

Politics plays a defining role in the society. It not only lays the foundation of our social life but also is the building block of the civil society. It performs the legal and administrative function of the society protecting states from complete anarchy. The comparative study of politics and government examines political institutions—from constitutions to executives to parliaments to parties to electoral laws—and the processes and relationships that account for stability and change in political economy, culture, conflict, government, rights and public policy.

The book, *Comparative Politics* presents a comprehensive study of various approaches and theories of comparative politics. It is divided into four units. Unit one covers the various approaches to the study of comparative politics. It also provides a comprehensive study of the concept of constitutionalism, federations and confederations. Unit two discusses the governmental structures and the party and group dynamics. Unit three provides the models and theories of democracy and dictatorship. It also provides comprehensive case studies on the dictatorship patterns of South Africa, Nigeria and Iran. The constitution and governing framework of UK, US, France and Germany is also discussed. Unit four covers the political development and non-state political processes and social movements.

This book has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the Introduction followed by the Unit Objectives for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit. The Summary and Key Terms further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

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UNIT 1 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Political Science is a branch of the larger area of social sciences and is different from natural sciences. The methods and approaches to the study of Political Science or other social sciences are, therefore, different from the methods that are used in

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natural sciences like physics, chemistry or biology. The various approaches to the study of Political Science can be broadly classified as: traditional and modern. The traditional approaches include philosophical, historical and institutional approaches while the modern approaches include behavioural approach, post-behavioural approach, systems approach, structural-functional approach, communication approach, etc. In this unit, you will deal with the various approaches to the study of comparative politics.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the functional theory of stratification
- Analyse Merton's and Parsons' systematic view of society
- Discuss the different perspectives of political economy approach
- Describe the different aspects of constitutions and constitutionalism
- Differentiate between federal and unitary form of government
- Analyse the differences between totalitarian and authoritarian state
- Comment on the unitary state, federations and confederations

1.2 SYSTEMS THEORY AND STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

In structural functionalism, the terms structural and functional need not be used in conjunction, although they are typically conjoined. We could study the structures of society without being concerned with their functions (or consequences) for other structures. Similarly, we could examine the functions of a variety of social processes that may not take a structural form. Still, the concern for both elements characterizes structural functionalism.

Marx Abrahamson (1978) argued that structural functionalism is not monolithic. He identified three varieties of structural functionalism. The first is *Individualistic Functionalism*. Here, the focus is on the needs of actors and the various large-scale structures (for example, social institutions, cultural values) that emerge as functional responses to these needs, the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski was a major proponent of this perspective. The second is *Interpersonal Functionalism* and the exemplar was another anthropologist A.B. Radcliffe-Brown. Here, the focus is on social relationships, particularly the mechanisms to accommodate strains that exist in such relationships. The third variety, *Societal Functionalism*, is the dominant approach among sociological structural functionalists (Sztompka, 1974). The primary concern of societal functionalism is that it studies the large-scale social structures and institutions of society, their interrelationships and their constraining effects on social actors.

Three classic sociologists were the most important influences on contemporary structural functionalism, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim.

Comte had a normative conception of the 'good' society, which led to an interest in what any given social phenomenon contributes to that society. However, his 'theory of organism'—the tendency to see analogies between societies and biological organisms—was his most influential concept. He viewed social systems as organic systems that functioned in much the same way as biological organisms. For him, just as biology is the study of the individual organism, sociology is the study of the social organism. Among the specific analogies that Comte saw between biological and social organisms were those of cells on the biological level to families in the social world, of tissues to social classes and castes, and of the organs of the body to cities and communities in the social world.

The English sociologist Herbert Spencer also adopted the organism, but in his sociology it combined with a utilitarian philosophy. Thus, although his organism led Spencer to look at social wholes and the contributions of parts to the whole, his utilitarianism led him to focus on self-seeking actors. Despite the intellectual problem this presented, Spencer's organism was influential in the development of structural functionalism.

Spencer drew many comparisons between social and individual organisms. First, both social and individual organisms are dynamic, whereas inorganic matter remains static. Second, when both grow, they lead to increasing complexity and differentiation. Third, as structures change, there is a change in functions of the organisms as well. Fourthly, the parts of both organisms are co-dependent. Thus, a change in one is likely to lead to changes in the other parts as well. Finally, each of the parts of social and individual entities can be seen as independent organisms.

Spencer was of the view that societies have certain 'needs' which need to be fulfilled in order to survive. This theory was also taken up by structural functionalists who came later. Spencer's 'theory of social evolution' had a major impact on future structural-functional theories of evolution such as those associated with Durkheim and Parsons. Spencer's greatest contribution was the use of the terms structure and functions as well as his differentiation between them. He intended to speak of the functions that various structures had for the society as a whole.

In terms of structural functionalism, Durkheim had much to say about structures, functions, and their relationship to the needs of society. Perhaps, the greatest importance was his separation of the concepts of social cause and social function. The study of social causes is concerned with why a given structure exists as well as why it takes a certain form. In contrast, the study of social functions is concerned with the needs of the larger system met by a given structure. Durkheim's emphasis on morality and cultural factors (for example, collective conscience and collective representations) had a profound effect on Parsons, who came to a similar conclusion. Finally, Durkheim's emphasis on the strains in modern society, especially anomie and how they were dealt with, had an important impact on structural functionalism, especially in the works of Robert K. Merton.

Modern structural functionalism operates on the basis of several assumptions derived from the ideas of these three classic sociologists. Structural functionalists, especially the societal functionalists, are likely to take a macroscopic approach to the study of social phenomena—the focus on the social system as a whole as well

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as on the impact on the various parts (especially social structures and social institutions) on it.

They tend to see the components of the system as contributing positively to its continued operations (Abrahamson, 1978). In addition, structural functionalism is concerned with the relationship of one part of the system to another (Davis, 1959). The parts of the system and the system as a whole are seen as existing in a state of equilibrium, so that changes in one part lead to changes in other parts as well. Changes in parts may balance each other so that there is no change in the system as a whole; if they do not maintain this balance, the entire system may change. Thus, although structural functionalism adopts an equilibrium perspective, it is not necessarily a static point of view. In this equilibrium of the social system, those changes that do occur are seen as doing so in an orderly manner, not in a revolutionary way.

Functional Theory of Stratification

Structural-Functional Theory of Stratification as articulated by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore (1945) is perhaps the best known single piece of work in the structural functional theory. Davis and Moore made it clear that they regarded social stratification as both universal and necessary. They argued that no society is ever unstratified or totally classless. Stratification is, in their view, a functional necessity. All societies need such a system and this need brings into existence a system of stratification. They also viewed a stratification system as a structure pointing out that stratification refers not to the individuals in the stratification system but also to a system of positions. They focused on how certain positions come to carry with them different degrees of prestige and not on how individuals came to occupy certain positions.

Given this focus, the major functional issue is how a society motivates and places people in their 'proper' positions in the stratification system. This is reducible to two problems. First, how does a society instill in the 'proper' individuals the desire to fill certain positions? Second, once people are in the right positions, how does society instill in them the desire to fulfil the requirements of those positions?

The problem of proper social placement in society arises due to three basic reasons. First, some positions are more pleasant to occupy than others. Second, some positions are more important to the survival of society than others. Third, social positions require different abilities and talents.

Although these issues apply to all social positions, Davis and Moore were concerned with the functions of more important positions in society. The positions that rank high within the stratification system are presumed to be less in number but more important to the survival of society and those which require the greatest ability and talent. In addition, society must attach sufficient rewards to these positions so that many people will seek to occupy them and the individuals who do occupy them will work diligently. The converse was implied by Davis and Moore, but not discussed. That is, low ranking positions in the stratification system are presumed to be more pleasant and less important and require less ability and talent. Also, society has to be less vigilant about individuals that occupy these positions and perform their duties with diligence.

Davis and Moore did not argue that a society consciously develops a stratification system in order to be sure that the high-level positions are filled, and filled adequately. Rather they made it clear that stratification is an ‘unconsciously evolved device’. However, it is a device that every society does, and must develop if it is to survive.

In order to be sure that people occupy the higher-ranking positions, society must, in Davis and Moore’s view, provide these individuals with various rewards, including great prestige, high salaries and sufficient leisure. For example, to ensure there are enough doctors in society, we need to offer them rewards. Davis and Moore implied that we could not expect people to undertake the ‘burdensome’ and ‘expensive’ process of medical education if we did not offer such rewards (high prestige and pay scale plus sufficient leisure). The implication seems to be that people at the top must receive the rewards that they deserve. If they do not, those positions would remain understaffed or unfilled, and the society would crumble.

Structural-Functional Theory of Stratification has been subject to much criticism since its publication in 1945. One basic criticism is that this theory of stratification simply perpetuates the privileged position of those people who already have power, prestige and money. It does this by arguing that such people deserve their rewards, and indeed they need to be offered such rewards for the good of the society. The functional theory can also be criticized for assuming that simply because a stratified social structure has existed in the past, it must continue to exist in the future as well. It is possible that future societies can be organized in any other non-stratified way. In addition, it has been argued that the idea of functional positions varying in their importance to society is difficult to support. Are garbage collectors really any less important to the survival of society than advertising executives? Despite the lower pay and prestige of the garbage collectors, they actually may be more important to the survival of the society. Nurses may be much more important to society than movie stars, but nurses have far less power, prestige and income than movie stars. The theory provides no explanation to such a situation.

Is there really a scarcity of people capable of filling high level positions? In fact, many people are prevented from the training they need to achieve prestigious positions, even though they have the ability. In the medical profession, for example, there is a persistent effort to limit the number of practising doctors. In general, many able people never get a chance to show that they can handle high-ranking positions even though there is a clear need for them and their contributions. The fact is that those in high-ranking positions have a vested interest in keeping their numbers small and their power and income high.

Finally, it can be argued that we do not have to offer people power, prestige and income to get them to want to occupy high level positions. People can be equally motivated by the satisfaction of doing a job well or by the opportunity to be of service to others.

Functional Prerequisites of a Society

One of the major concerns of a structural functionalist is an analysis of the things—the structures and particularly the functions—that a social system needs in order to

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survive. Aberle and his colleagues discussed the basic conditions that would cause the termination of society, if they ceased to exist. The first factor deals with the population characteristics of the society. The extinction or the dispersion of its population would clearly threaten the existence of a society. This would occur if society lost enough of its population to make its various structures inoperative. Second, an apathetic population would be a threat to society. Although this is a question of degree, because some segments of a society always manifest at least some apathy. At some point, the population could become so apathetic that various components of society would cease to operate and ultimately the entire society would disintegrate. Thirdly, a war of all against all within the population would threaten society's existence. A high level of internal conflict within society would require the intervention of various social control agents who would use force to contain the conflict. Structural functionalists believe that a society cannot operate for any length of time on the basis of force. As Aberle and his colleagues put it, 'a society based solely on force is a contradiction in terms. According to structural functionalists, society is held together by the consensus of its members; to them a society held together by force is no society at all. Finally, a society could be terminated by absorption into another society through annexation, conquest and so forth.

The reverse side of this discussion of functional prerequisites includes the characteristics that a society must have in order to survive. For one thing, a society must have an adequate method of dealing with its environment. Of the two aspects of the environment that can be differentiated, the first is the ecology. A society must be able to extract from the environment what it needs to survive (food, fuel, raw materials and so forth) without destroying the sources. The second aspect of the environment is the other social systems with which a society must be able to cope. This involves among other things trade, cultural exchanges, adequate communications and adequate military defence in the event of inter-societal hostilities.

A society must also have an adequate method for sexual recruitment. Heterosexual relationships have to be patterned in such a way that men and women have adequate opportunities to interact. In addition, both sexes must be endowed with the motivation needed for a rate of reproduction sufficient to maintain the society. Furthermore, the society needs to be sure that there are a sufficient number of people and that they have diverse enough interests and skills to allow the society to function.

A society must also have sufficient differentiation of roles, as well as a way of assigning people to those roles. In all societies, certain activities must be performed and roles must be constructed so that they can be performed. The most important form of role differentiation is social stratification. As we have seen, one of the basic tenets of structural functionalism is that societies must be stratified to survive. Stratification is seen as performing various functions, such as ensuring that people are willing to take on the responsibilities of high status positions, ensuring the stability of the social system, and so forth.

An adequate communication system is also viewed as a functional requirement of any social system. Its elements include language and channels of communication. Clearly, society itself would be impossible if people were not able to interact and communicate. However, when structural functionalists discuss society's communication

system, they also mean the shared symbolic systems that people learn during the socialization process and that make communication possible. Shared symbolic systems make possible a cultural value system. It is the cultural system that is crucial to the structural-functional view on society, and how it is held together. The common value pattern is a bulwark against the possibility of continual conflict within the society.

Not only must there be a shared cultural system, but structural functionalists also talk about the need for a shared system of values at the individual level. People must look at the world in essentially the same way. This allows them to predict, with a high degree of accuracy, what others will think and do. These mutual cognitive orientations perform various functions. Of perhaps the greatest importance is that they make social situations stable, meaningful and predictable. In short, a stable society which is of enormous importance to structural functionalists is made possible by the fact that actors operate with shared orientations. Such shared orientations also allow people to account in similar ways for those things they cannot control or predict, they enable them to sustain their involvement in and commitment to social situations.

Structural functionalists also argue that society needs a shared and articulated set of goals. If people were pursuing many unrelated goals, the resulting chaos would make society impossible. Shared goals such as marital happiness, the success of children, and occupational achievement help to give a high level of cohesion to a society.

A society requires some method of regulating the means to achieve these goals, and the normative system performs this functions. Without normative regulations, society would be afflicted by chaos, anomie and apathy. If occupational success could be obtained by any means possible, there would be societal disorder according to the structural functionalists.

A society requires the socialization of new members in order to survive, and it is implied many things they need to learn and know, including their place in the stratification system, the common value system, shared cognitive orientations, acceptable goals, norms defining proper means to these goals and regulations on affective states. If actors have not learned and internalized such things, the society is viewed as impossible by the structural functionalists.

Finally, society requires effective control over disruptive forms of behaviour. Ideally, if the socialization process has led actors to internalize all the proper values, then they conform of their volition. To the structural functionalists, a society runs best when there is no need for external control of actors. However, when external control proves necessary, various social control agents are brought in picture.

1.2.1 Talcott Parsons' Systematic View of Society

Talcott Parsons saw the social world in terms of people's ideas, particularly their norms and values. 'Norms' are the socially accepted rules which people employ in deciding on their actions. 'Values' can best be described as people's beliefs about what the world should be like, as they have to determine the effect on their actions. The most important social processes are seen as the communication of meanings, symbols and information for Parsons. He was concerned with the organization of individual actions into systems of actions, employing the holistic and individualistic approaches at the same time.

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The idea of social life as a system—a network of different parts—explains the ‘structural’ part of the structural functionalist label that is usually attached to Parsons’ work. The analogy with a biological system explains the ‘functionalist’ part. If we take the human body as a system, it can be seen as having certain needs, for example, food and a number of interrelated parts (the digestive system, the stomach, the intestines, etc.) which function to meet those needs. Parsons perceived the social system of action as comprising needs which had to be met in order to survive. The system was made up of a number of parts each having their own function. All living systems are seen as tending towards equilibrium, a stable and balanced relationship between the different parts, and maintaining themselves separately from other systems (a tendency to ‘boundary maintenance’).

Parsons emphasized on stability and order, and indeed he viewed social theory as attempting to answer the question ‘how is social order possible?’—a problem often associated with the philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who formulated it in its clearest form. It presupposes that in the ‘natural state’ human beings are entirely self-seeking, that they are at war among themselves, and this natural tendency has to be moulded and limited by social organizations.

1. Action Theory

Parsons’ early contributions were based on the conviction that the appropriate subject matter of sociology is social action, a view reflecting the strong influence of Max Weber, and to some extent, Thomas. In *The Structure of Social Action*, Parsons presents an extremely complicated theory of social action in which it is held to be *voluntaristic behaviour*. The analysis is largely based on the means-end scheme. Such a complex formulation of theory of social action representing an ambitious but early effort by Parsons is interwoven with a detailed analysis of the theories of Weber, Durkheim, Pareto and Alfred Marshall. Parsons’ voluntaristic Theory of Action emerged from two different traditions—the tradition of *positivistic utilitarianism* on one hand, and the tradition of *idealism* on the other.

Action, according to Parsons, does not take place in isolation. It involves an actor, a situation and the orientation of the actor to the situation. To him, the concept of action is derived from behaviour of human being as living organism. So, social action is that behaviour by which man reacts to the external forces after understanding and interpreting them. It is motivated and directed by the meanings which the actor discerns in the external world, which he takes into account and to which he responds. So, the essential feature of social action is the actor’s sensitivity to the meaning of the people and things around him, his perception of these meanings, and his reactions to the meanings. Any behaviour becomes action when:

- (i) It is oriented to attainment of ends or goals.
- (ii) It occurs in situations.
- (iii) It is regulated by norms and values of society.
- (iv) It involves an investment of energy or motivation or effort.

So, Parsons, while focusing on actors’ orientation, speaks about the two components in orientation: motivational and value orientations. Motivational orientation which supplies energy to be spent in social action is threefold:

- (i) *Cognitive*, corresponding to that which the actor perceives in a situation, in relation to his system of need-dispositions.
- (ii) *Cathectic*, involving a process through which an actor invests an object with affective or emotional significance.
- (iii) *Evaluative*, by means of which an actor allocates his energy to various interests among which he must choose.

Value orientation, on the other hand, points to the observance of certain social norms or standards in contradiction to needs which are focal in the motivational orientation. Again, there are three modes of value orientation:

- (i) The value orientation which deals with the validity of judgment or *cognitive* orientation.
- (ii) Orientation which helps actors judge whether the response to the surrounding objects are appropriate or consistent, and is known as ‘*appreciative* orientation’.
- (iii) The orientation that helps an actor commit to his objects is known as ‘*moral* orientation’.

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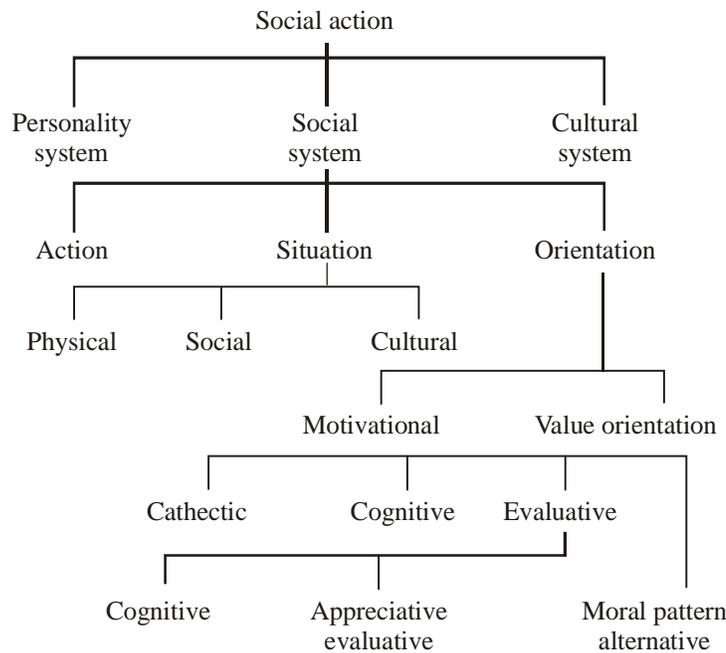


Fig 1.1 Parsons’ Analysis of Social Action

The three analytical systems, viz., the personality system, the social system and the cultural systems are all based on Parsons’ schemes. Thus, behavioural and cultural aspects of role expectations are defined by the motivational and value orientations.

2. Pattern Variables

Pattern variables first emerged as a conceptual scheme for classifying types of roles in social systems starting with the distinction between professional and business

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roles. Later, the scheme was revised and its relevance extended from role analysis in the social system to the analysis of all types of systems of action. In Parsons' words, 'The pattern variable scheme defines a set of fine dichotomies. Any course of action by an actor involves a pattern of choices with respect to these five sets of alternatives' and again, 'a pattern variable is a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before he can act with respect to that situation.'

So, these five pattern variables derive directly from the frame of reference of Theory of Action, and that in the sense that they are all thus derived, they constitute a system. With the help of pattern variables, one can categorize the orientation of personality types, values in cultures and standard models of the social structure. The pattern variables are:

- (i) **Affectivity–affective neutrality:** This concerns with the amount of emotion or effect that is appropriate in a given interaction situation.
- (ii) **Self orientation–collective orientation:** Every action has a reason and a direction. The level or extent till which an action may be directed towards realizing individual or group goals is the self-orientation and collective orientation.
- (iii) **Universalism–particularism:** This orientation points to the problem of whether evaluation and judgment of others in an interaction situation is to apply to all actors or whether all actors be assessed in terms of the same standards.
- (iv) **Ascription–achievement:** This particular orientation deals with the issue of how to assess an actor, whether in terms of performance or on the basis of inborn qualities, such as sex, age, race and family status. So, basically this orientation debates whether an actor should assess another actor on the basis of his performance, or on the attributes and qualities he has.
- (v) **Specificity–diffuseness:** This orientation denotes the issues of how far reaching obligation in an interaction situation should be. Should the obligations be narrow and specific, or should they be extensive and diffused?

Thus, the pattern variables, apart from being dilemmas of choice that every actor confronts are also characteristics of value standards and a scheme for the formulation of value standards. These pattern variables are also categories for description of value orientations, crucial components in the definition of role expectations, characterizations of differences of empirical structure of personalities or social systems. These are inherent patterns of cultural value orientation. A pattern variable in its cultural aspect is a normative pattern; in its personality aspect, a need, a disposition; and in its social system aspect a role expectation.

Explaining the relationship between pattern variables, Parsons is of the opinion that the first three derive from the problems of primacy among the modes of orientation; the last two from indeterminate object situation. Parsons considers pattern variables to describe all kinds of social relationships. Business relationships and family relationships are, for example, polar opposites, differing in each set of variables.

Business relationships are characterized by affective neutrality, specificity, universalism, performance-orientation and self-orientation. Family relationships are characterized by affectivity, diffuseness, particularism, quality and collective orientation.

3. Theory of Social Systems

The social system is closely related to Parsons' earlier work, *The Structure of Social Action*. Here in the social system, the focus is an empirical generalization or methodology. Drawing from Max Weber's typological approach, Parsons views actors as oriented to situations in terms of motives. The social system is an attempt to bring together in systematic and generalized form, the main outlines of a conceptual scheme for the analysis of structure and processes of social system.

Parsons conceives of an actor who acts in terms of means and conditions and this actor has an object towards the act. He maintained that individuals interact in conditions where the process becomes easy to investigate in a scientific sense. Then it is analysed using the same techniques that other sciences use to carry out their investigations. Parsons' notion of social system varies with different places. Social system, according to him, is defined as a plurality of individual actors interacting with one another. Again, the social system is described as a plurality of individuals who are motivated by a tendency to optimum gratification.

Individuals also have relation to this situation that is defined in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared patterns. There are three types of motives. These are: (i) *cognitive* (ii) *cathectic* and (iii) *evaluative*. There are three corresponding types of values: (i) *cognitive* (ii) *appreciative* and (iii) *moral*. These modes of orientation create a composite type of action such as:

- (a) **Instrumental:** These are actions oriented to realize explicit goals efficiently.
- (b) **Expressive:** In this type of orientation, action is directed at realizing emotional satisfaction.
- (c) **Moral:** This type of orientation deals with actions concerned with realizing standards of right and wrong. Thus, the unit acts involve motivational and value orientation and have a general direction as a consequence of which combination of values and motives prevails for an actor.

According to Parsons, as variously oriented actors (in terms of their configuration of motivational and value orientation) interacted, they came to develop agreements and sustain patterns of interaction which became standards. Such standard patterns can be looked at as a social system. Actions may be composed of three 'interpenetrating action system'—the *cultural*, the *social* and the *personality*. Following both Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown's lead, Parsons viewed integration within and among the action system as a basic requisite for survival.

Parsons was concerned with the integration within the social system itself and between social system and cultural patterns on the one hand, and between the social system and the personality system on the other. And for such integration to occur, at least two functional requisites had to be met:

- (i) A social system must have a sufficient proportion of its component actor adequately motivated to act in accordance with the requirements of its role system.

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- (ii) Social system must avoid commitment to cultural patterns which either fail to define a minimum of order or which place impossible demands on people, and thereby generate deviance and conflict.

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Parsons was mainly concerned with cultural systems insofar as they affect social systems and personality. So a social system, according to him, is a mode of organization of *action elements* relative to the persistence or ordered processes of change of the interactive patterns of a plurality of individual actors. First, **act** is mentioned as a unit of social system. This act becomes a unit insofar as it becomes a process of interaction between its author and another actor. Secondly, for more macroscopic analysis of the social system, a higher order unit than an act, called the *status-role* is used.

Parsons maintained that all actors are involved in a number of interactions with other actors in a social system, giving rise to a complementary style of functioning. Thus, this participation of an actor in multiple relationships with systematic patterns makes up an important unit of social system. This participation, in turn, has two principal aspects. On one hand, there is a *positional aspect*, i.e., where the actor is located in the social system which is called his *status*; on the other hand, there is a processual aspect, i.e., what the actor does in his relations with others seen in context of functional significance for the social system. This is called his *role*. The status role bundles are not, in general, attributes of the actors, but are units of the social system. An actor himself is considered as a unit of the social system as he holds a status or performs a role. So there are three different units of the social system. These are:

- (i) The social act, performed by an actor and oriented to one or more actors on objects.
- (ii) The actor’s status-role.
- (iii) The actor himself as a social unit.

AGIL, a function, is ‘a complex of activities directed towards meeting a need or needs of the system’. Using this definition, Parsons believed that there are four functional imperatives necessary for (characteristic of) all systems.

Parsons designed the AGIL scheme to be used at all levels in his theoretical system. We will illustrate how Parsons uses AGIL in the discussion below on the four action systems.

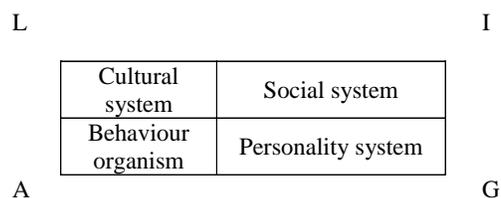


Fig 1.2 Structure of the General Action System

The *biological organism* is the action system that handles the adaptation function by adjusting to and transforming the external world. The *personality system* performs the goal attainment function by defining system goals and mobilizing

resources to attain them. The *social system* copes with the integration function by controlling its component parts. Finally, the *cultural system* performs the latency function by providing actors with the norms and values that motivate them for action. Figure 1.2 summarizes the structure of the action system in terms of the AGIL schema.

The functional prerequisites of social systems according to Parsons are:

- (i) **Adaptation:** This prerequisite refers to the relationship between the system and its environment. It involves the problem of securing, from the environment, sufficient facilities and then distributing these facilities throughout the system. At a minimum, food and shelter must be provided to fulfil physical needs. The economy is the institution primarily concerned with this function.
- (ii) **Goal attainment:** This particular prerequisite involves the determination of goals and motivating the members of the system to attain these goals. It also helps in mobilizing the members and of their energies for the achievement of these goals. Procedures for establishing goals and deciding on priorities between goals are standardized in the form of political system.
- (iii) **Integration:** Integration refers primarily to the adjustment of conflict. It denotes the problem of coordinating and maintaining viable interrelations among system units. The law is the main institution which meets this need. Legal norms define and standardize relations between individuals and between institutions and thus reduce the potential for conflict. When conflict does arise it is settled by the judicial system and does not, therefore, lead to disintegration of the social system.
- (iv) **Latency:** This prerequisite helps in managing tensions and maintaining social patterns within a social system. It also helps in storing, organizing and maintaining motivational energies of various elements present within such a system. Pattern maintenance refers to the maintenance of the basic pattern of values standardized by a particular society. Institutions which perform this function include the family, the educational system and religion. Tension-management concerns the problem of dealing with the internal tensions and strains of actors in the social system.

So the development of the four functional prerequisites has been abbreviated as AGIL (indicates **A**daptation, **G**oal attainment, **I**ntegration, **L**atency) which denotes a shift away from the analysis of structures to the analysis of functions. Parsons claims that a constant overlapping takes place between these functional prerequisites. This inter-penetration of one into the other is the hallmark of Parsons' social system. So it is said that due to these changes, society is in a *moving equilibrium*.

Parsons' Action System

The heart of Parsons' work is found in his four action systems. In the assumptions that Parsons made regarding his action systems, we encounter the problem of order that was his overwhelming concern and that has become a major source of criticism of his work (Schwanenberg, 1971). The Hobbesian problem of order—what prevents a social war of all against all—was not answered to Parsons' (1937) satisfaction by

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the earlier philosophers. Parsons found his answer to the problem of order in structural functionalism, which, as per his view, operates under the following set of assumptions:

- (a) Systems have the property of order and interdependence of parts.
- (b) Systems tend toward self-maintaining order, or equilibrium.
- (c) The system may be static or involved in an ordered process of change.
- (d) The nature of one part of the system has an impact on the form that the other parts could take.
- (e) Systems maintain boundaries with their environments.
- (f) Allocation and integration are two fundamental processes necessary for a given state of equilibrium of a system.
- (g) Systems tend toward self-maintenance involving the maintenance of boundaries and of the relationships of parts of the whole, control of environmental variations, and control of tendencies to change the system from within.

These assumption led Parsons to make the analysis of the ordered structure of society his first priority.

Parsons' Social Systems

Parsons' conception of the social system begins at the micro level with an interaction between the ego and the alter ego, defined as the most elementary form of the social system. He spent little time analysing this level, although he did argue that features of this interaction system are present in the more complex forms taken by the social systems. Parsons defined a social system thus:

“A social system consists in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical and environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the ‘Optimization of Gratification’ and whose relation to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols.”

This definition seeks to define a social system in terms of many of the key concepts in Parsons' work—actors, interaction, environment, optimization of gratification, and culture.

Despite his commitment to viewing the social system as a system of interaction, Parsons did not take interaction as his fundamental unit in the study of the social system. This is neither an aspect of actors nor an aspect of interaction, but rather a structural component of the social system. Status refers to a structural position within the social system, and role is how the actor behaves in a position, seen in the context of its functional significance for the larger system. The actor is viewed not in terms of thoughts and actions but (at least in terms of position in the social system) as nothing more than a bundle of various status and roles.

In his analysis of the social system, Parsons was interested primarily in its structural components. In addition to a concern with the status-role, Parsons was interested in the large-scale components of social systems, as collectives, norms

and values. In his analysis of the social system, however, Parsons was not simply a structuralist but also a functionalist. He, thus, delineated a number of functional prerequisites of a social system. First, social systems must be structured so that they operate comparatively with other systems. Secondly, the system must meet a significant proportion of the needs of its actors. Thirdly, the system must elicit adequate participation from its members. Fourthly, it must have at least a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behaviour. Sixthly, if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled. Finally, a social system requires a language in order to survive.

However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. In fact, he called the integration of value patterns and need-dispositions ‘the fundamental dynamic theorem of sociology’. In a successful socialization process, the norms and values are internalized i.e., they became part of the actors’ ‘conscience’. As a result, in pursuing their own interests, the actors are, in fact, serving the interests of the system as a whole. Parsons stated, ‘the combination of value-orientation patterns which is acquired (by the actor in socialization) must in a very important degree be a function of the fundamental role structure and dominant values of the social system’.

As a structural functionalist, Parsons distinguished among four structures, or sub-systems in society in terms of functions (AGIL) they perform (Fig. 1.3). The economy is the sub-system that performs the function for society of adapting to the environment through labour, production and allocation. Through such work, the economy adapts the environment to society’s needs and it helps society adapt to these external realities. The polity or political system performs the function of goal attainment by pursuing societal objectives and mobilizing actors and resources to that end. The fiduciary system (for example, school and family), handles the latency function by transmitting culture (norms and values) to actors and allowing it to be internalized by them. Finally, the integration function is performed by the societal community (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.

Fiduciary System	Societal Community
Economy	Polity

Fig 1.3 Functional Imperative: Society and its Sub-systems

Cultural System

Parsons conceived of culture as the major force binding the various elements of the social world, or in his terms the action system. In the social systems, culture is embodied in norms and values, and in the personality system it is internalized by the actor. But the cultural system is not simply a part of other systems; it also has a separate existence in the form of the social stock of knowledge, symbols and ideas. These aspects of the cultural system are available to the social and personality systems, but they do not become part of them (Parsons and Shills, 1951).

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Parsons defined the cultural system, as he did his other systems, in terms of its relationship to the other action systems. Thus, culture is seen as a patterned, ordered system of symbols that are objects of orientation to actors, internalized aspects of the personality system, and institutionalized patterns in the social system. Because it is largely symbolic and subjective, culture is readily transmitted from one system to another. This allows it to move from one social system to another through diffusion and from one personality system to another through learning and socialization. However, the symbolic/subjective character of culture gives it another characteristic—the ability to control Parsons' other action systems. This is one of the reasons that Parsons came to view himself as a 'cultural determinist'.

Personality System

The personality system is controlled not only by the cultural system, but also by the social system. That is not to say that Parsons did not accord some independence to the personality system.

Parsons defined personality as the organized system of orientation and motivation of action of the individual actor. The basic component of personality is the 'need-disposition'. Parsons and Shils defined need-disposition as the most significant units of motivation of action. They differentiated need-disposition from drives, which are innate tendencies, 'physiological energy that makes action possible'. In other words, drives are better seen as part of the biological organism. Need-dispositions are then defined as, 'these same tendencies when they are not innate but acquired through the process of action itself'. In other words, need-dispositions are drives that are shaped by the social setting.

Need-dispositions impel actors to accept or reject objects presented in the environment or to seek out new objects if the ones that are available do not adequately satisfy need-dispositions. Parsons differentiated among three basic types of need-dispositions. The first type impels to seek love, approval, and so forth, from their social relationships. The second type includes internalized values that lead actors to observe various cultural standards. Finally, there are the role expectations that lead actors to give and get appropriate responses.

Behavioural Organism

Though he included the behavioural organism as one of the four action systems, Parsons had very little to say about it. It was included because it is the source of energy for the rest of the systems. Although based on genetic constitution, its organization is affected by the processes of conditioning and learning that occur during the individual's life. The biological organism is clearly a residual system in Parsons' work, but at the minimum, Parsons is to be lauded for including it as a part of his sociology, if for no other reason than that he anticipated the interest in socio-biology by some sociologists.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is individualistic functionalism?
2. Differentiate between norms and values.
3. According to the action theory, when does any behaviour become action?
4. What are the three different units of the social system?

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1.2.2 R. K. Merton's Systematic View of Society

Robert K. Merton is conceived of as a functional analyst concerned with sociological understanding produced by research of objective, latent patterns inherent in social life. Merton, being a central figure in the theoretical development of American sociology, was influenced both by Parsons and Sorokin, though Parson's impact was more pronounced in his works.

However, while Merton held a broadly functional perspective, his path began to diverge from that of Parsons as he refined the method of functional analysis. He rejected Parsons' ideology of developing an inclusive kind of theory and embraced the middle path of analysing a limited set of practical phenomena. He argued that in view of the general status of sociological knowledge and theory, Parsons' enterprises was over ambitious.

For Merton, such grand theoretical schemes are premature, since the theoretical and empirical groundwork necessary for their completion have not been performed. He emphasized on the need to examine dysfunctional social systems along with functional ones, thereby negating the rigid outlook of former functional theories. In relation to this, Merton propounded new paradigms and a protocol for introducing a fresh approach to traditional functional theories. He also debated Malinowski's theory that a social function was required for all social phenomena. According to Merton, sociology in the present state of its development required theories of middle range. Such theories should be grounded in empirical data, and at the same time should use concepts which are clearly defined and practical.

1. Theory of Social Structure and Paradigm of Functional Analysis

Merton identifies the central orientation of functionalism as the practice of interpreting data by establishing their consequences for larger structures in which they are implicated. Functional analysis involves the search for functions. His functional orientation is a shift from a static towards a dynamic image of society. Merton's functionalism is very different from the classical functionalism of Comte and Spencer's sociology, Brown's cultural anthropology and from Parson's functional structuralism. Merton saw functional theorizing as embracing three basic postulates which are:

- (i) **Functional unity of society:** The assumption in this postulate is that an entire social and cultural system uses a typical social activity. However, this

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holds true only when we take a uniform, homogeneous system with perfectly integrated elements. The practical entity of integration varies with different types of systems and even within the same systems it keeps changing from time to time. So, it is questionable that all human societies must have some degree of integration. Merton, however, views that the degree of integration is an issue to be empirically determined; so the degree to which functional unity exists in the social system is a matter subject to empirical investigation.

- (ii) **Universal functionalism:** This postulate holds that all social and cultural items fulfil sociological functions. This assumption implies an image of society in which there are no dispensable or irrelevant elements. For Merton, if examination of an actually existing system is undertaken, it would be clear that there is a wide range of empirical possibilities.
- (iii) **Functional indispensability:** Merton focuses on the alleged indispensability of particular cultural or social forms for fulfilling a particular function in a social system. So according to Merton, all parts are functional, i.e., the existence of all parts is essential for the survival of the social system. Hence, all parts are functionally indispensable. Merton contends that such conclusions, which have been taken for granted by various functionalists are not required as can be seen from practical evidence. He proposes an alternative assumption which he considers a basic theorem of functional analysis. According to him, just as the same item may have multiple functions, similarly, the same function can be diversely fulfilled by alternative items. So, Merton postulated the importance of functional analysis as a concern with various types of functional alternatives or functional equivalents within the social system.

2. Middle-Range Theory

Merton developed the notion of middle-range theory as the theoretical goal suitable for the contemporary epoch of sociology. He conceives of sociological theory as logically interconnected sets of propositions from which empirical uniformities can be derived. To Merton, the theories of middle range are 'theories that lie between the minor but necessary working hypotheses that evolve in abundance during day-to-day research and all-inclusive systematic efforts to develop a unified theory that will explain all the observed uniformities of social behaviour, social organization and social change'. These are used primarily to guide empirical inquiry. Examples of middle-range theories are Theory of Reference Groups, Theory of Relative Deprivation, and Merton's Theory of Role-Set. These theories are quite different from those all-embracing total systems of sociological theory. Merton rallies to his cause an impressive array of figures in the history of thought, including Plato, Bacon and Mill, and such sociologists as Hankins, Ginsberg, Mannheim and Sorokin who favoured the theories of middle-range.

However, in middle-range theory, there is summary and retrospect, an attempt to codify sociological theory, questioning of literary style in sociological writing, and a treatment of the function of paradigms in the development of science.

Manifest and Latent Functions

Like Parsons, Merton replaced structural functionalism with functional analysis and brought functional analysis to the fore, and raised it to the level of theoretical orthodoxy. At the same time, he helped to bring about the demise of its canonical form, introducing a radically new and modified formula of functional analysis. Merton maintains that the assumptions of functional theory holds that social activities are common for an entire social system; that these social and cultural functions completes all sociological function; and that these functions cannot be done away with.

While considering the first postulate, Merton faults Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore for overestimating the integrative function of religion in society. He also criticized them for ignoring the divisive effects that religion has had in the actual history of human societies. This error is attributed to the practice of carrying over, without modification, theories and conceptions derived from the study of non-literate societies. Thirdly, Merton suggests that the notion of functional indispensability of items be avoided in view of the number of functional alternatives that can be discerned in societies. According to Merton, sociologists often confuse conscious motivations and objective consequences of behaviour. In this context, he brings out the distinctions between *manifest* and *latent* functions. Every specified unit, like a person, sub-group, social or cultural systems have a few objective consequences. These consequences help in the unit's adjustment or adaptation to their immediate environment. These consequences are known as *manifest functions*. On the other hand, *latent functions* are the unrecognized and unintended consequences. Merton contends that all sociologists know this difference but have not taken this up for a serious investigation.

3. Theory of Anomie

From a functionalist position, Merton in his article 'Social Structure and Anomie' in 1938 considers not only conformity, but also deviance as a part of social structure. Instead of setting the individual in opposition to a social structure that constrains him in either a Durkheimian or Freudian sense, Merton wants to show that structure is an active factor, that it produces motivations that cannot be predicted from knowledge of native impulses or drives. It is not wayward personalities but ordinary social structure that motivates behaviour that is then labelled 'deviant'. In this respect, Merton extends the theory of functional analysis from the study of social structure, where it involves questions of order and maintenance, then to the study of order and maintenance, and ultimately to the study of social change.

However, Merton's primary aim 'is to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming conduct'. In this regard, he distinguished between cultural goals in a society and institutional norms that arise to regulate their pursuit. There is a difference between 'technically effective' means of achieving goals and 'culturally legitimate' means of achieving them. When the two coincide, the society tends to be stable. When they draw apart, or when technical efficiency is emphasized over cultural legitimacy, then the society becomes unstable and approaches a state of anomie, or a place with no norms.

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Functionalist position of value, in the functional sociological theory, holds that all members of a society have the same value. However, since the positions of the actors in a social system are different, and actors positioned in different classes would differ in class positions. These actors positioned differently will definitely not have the chance to realize their values in a similar manner. He uses America as a basis for his study and maintains that though every American shares the same value, their achievements are varied. Success in this society is mostly measured with the achievement of material possessions. America has accepted talent, hard work, drive, determination and success, coming through educational qualifications as standard means of achieving success. However, this is an unbalanced society and unlike other societies, there are no value-based means of achieving cultural goals. The people tend to bend the rules and attempt to achieve their goals. When people do not abide by rules, a state of ‘anomie’ flourishes. There are five ways in which Americans respond to anomie. In this regard, Merton provides his famous ‘Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation’ as follows:

Modes of adaptation	Culture goals	Institutionalized means
Conformity	+	+
Innovation	+	-
Ritualism	-	+
Retreatism	-	-
Rebellion	+	+

These categories refer to *behaviour* and not *personality*. The same person may use different modes of adaptation in different circumstances. ‘Conformity’ is the most widely diffused and the most common type of adaptation; otherwise society would be unstable. They strive for success by means of accepted channels. Secondly, ‘innovation’ rejects normative means of achieving success and turn to deviant means, in particular, crime. Merton argues that members of the lower social strata are most likely to select this route to success. They are least likely to succeed through conventional channels, thus, there is greater pressure upon them to deviate. Merton uses the term ‘ritualism’ to describe the third response. To him, ritualism occurs when an individual drops out of ‘rat race’ that monetary success requires but continues to go through the motions required by the norms of the society. Merton suggests that it is the lower-middle class that exhibits a relatively high incidence of ritualism.

The ritualist is a deviant because he has rejected the success goals held by most members of society. Merton terms the fourth and least common response as ‘retreatism’. This involves rejection of both goals and norms and the ‘people who fit into this category are the true aliens’—psychotics, pariahs, outcasts, vagrants, vagabonds, tramps, drunkards and drug addicts. Merton does not relate retreatism to any social class position. Rebellion is a rejection of both the goals and the norms of the old structure and accept and actively work for the goals and norm of the new. People who wish to create a new society would take this alternative. The guerillas in Western Europe take up the deviant path of terrorism to achieve their goals.

Merton maintains that only the lower classes take to deviant paths and the upper class that has legal means to achieve their aims and goals refrain from doing

it. The rising class organizes the dejected population to bring about a revolution in order to wipe away the old order and usher in the new.

Thus Merton shows how culture and structure of society generate deviance. The overemphasis upon cultural goals in the American society at the expense of institutionalized means creates a tendency towards anomie. This tendency exerts pressure for deviance; a pressure which varies depending on a person's position in the class structure. Merton thus explains deviance in terms of nature of society rather than nature of an individual.

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1.2.3 Major Criticism of Structural Functionalism

No single sociological theory in the history of the discipline has been the focus of as much interest as structural functionalism. From the late 1930s to early 1960s, it was virtually unchallenged as the dominant sociological theory for the US. By the 1960s, however, criticism of the theory had increased dramatically and ultimately became more prevalent than praise. Let us look at some of these major criticisms. We will deal first with the major *substantive* criticisms of structural functionalism and then focus on the *logical and methodological* problems associated with the theory.

Substantive Criticisms

One major criticism is that structural functionalism does not deal adequately with history. Even though, structural functionalism was developed, at least in part, in reaction to the historical evolutionary approach of certain anthropologists. Many of the early anthropologists were seen as describing the various stages in the evolution of a given society or society in general. Frequently, depictions of the early stages were highly speculative. Furthermore, the later stages were often little more than idealization of the society in which the anthropologist lived. Early structural functionalists were seeking to overcome the speculative character and ethnocentric biases of these works. In its early years in particular, structural functionalism went too far in its criticism of the evolutionary theory and came to focus on either contemporary or abstract societies. However, structural functionalism needs to be historical (Turner and Maryanski, 1979). Although practitioners have tended to operate as if it were a historical, nothing in the theory prevents them from dealing with historical issues. In fact, Parsons' (1966, 1971) work on social change, as we have seen, reflects the ability of structural functionalists to deal with change if they so wish.

Structural functionalists are also attacked for being unable to deal effectively with the *process* of social change. This criticism is concerned with the parallel incapacity of the approach to deal with the contemporary process of social change. Structural functionalism is far more likely to deal with static structures than with change processes. Percy Cohen (1968) sees the problem as being in the Structural-Functional Theory, in which all the elements of a society are seen as reinforcing one another as well as the system as a whole. This makes it difficult to see how these elements can also contribute to change. While Cohen sees the problem as inherent in the theory, Turner and Maryanski believe, again, that the problem lies with the practitioners and not with the theory.

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As per Turner's and Maryanski's views, structural functionalists frequently do not address change, and even when they do, it is in developmental rather than revolutionary terms. However, according to them, there is no reason why structural functionalists could not deal with social change. Whether the problem lies in the theory or in the theorists, the fact remains that the main contributions of structural functionalists lie in the study of static, and not changing social structures.

Perhaps the most often voiced criticism of structural functionalism is that it is unable to deal effectively with conflict. This criticism takes a variety of forms. Alvin Gouldner argues that Parsons, as the main representative of structural functionalism, tended to overemphasize harmonious relationships. Irving Louis Horowitz contends that structural functionalists tend to see conflicts as necessarily destructive and as occurring outside the framework of society. Abrahamson argues that structural functionalism exaggerates social consensus, stability and integration and, conversely, tends to disregard conflict, disorder and change. The issue once again is whether this is inherent in the theory or in the way that practitioners have interpreted and used it. Whatever one's position, it is clear that structural functionalism has had little to offer on the issue of social conflict.

The overall criticisms that structural functionalism is unable to deal with, i.e., history, change and conflict have led many to argue that structural functionalism has a conservative bias. As Gouldner states, 'Parsons persistently sees the partly filled glass of water as half full rather than half empty'. To put this in social terms, a conservative structural functionalist would emphasize the economic advantages of living in our society rather than its disadvantages.

It may indeed be true that there is a conservative bias in structural functionalism that is attributable not only to what it ignores (change, history and conflict), but also to what it chooses to focus on. For one thing, structural functionalists have tended to focus on culture, norms and values. David Lockwood (1956), for example, is critical of Parsons for his preoccupation with the normative order of society.

More generally, Percy Cohen (1968) argues that structural functionalists focus on normative elements, although this is not inherent in the theory. Crucial to structural functionalism's focus on cultural and societal factors and what leads to the theory's conservative orientation is a passive sense of the individual actor. People are seen as constrained by cultural and social forces. Structural functionalists lack a dynamic, creative sense of the actor. As Gouldner says, 'human beings are as much engaged in using social systems as in being used by them'.

Related to their cultural focus is the intendency of structural functionalists to mistake the legitimizations employed by elites in society for social reality (Gouldner, 1970; Horowitz, 1962 and 1967; Mills, 1959). The normative system is interpreted as a reflective of society as a whole, when it may, in fact, be better viewed as an ideological system promulgated by, and existing for, the elite members of the society.

These substantive criticisms point in to basic directions. First, it seems clear that structural functionalism has a rather narrow focus that prevents it from addressing a number of important issues and aspects of the social world. Second, its focus tends to give it a very conservative flavour; as it was often practised and still is, to

some degree. Structural functionalism operates in support of the status quo and dominance elites (Huaco, 1986).

Methodological and Logical Criticisms

One of the often expressed criticisms is that structural functionalism is basically vague, unclear and ambiguous. For example: What exactly is a structure or a function or a social system? How are parts of social systems related to each other as well as to the larger social system? Part of the ambiguity is traceable to the level on which structural functionalists choose to work. They deal with abstract social systems instead of real society as in much of Parsons' work; no 'real' society is discussed. Similarly, the discussion of functional prerequisites by Aberle and his colleagues (1950/1967) is not concretely tight to a real society, but occurs at a very high level of abstraction.

A related criticism is that, although no one grand scheme can ever be used to analyse all societies throughout history (Mills, 1959), structural functionalists have been motivated by the belief that there is a single theory or at least a set of conceptual categories that could be used to do this. The belief in the existence of such a grand theory lies at the base of much of Parsons' work, the functional prerequisite of Aberle and his colleagues (1950/ 1967), and Davis Moore's (1945) theory of stratification. Many critics regard this grand theory as an illusion, believing that the best sociology can hope for is more historically specific, 'middle- range' (Merton, 1968) theories.

Among the other specific methodological criticisms is the issue of whether there exist adequate methods to study the questions of concerned structural functionalists. Percy Cohen (1968), for instance, wonders what tools can be used to study the contribution of one part of a system to the system as a whole. Another methodological criticism is that structural functionalism makes comparative analysis difficult. If the assumption is that part of a system makes sense only in the context of the social system in which it exists, how can we compare it with a similar part in another system? Cohen asks, for example, 'if an English family makes sense only in the context of English society, how can we compare it to a French family'?

The other major criticism of the logic of structural functionalism is that it is tautological. A tautological argument is one in which the conclusion merely makes explicit what is implicit in the premise or is simply restatement of the premise. In structural functionalism, this circular reasoning often takes the form of defining the whole in terms of its parts and then defining the parts in terms of the whole. Thus, it will be argued that a social system is defined by the relationship among its component parts and that the component parts of the system are defined by their place in the larger social system. Because each is defined in terms of the other, neither the social system nor its parts are, in fact, defined at all. We really learn nothing about either the system or its parts. Structural functionalism has been particularly prone to tautologies, although some questions about this propensity are inherent in the theory or simply characteristics of the way most structural functionalists have used, or misused the theory.

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1.2.4 Neo-functionalism

Much of the work taking place in structural functionalism today can be included under the heading 'Neo-functionalism'. Under a barrage of criticisms, structural functionalism declined in significance from the mid-1960s to the present day. However, by the mid-1980s, a major effort was under way to revive the theory under the heading 'Neo-functionalism'. The term 'neofunctionalism' was used not only to indicate continuity with structural functionalism but also to demonstrate an effort being made to extend structural functionalism and overcome its major difficulties. Jeffrey Alexander and Paul Colomy define neo-functionalism as 'a self-critical strand while retaining its theoretical core'. Thus, it seems clear that Alexander and Colomy see structural functionalism as overly narrow, and that their goal is the creation of a more synthetic theory, which they prefer to label 'neofunctionalism'.

Before we turn to a brief discussion of neo-functionalism, it should be noted that while structural functionalism in general, and Talcott Parsons' theories in particular, did become extremist, there was a strong synthetic core in the theory from its beginnings. On the one hand, throughout his intellectual life, Parsons sought to integrate a wide range of theoretical inputs. On the other, he was interested in the interrelationship of the major domains of the social world, most notably the cultural, social and personality systems. However, in the end, Parsons adopted a narrow structural-functionalist orientation and came to see the cultural system as determining the other systems. Thus, Parsons abandoned his synthetic orientation, and neofunctionalism can be viewed as an effort to capture such an orientation.

Alexander has enumerated the problems associated with structural-functionalism that neo-functionalism will need to surmount including 'Anti-Individualism', 'Antagonism to change', 'Conservatism', 'Idealism', and an 'Anti-Empirical bias'. Efforts were made to overcome these problems programmatically and at more specific theoretical levels, for example, Colomy's attempt to refine the Differentiation Theory.

Despite his enthusiasm for neo-functionalism, in the mid-1980s, Alexander was forced to conclude that 'Neo-functionalism is a tendency rather than a developed theory'. More recently, Colomy has sought to consolidate the general theoretical position of neofunctionalism and to detail its contributions to cultural, political and feminist sociology as well as to the study of social change, the professions and inequality. Only five years after Alexander's confession of the weakness of neo-functionalism, Colomy saw it as having made enormous strides.

In the ensuing five years, that tendency has criticized into a self-conscious intellectual movement. It has generated significant advances at the level of general and played a leading part in pushing sociological meta-theory in a synthetic direction, i.e., neo-functionalism is delivering on its promissory notes. Today, neo-functionalism is more than a promise; it has become a field of intense theoretical discourse and growing empirical investigation. While there is no question that neo-functionalism has made some strides in recent years, it is doubtful that it is quite as far advanced as Colomy would have to believe.

Alexander (1985) and Colomy (1990) have outlined some of the basic orientations of neofunctionalism.

First, neo-functionalism operates with a descriptive model of society that sees it as composed of elements which, in interaction with one another, form a pattern. This pattern allows the system to be differentiated from its environment. Parts of the system are 'symbiotically connected,' and their interaction is not determined by some overarching force. Thus, neo-functionalism rejects any non-causal determinism, and is open-ended and pluralistic.

Second, Alexander argues that neo-functionalism devotes roughly equal attention to action and order. It, thus, avoids the tendency of structural functionalism to focus almost exclusively on the macro-level sources of order in social structures and culture and to give attention to more micro-level action patterns. Neo-functionalism also purports to have a broad sense of action, including not only rational but also expressive action.

Third, neo-functionalism retains the structural-functional interest in integration, not as an accomplished fact rather as a social possibility. It recognizes that deviance and social control are realities within social systems. There is concern for equilibrium within neo-functionalism, but it is broader than the structural-functional concern encompassing both moving and partial equilibrium. There is a disinclination to see social systems as characterized by static-equilibrium. 'Equilibrium', broadly defined is seen as a reference point for functional analysis but not as descriptive of the lives of individuals in actual social systems.

Fourth, neo-functionalism accepts the traditional Parsonian emphasis on personality, culture and social system. In addition, to being vital to social structure, the interpenetration of these systems also produces tension that is an ongoing source of both social change and social control.

Fifth, neofunctionalism focuses on social change in the processes of differentiation within the social, cultural and personality systems. Thus, change is not productive of conformity and harmony but rather 'individuation and institutional strains'.

Finally, Alexander argues that neo-functionalism 'implies the commitment to the independence of conceptualization and theorizing from the levels of sociological analysis'.

Alexander has tried to delineate neo-functionalism in general, programmatic terms; whereas, Colomy has dealt more specifically with a revised Structural-Functional Theory of Change. He argues that Structural-Functional Theory of Change ('Differentiation Theory') derived from Parsonian theory has three basic weaknesses. First, it is highly abstract and lacks empirical and historical specificity. Second, it does not devote enough attention to concrete groups and social processes or to power and conflict. Third, it overemphasizes the integration produced by structural change.

As a result of these criticisms, Structural-Functional Theory of Change has undergone several revisions.

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First, the original master trend (Progressive differentiation) has been supplemented with an analysis of patterned deviations from that trend. For example, in addition to differentiation, societies have experienced de-differentiation, or 'a type of structural change that rejects societal complexity and moves toward less differentiated levels of social organization' (Colomy, 1986). Such de-differentiation is likely to occur as a result of discontent with modernization. Also important is 'unequal development' across various institutional spheres as well as 'uneven differentiation' within a single institution. Uneven differentiation 'refers to the varying rate and degree of differentiation of a single institution... uneven differentiation suggests, then, that the master trend of change proceeds at an uneven rate and degree across the distinct regions of a society'.

Second, revisionists have pushed Differentiation Theory towards more concern for how concrete groups affect change as well as how change is affected by such factors as power, conflict and contingency (Colomy, 1990). Various specific groups have been identified as instigators of change in the direction of greater differentiation as have groups that have stood in opposition to such change. This leads to a focus on the conflict between groups over the process of differentiation and the forms that a resolution of that conflict might take. Great historical and empirical detail is presented in these studies on the contending groups involved in the process of differentiation. This work also moves away from an overemphasis on integration and toward, in Parsonian terms, 'much more sustained attention to the potential contradictions and strains associated with differentiation between and within cultural, social and personality systems' (Colomy, 1986). These efforts are, in Colomy's view, leading to a more comprehensive explanatory framework for analysing differentiation.

Third, the early Differentiation Theory focused on greater efficiency and re-integration as the main effects of the process of differentiation, but more recent work has outlined a much wider array of possible outcomes.

It might be argued that although the theory of differentiation has been widened, it has also lost its distinctive flavour with its newfound focus on conflict and competition. So much has been borrowed from other intellectual traditions that one wonders whether the kind of approach outlined above can, or should be labelled 'structural functionalism' or even 'neofunctionalism'.

Returning to neo-functionalism in general, Alexander and Colomy (1990) have staked out a very ambitious claim for it. They do not see neofunctionalism as, in their terms, a mere modest 'elaboration' or 'revision' of structural functionalism, but rather as a much more dramatic 'reconstruction' of it, in which differences with the founder (Parsons) are clearly acknowledged and explicit openings are made to other theorists. Efforts are to integrate into neo-functionalism insights from the masters, such as Marx's work on material structures and Durkheim's on symbolism. In an attempt to overcome the idealist bias of Parsonian structural functionalism, especially its emphasis on macro-subjective phenomena like culture, openings are urged. This emphasis on order is countered by a call for rapprochement with theories of social change. Most importantly, to compensate for the macro-level biases of traditional structural functionalism, efforts are made to integrate ideas from Exchange Theory, Symbolic Interactionism, Pragmatism and Phenomenology, and so on. In other words,

Alexander and Colomy are endeavouring to synthesize structural functionalism with a number of other theoretical traditions. Such reconstruction can both receive structural-functionalism and provide the base for the development of a new theoretical tradition.

Earlier functional research was guided by, '.... Envisioning a single and embracing conceptual scheme that tied areas of specialized research into a tightly wrought package.' What neo-functionalist empirical work points to, by contrast, is a loosely organized package, one organized around a general logic and possessing a number of rather autonomous 'proliferations' and 'variations' at different levels and in different empirical domains (Alexander and Coolomy, 1990). This indicates that we are moving away from the Parsonian tendency to see structural-functionalism as a grand overarching theory. Instead, Alexander and Coolomy are offering a more limited, a more synthetic, but still a holistic theory.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. What is universal functionalism?
6. State some examples of middle range theories.
7. What is a tautological argument?

1.3 INSTITUTIONALISM

The study of institutions goes a long way back, starting possibly with the philosophical explorations of Plato's *Republic*. In this section, we will get a general idea of the historical evolution of the institutional approach.

We are, for the most part, concerned with studying the approach within the field of comparative political analysis. Therefore, our main concern is with the historical moment at which the institutional approach took on a comparative character. Ethnocentrism is a typical feature of this approach. A major portion of the works which represent the institutional approach in comparative politics have only taken into account governments and institutions in the West. Inherent in this approach is the belief that western liberal democratic institutions are dominant. Thus, according to this view, western liberal democracy is not only the best form of government, but it also has a normative and universal character. The widespread nature of western liberal democracy takes for granted that not only is this style of government the best, but also relevant across the world. The 'normativity' of western liberal democracies is a consequence of this belief.

If it is the best form of governance which is also appropriate in all contexts, liberal democracy is the form of government which should be implemented everywhere. But an important exception also arises from this prescribed norm of liberal democracy. This exception implies: (a) that the institutions of liberal democracy were specifically western in their origin and contexts and, (b) that non-western

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countries were incapable of democratic self-rule and would only be fit to do so if they underwent training under western imperialist rule.

In the following sections, we shall undertake a detailed study of the beginning of the institutional approach from ancient times to the first quarter of the present century when it became a prime method which made comparative study possible.

1.3.1 Historical Background

Aristotle studied constitutions and practices in Greek city-states. Possibly, this is the oldest comparative study of governments. Aristotle contrasted them with politics in the so-called 'barbarian' states. He established similarities and differences between governments differentiating between monarchies, oligarchies and democracy, and between these 'ideal' governments and their 'perverted' forms. An interrelation between facts and values marked the study of comparative politics at this stage. At the initial stages, an attempt was not made to analyse the theory and practice of government, as James Bryce had emphasized in the late nineteenth century. In its place was an irresistible desire to explore 'ideal' states and forms of governments. More emphasis was given to assumption, on what should be instead of on what 'is' or what is actually present. Practical details and knowledge of existing state of affairs, however, came to be known due to the efforts of Machiavelli (*The Prince*) in the sixteenth century and Montesquieu (*The Spirit of Laws*) in the middle of the eighteenth century. A large number of constitutional lawyers were the followers of Montesquieu. Their profession demanded that they concentrate more on the contents, i.e., the theoretical (legal-constitutional) framework of governments rather than the manner in which these frameworks unfolded in practice.

The forbearer of the study of 'theory and practice' was Tocqueville. This theory later became the real spirit of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis. Another noteworthy contribution to the expansion of this element of the institutional approach was made by Bagehot (*The English Constitution*, 1867) in his examination of the British cabinet. In this, he drew points of comparison with the American executive. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski contributed significantly to a comparative study of institutions and by doing so, to the development of a distinct branch of study that dealt with comparative governments.

1.3.2 Institutional Approach and the Emergence of Comparative Government

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a drastic change in the contents of the institutional approach, and thereby the nature and scope of comparative politics. This was due to the contributions of Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski.

In his appraisal of their work, Jean Blondel asserts that Bryce and Lowell were, indeed, the true founders of comparative governments as it developed as a separate branch of study in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The *American Commonwealth* (1888) and *Modern Democracies* (1921) were two noteworthy

works of Bryce. In *Modern Democracies*, Bryce focused on the *theory* of democracy and examined the working of the legislatures and their decline. Lowell's works, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* (1896) and *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (1913), where he undertakes separate studies of France, Germany, Switzerland, etc., and a comparative study of referendums and its impacts respectively, were equally important.

In the same way, another pioneering work was Ostrogorski's study *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (1902) which aimed to test the hypothesis of the 'democratic' or 'oligarchical' character of political parties.

It becomes significant to see how these works improved and changed the way in which institutions were being studied until now.

- i) **Theory and practice of governments:** It has been mentioned earlier that comparative study of governments was inclined to be philosophical-speculative or largely legal-constitutional, i.e., they were either concerned with theoretical concepts like the 'ideal state', or with data regarding the legal-constitutional frameworks and structures of governments. With the liberal constitutional theory as a base, the formal institutional structures were examined with emphasis on their legal powers and functions. This formed part of studies on 'Comparative Government' or 'Foreign Constitutions'. These works were a result of the effort of the elites in institutional-building in different countries. This is the reason institutionalism acquired some fascination in the newly independent countries.

According to Bryce and Lowell, the existing studies were partial and incomplete. An all-inclusive scrutiny of governments should comprise the working of the legal-constitutional frameworks of governments. They emphasized that such a study not only necessitated a study of the theoretical bases or contexts of governments (i.e., the legal-constitutional framework and governmental institutions) but also equally important was the emphasis on the study of 'practices of government'.

Focussing just on constitutions, as was done by lawyers, was inadequate as it would result in ignoring the difficulties of their operation and implementation. Alternatively, focusing completely on practice without putting it in its theoretical (constitutional) perspective would not give the complete picture as one could lose sight of the contexts within.

It was, thus, primarily with Bryce and Lowell that the content of institutional approach in comparative political analysis came to be defined as a study of the '*theory* and practice of government'.

- ii) **Focus on 'facts':** An important part of these studies was the concern to study 'practice' through an analysis of 'facts' about the functioning of governments. To examine practice, one required to find out and 'amass' facts. Bryce categorically backed his view that it was essential to base one's analysis on facts, without which, he said, 'data is mere speculation': 'Facts, facts, facts, when facts have been supplied each of us tries to reason from them'. A major complication encountered during collection of data regarding practices

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of governments was the tendency among governments to conceal facts than to make them public. This made it difficult to acquire facts because governments and politicians often hid facts or were reluctant to clarify what the real situation was. However, this difficulty did not discourage them from stressing the importance of collecting data about almost every aspect of political life, parties, executives, referendums, legislatures, etc. This effort was sustained by later comparativists like Herman Finer (*Theory and Practice Institutional Approach of Modern Government, 1932*) and Carl Friedrich (*Constitutional Government and Democracy, 1932*).

- iii) **Technique:** While searching for facts, Bryce and Lowell came across the use of quantitative indicators, on the basis of the realization that in the study of government, qualitative and quantitative types of verification have to be fair. Finally, however, Bryce and Lowell felt that findings could be reliable only on the basis of as wide a range of facts as possible. Keeping this in mind, they extended their studies geographically to a large number of countries which, at the time, had institutions of a constitutional or near constitutional character. They, therefore, endeavoured to focus their study on governments of western, central and southern Europe. But it was with Ostrogorski's work that comparative political analysis began to focus on studying particular institutions on a comparative basis. In 1902, Ostrogorski published a comprehensive analysis of political parties in Britain and America.

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

Institutional Approach: A Critical Evaluation

Criticisms of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis have come in consecutive waves, in the early part of the twentieth century and later in the 1950s. A refined version of the approach reappeared after each wave of criticism

The approach was criticized before the study of institutions attained a comparative nature (however restricted) at the turn of the century. It was said to be not only: (i) speculative but also (ii) prescriptive and normative. (iii) It was concerned with only irregularities and regularities and ignored relationships. (iv) It focussed on individual countries and therefore was non-comparative. It was said to be (v) ethnocentric as it focused on western European democracies. (vi) As it focussed on formal structure, both constitutional and governmental—it was said to be descriptive. (vii) It did not focus on analysis but at the same time was historical. (viii) The contributors tended to ignore the upper chambers of UK, the US and the USSR. (ix) Methodologically, they were said to be incomplete, at least in part. Theoretically, however, they were said to have failed to recognize the essence of political life.

With Bryce and his contemporaries, the nature and content of the institutional approach went through a phase of transformation. The approach attained a comparative character and at the same time attempted to combine theoretical contexts with governmental practices. In the 1950s, the institutional approach, as it developed with Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, once more faced severe criticism by political scientists like David Easton and Roy Macridis.

David Easton criticized Bryce's approach in his work *The Political System* (1953), calling it 'mere factualism'. Easton claimed that this approach had affected American Political Science admitting that although Bryce did not neglect 'theories' his aversion to making explanatory or theoretical models, had led to a 'surfeit of facts' and as a result to 'a theoretical malnutrition'.

It will not be difficult to understand why Easton felt that Bryce's approach had misguided American Political Science in the wrong direction. Jean Blondel defends the institutional approach from critics like Easton who attacked its 'factualism'. Blondel argued that the charge of 'surfeit of facts' was incorrect since very few facts were actually available to political scientists to analyse politics comprehensively.

Actually, there was hardly any knowledge of the structures and activities of key institutions of most countries, especially about the communist countries and the underdeveloped countries. It was important, therefore, to collect more facts, considering that governments tended to hide facts rather than pass them on.

Any successful study had to be based on facts. Reasoning would not be possible in the absence of 'facts' or 'data'. This, along with the point that facts were not easy to get hold of, made them vital to the study of political analysis.

In 1955, Roy Macridis felt that the comparative study of governments should be reoriented. He felt that in the present form, comparative study had been 'comparative in name only'. According to Macridis the orientation of the institutional approach was 'non-comparative', 'parochial', 'static' and 'monographic'. He said that a fair amount of work was 'essentially descriptive'. He owed this to the analysis being historical or legalistic, and therefore quite narrow.

In the 1950s, it became obvious that there was a dearth of facts which was a cause of concern. It was not possible to make proper generalizations. According to Blondel, there was, a 'surfeit of models' instead of a 'surfeit of facts'. He pointed out that building models without basing them on facts would lead to misinformation. It was not easy to obtain information about certain countries. Also, wrong information was likely to influence and reinforce preconceptions about those countries.

In 1971, while writing about Latin American Legislatures, W.H. Agor stated that legislatures in that part of the world were not strong. With no facts available for the purposes of the study, the reliance was more on evidence which was 'impressionistic'. Thus, those who followed the institutional approach emphasized the need for collecting and coming up with ways of collecting facts.

The criticisms were, however, followed by works that had a more comparative focus and included non-western countries.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. How did David Easton criticize Bryce's work on institutional approach?
9. What does the theory of institutionalism state?

1.4 POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

Political economy refers to a specific approach to study social and political events where economics and politics are not seen as separate domains. It is based on the belief that the two disciplines have an intimate relationship and the hypothesis that this relationship unfolds in diverse ways. These assumptions constitute important explanatory and analytical frameworks within which social and political phenomena can be studied. The phrase *économie politique* (in English, political economy) was first used in 1615 by the French scholar Antoine de Montchrétien in his book *Traité de l'économie politique (A Treatise on Political Economy)*. Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx were some of the exponents of the political economy approach.

In contemporary scholarship, the term 'Political Economy' indicates the amalgamation of two different disciplines- Political Science and Economics. However, it must be noted that the evolution of economics and politics as separate disciplines of study itself is a modern phenomenon. The distinction between the subject matter of political science and economics was unknown until the Renaissance and Industrial Revolution in Europe. The ancient Indian scholar Kautilya described statecraft in his famous work *Arthashastra* (Economics). On the other hand, Aristotle considered economic questions in his book *Politics*. Among classical political economists, Adam Smith considered political economy as 'a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator'. Karl Marx often referred to the 'critique of political economy' in his writings; however, it was Friedrich Engels, the co-author of *The Communist Manifesto* along with Karl Marx, who defined the term Political economy. According to Engels, studies of 'the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence' are part of the political economy. Similarly, the Russian economist I. I. Rubin, who authored *Essays on Marx's Theory of Value*, stated that 'Political economy deals with human working activity, not from the standpoint of its technical methods and instruments of labour, but from the standpoint of its social form. It deals with production relations which are established among people in the process of production'.

Thus the Political economy approach provides an economic interpretation of political consequences. It seeks to study the social relations that evolve between people in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. This approach assumes that political systems are merely expressions of the economic requirements of the society and social groups and that the changes in the economic system automatically lead to changes in the political system. This approach can be divided in two major perspectives—Liberal and Marxist.

1.4.1 Liberal Perspectives

The Liberal perspective emerged as a critique of the comprehensive political control and regulation of economic affairs which had dominated European nation building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., the Mercantilist school of thought. Liberals rejected theories and policies which subordinated economics to politics. They wanted a free market which was not limited by any monopoly or an economy that was not disassociated from the interest of the poor and of the community as a whole. The core ideas of the Liberal perspective stresses on the fact that the individual, being a rational individual actor, will find his or her way to progress through the process of free trade as there will be mutual exchange of goods and services. They say that the market being the main source of progress, cooperation and prosperity should not have any political interference or state regulation as they are uneconomical and retrogressive and lead to conflict.

Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Paul Samuelson, J.M Keynes, etc. are often regarded as leading exponents of the liberal perspective of the political economy approach. Adam Smith, the author of *Wealth of Nations*, believed that the market tended to expand spontaneously for the satisfaction of human needs - provided that the government did not interfere. He advocated the 'Laissez faire' policy where free individuals were best equipped to make social choices. David Ricardo argued that free trade benefited all the participants as it led to specialization which increased efficiency and thus productivity. It was through this rationale that Ricardo developed 'the law of comparative advantage'. Paul Samuelson summarized the argument by stating that trade will be mutually profitable when the region which has a comparative advantage of specializing the product, specializes and makes the region more efficient. There has been a recurring debate among economic liberals about the extent to which political interference by governments may be necessary. The different views of how much the state should interfere have led to the development of the different strands of Economic Liberalism, namely—Classical Laissez Faire doctrine, Keynesian concept and Neo-liberal Perspective.

Classical Laissez Faire doctrine: The Laissez faire doctrine was introduced in the eighteenth century, though the origin of the term remains unclear. According to popular belief, the term entered common vocabulary when Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who controlled the finances in the regime of Louis XIV of France questioned industrialists as to what the government could do to help them. The reply of the industrialists was 'laissez-nous faire' which can be roughly translated as 'let us be' or 'leave us be'. Later, Physiocrats, a group of French economists of the eighteenth century, popularized the term. Adam Smith, a British economist, became a major proponent of the theory. The early economic liberals called for the Laissez faire doctrine, i.e., the freedom of the market from all kinds of political restriction and regulation. They advocated for minimal interference of the government in a market economy although Laissez faire doctrine did not necessarily oppose the state's provision for a few basic public goods which was necessary for the market to function properly. The rationale of the doctrine is that if everyone is left to their own economic devices instead of being controlled by the state, then the result would be a harmonious and more equal society of ever-increasing prosperity.

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Keynesian concept: Keynesian concept is based on the idea that the market may not work according to the belief of efficiency and mutual gain and lead to instances of market failure. John Maynard Keynes, the leading economist of the early twentieth century, argued that the market economy was a great benefit to people but it also entailed potential evils of 'risk, uncertainty and ignorance.' Therefore, the market had to be improved through the political management of the state. In other words, the state should play a positive role in providing directions for the economy so that any market failure in the state can be averted and help to improve the situation if it occurs. The Keynesian view became popular in the decades after the Second World War as the state took up the responsibility of building the war torn economy through public planning of the state.

Neo-liberal perspective: In the latter part of the twentieth century, especially since the late 1980s, occurrence of globalization, privatization and liberalization has brought back the classical laissez faire doctrine in the form of neo-liberalism. It describes the political economy approach from the perspective of the market to economic as well as social policy, which is based on neo classical theories of economics. It stresses on the efficiency of private enterprise and the need to liberalize trade through open markets, in order to maximize the role of the private sector and determine the political and economic priorities of the state. Economic liberals argue that the market economy, being an autonomous sphere of society, operates according to its own economic laws. The market maximizes benefits for rational self seeking individuals, households and companies that participate in the market exchange. The economy is a sphere of cooperation for mutual benefit among the states as well as individuals. Thus, the economy should be based on free trade.

Marxist Perspectives

The Marxist perspective of political economy believes that economics forms the base of society and the political system. Marxist scholars hold that except in primitive communism, every other society has been divided along the classes of 'haves' and 'haves-not'. For Marxists, human history is a history of class struggle. They see the capitalist state as a tool to legitimize human exploitation and class inequality. The Marxist school of political economy has been led by Karl Marx, followed by other thinkers such as Engels, V.I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, Kautsky, Bukharin and so on. There have been various stances in the Marxist perspectives which you will study in subsequent units of the course. However, we can identify some common features of the Marxist perspective as follows:

- I. States are driven by the ruling class and are not autonomous. Capitalist states are primarily driven by the interest of their respective bourgeoisie and the conflict between states should be essentially seen in its economic context of competition between capitalist classes of different states. In other words, class conflict is more fundamental than conflict between states.
- II. The economic system of capitalism is expansive. As there is a never ending search for markets and profits, capitalism has expanded across the globe; first in the form of imperialism and colonization and in the contemporary world after the colonies have gained independence, it is led by the giant

transnational corporations in the form of economic globalization. That is why class conflict is not confined to states, but rather cuts across state borders.

- III. According to V.I. Lenin, the process of capitalist expansion must always be unequal or uneven. He alluded to how Britain was ahead of Germany during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, while in the twentieth century, Germany wanted a revision of the international spheres of influence which led to war between Germany and England. This is the 'law of uneven development' which leads to disparities and cause conflict under the capitalist conditions.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

10. Define political economy.
11. When did the liberal perspectives on political economy evolve?

1.5 CONSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

Like any other form of evolutionary process, comparative government evolved into its present form over a period of time. When we study the evolution of comparative governments, we study how political systems and procedures vary across countries and across time periods. The actual evidence of undertaking such a study came to be known in the 1950s, but its roots are even older. Aristotle might be called the 'ancestral father' of study of comparative politics, since the methods that he used in assigning politics among the sciences and problems and questions that he raised are still prevalent in current political studies.

A comparative study of the diversity of lives among people of different nations is sometimes surprising. Consider the differences in the lives of the people staying in the US and Somalia. Somalia is one of the poorest nations in the world which is located in the Horn of Africa with an area of around 637,657 square kilometres and a population of around 9,360,000 people. Its official languages are Somali and Arabic. Inhabited since the Paleolithic times, it is a country of pyramidal structures, tombs and ruined cities which hint at an ancient sophisticated civilization. The current circumstances, however, are far from the realms of sophistication. Most countries have raised themselves from ashes and remerged after the World War II. However, the case of Somalia has not been that good. The communist rule and the Somali civil war, that followed, were causes of destruction of the nation. These factors disrupted the whole system in many ways and plunged the nation into great adversity. The new coalition government tries to reform the country with the help of the United Nations and other developed countries, yet the condition is far from normal.

The United States of America, on the other hand, is one of the superpowers of the world. With an area of 9,826,675 km and an estimated population of about 310,715,000, this country has no official language at the federal level. English is the national language. Following the American revolutionary war, the country gained its independence on 4 July 1776. The after-effects of World War I plunged the nation

into a state of great depression. But the country sustained and emerged as a superpower after World War II. It became the first country in the world to possess nuclear weapons. Over the years, the nation and its citizens have progressed by leaps and bounds.

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Hence, for a clear output, the study of comparative politics must depend upon conscious comparisons in the study of political experience, institutions, behaviour and the processes of the different systems of different governments.

Need for the Study of Comparative Governments

It is now generally felt that a pragmatic evaluation of the government and politics or political system of one's own country is made possible by recognizing the governmental processes of other countries or their political systems. A comparative study of governments not only streamlines the progress of objective and rational judgement about political systems, but at the same time disperses the dangerously ambiguous form of ethnocentrism, that one's own country is superior to any other.

The study of governments is a significant part of the study of politics. The structure and behaviour of government makes an exciting and challenging area of concern for the students of political science. Modern governments are rising more and more as essential instrumentalities of versatile development, particularly in the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They also act as active forces in the formation of economic, social and environmental conditions.

The world's political systems include a vast variety of institutions, processes and interactions and no two governments, past or present, have been the same. In other words, governments have varied in complexity. Instances can be multiplied at random to confirm the rather simplistic view that different societies require different kinds of government to realize their particular needs.

Modern courses in the field of political science, thus, almost consistently include surveys of the governmental and political systems. Examples of these are the processes of Great Britain, France, Germany Italy and the US. The present USSR, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Latin America, Near Eastern, Middle-Eastern, Far-Eastern and other Asian and African countries are also occasional additions to this category. The decline of some former great powers and emergence of new nations have affected the processes of inclusion and exclusion.

A comparative analysis of political structures and processes, both within and across political systems, is for that reason an essential requirement for the students of political science. If comparative government and politics are broad in range (as they have actually been to include all political systems and reach forces and motives below the surface of governmental institutions) they can encompass nearly the whole of political science. Hence, practically, comparative government is not only the most important subsystem of the discipline of political science, but it is very nuclear.

The comparative study of government and politics has preoccupied a large number of fine methodical theorists and philosophers. It is well known that Aristotle, in his time, compared and contrasted various political systems and developed an explanatory theory regarding their generation. In a way, Aristotle was certainly the

first scholar of comparative government and considered the study of comparative government as the oldest and most significant to attract the attention of mankind. Since then, comparative government has been a flourishing subject.

For centuries after Aristotle, scholars have engaged themselves in the comparative investigation of foreign cultures, with varying degrees of complexity. With the increase in the tension and rivalry between democratic and undemocratic political systems, the impact of the so-called 'Third World' during the Cold War era, the growing importance of informal politics, the utility of synthesis of data and the nature and range of comparison underwent a transformation. The decreasing emphasis of the traditional approach logically concluded in the so-called 'behavioural revolution' and in the 1950s and 1960s, the study of comparative government was drastically transformed despite consequent reactions against the behavioural tidal wave. It had scaled new heights of precision, firmness and theoretical order and had acquired an altogether new style of analysis, which was not known till then. Improvement in concepts and methods, impulses coming from interdisciplinary emphasis on area studies and the growing significance of the politics of developing areas, all combined to bring about an unadulterated 'revolution' in the study of this subject.

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Some Popular Definitions of Comparative Politics

According to M.G Smith, 'Comparative politics is the study of the forms of political organizations, their properties, correlations, variations and modes of change.'

According to Roy C. Macridis and Robert Ward, 'Government is not the sole concern of students of comparative politics. Comparative politics, no doubt, has to be concerned with the government structure but at the same time it has to take note of: (1) society, historical heritage and geographic and resource endowed, its social and economic organizations, its ideologies and value systems, and its political style; and (2) its parties, interests, and leadership structure.'

According to M. Curtis, 'Comparative politics is concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and political behaviour.'

According to E.A. Freeman, 'Comparative politics is comparative analysis of the various forms of government and diverse political institutions.'

All these definitions provide a basis for the study of comparative governments in its contemporary term which involves a comparative study of the institutional and mechanistic arrangements along with the empirical and scientific analysis of non-institutionalized and non-political determinants of political behaviour.

Nature of Comparative Governments

The nature of comparative politics seeks to analyse and compare different political systems that work under different societies. Therefore, it takes into account all the three associations of politics which are: political activity, political process and political power. Political activity deals with the activities involved in the resolution of conflict or in the struggle for power. The basis of conflict resolution is the authoritative allocation of values; hence, it involves an analysis of the process by which the

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authoritative values are made and implemented. In this sense, politics stands for political power. It involves the study of all government as well as non-state agencies, through which the political process is made operational. The political process depends upon the signals and information which it receives from non-state agencies. It further transforms these signals and information into authoritative values. Politics, hence, involves a study of power and power relations in society since it is a struggle for power and a process of conflict resolution through the use of legitimate power.

The study of contemporary comparative politics is characterized by the following features:

- Ñ **Analytical research:** Great stress is laid on analytical research when it comes to the study of contemporary comparative politics, as it is no longer confined to descriptive studies. Empirical analytic research, thus works on providing a clearer view of the actual activities of the governments along with their structures and functions.
- Ñ **Objective study of political science:** This deals with the empirical study of the various processes of political study in different environments. Since political science is a social science, it takes in to account only those values whose validity can be demonstrated scientifically.
- Ñ **Study of infrastructures:** Comparative politics also analyses the actual nature of individual, groups, structures, systems and subsystems, in relation to the environment in which the behaviour manifests. The study of the dynamics of politics and its actual operation in the environment is regarded as an essential of comparative politics.
- Ñ **Study of developing and developed societies:** Earlier, comparative politics was only confined to the study of the political systems of developed societies. However, it has evolved in contemporary times and it stresses on the study of political systems of developing nations as well. In fact, modern political scientists like David Easton and Sidney Verba, besides many others, are of the opinion that emphasis should be given to the study of politics of developing nations.

These added features of contemporary politics make us see comparative politics from a different point of view. It has completely rejected all old norms and parochial nature of traditional comparative politics. Now, it is a more realistic study of politics which is capable of explaining and comparing the phenomenon of politics all around the world.

1.5.1 Comparative Government and Comparative Politics (Differences and Similarities)

Although the terms ‘comparative politics’ and ‘comparative government’ are usually used loosely and interchangeably, there still lies a point of difference between the two.

While comparative government deals with an extensive study of different political systems with special emphasis on their institutions and functions, comparative politics has a much broader scope. It covers all that which comes under the study of the latter, along with the study of non-state politics. Hence, comparative politics covers much wider area in the study of politics.

Major Approaches

But whatever the approach or the origin of its ideas, we can say that political science as a discipline is concerned with the problems of ends; the goals of good society; the means of governing in such a manner as to realize the good society, the activities of the ruled (the public), especially political actions personified in voting, public opinion and attitude formation; and the underlying connections between society and government. Its key concern is with power- how it is shared through participation and representation and how it is affected by growth and change.

—David E. Apter

Source: Apter 'Introduction to Political Analysis (New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India, 1978), p.17.

The study of comparative politics is so interesting because of the different approaches, methods and techniques used in the realization of 'political reality'. A number of significant writers hold contrary points of view and adopt different strategies. The results, however, seem to be inter-related or synonymous. With the passage of time, some approaches have become stringent and have had to give way to new and contemporary methods.

With a view of highlighting the meanings of different themes used in the sphere of contemporary political analysis, David Apter defines some of them in the following manner:

Paradigm: It is a framework of ideas that establishes a general context of analysis. Fundamentally, paradigms combine a mixture of philosophical assumptions and criteria of valid knowledge. The resulting combinations are sharply distinguished from each other.

Theory: It is a generalized statement summarizing the real or supposed actions of a set of variables, whether dependent, or independent, or intervening. Parameters represent the conditions within which independent variables operate. A macro or micro theory may deal with large or small groups or units. Moreover, it may be abstract, or formal or notational, or concrete.

Method: It is a way of organizing a theory for application to data. Thus, methods are known by the names of conceptual schemes. They may be of many types like comparative, configurational, historical, simulative and experimental.

Technique: It links method to the relevant data. It represents various modes of observation and ways of recording empirical information. As such, techniques vary in appropriateness, sampling, public-opinion testing, interviewing, regression analysis, factoring, scaling and testing.

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Model: It is a simplified way of describing relationships. It can be constructed from a paradigm, a theory, a method or a technique. It may be typological, descriptive, formal, mechanical, organismic, biological, etc.

Strategy: It is a peculiar way of applying one or more combinations of the above type to a research problem. It is required that quality and integrity should be combined in a strategy. A good strategy fits a problem, theory, methods and techniques together in a systematic and coherent way.

Research design: It converts strategy into an operational plan for field work or an experiment. It is a prospectus or an outline from which research is carried forward. It is a final stage in professional research preparation.

The Traditional Approach

The traditional approach to the study of comparative government emerged as a response to the historicism of the 19th century. It stressed the historical examination of western political institutions from the earliest to the modern times. The traditionalist, either theoretically philosophized about democracy and other subjects, or made a formal and legal study of governmental institutions. The analysis was basically configurative and each system was treated as a unique entity. The approach was preponderantly descriptive rather than problem-solving, explanatory, or analytic in its method and its description was incomplete and limited to forms of government and of foreign political systems.

Roy Macridis has very systematically and clearly summarized major features of the traditional approach. He briefly points out that the approach has been essentially non-comparative, descriptive, parochial, static and monographic. Similarly, Almond and Powell have identified three major premises that have dominated the criticism of the approach to comparative government feature of the pre-World War II period: its parochialism, its configurative analysis and its formalism. Harry Eckstein also points out the influence of abstract theory, formal legal studies and configuration studies that characterize the reaction against historicism in political studies.

First, as Macridis points out, the traditional approach addressed itself mainly to western political systems. The stress was on single-culture configuration, i.e., the representative democracies of the western world and the study was limited to Britain and the Commonwealth countries, USA, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. Undemocratic western systems and political systems of Asia, Africa and Latin America were studied by a handful of adventurist researchers. Cross-cultural studies were almost entirely unidentified. The study was limited not only in range, but also in depth; only the isolated aspects of governmental process within the specific countries were analysed. The study was more often monographic and comparative.

Second, the comparative study of politics was extremely formal in its approach towards political institutions. The study was focused on governmental institutions and their legal models, rules and regulations, or political ideas and ideologies, rather than on performance, interaction and behaviour. It pays no attention to the influence of informal factors on decision-making and also the non-political determinants of political behaviour. Only formal institutional organs like parliaments, chief executives,

civil services, etc., were applicable for institutional and structural-functional comparison. The realities of political action and behaviour within institutional structures were not given any serious thought. The traditional study in this respect was greatly unrealistic.

Third, the traditional study, as mentioned earlier, was mainly descriptive rather than analytical, explanatory or problem-solving in its method. The emphasis was on pure description in terms of a large number of facts. There was little attempt to develop a general theory by verification of hypothesis and compilation of significant data. It has been very aptly pointed out that the empirical deficiency of traditional analysis was the adjoining drive for behaviourism. This is what Robert Dahl called 'empirical theory' in contemporary studies.

The mood of discontent with subjectivism and formalism of the traditional approach to the study of government and politics was led by the logic of the situation to the process of reconstruction of the discipline. A number of factors worked to bring about a radical change first in outlook of the US and then other countries.

According to some authors, three factors—changes in philosophy, changes in the social sciences and technological innovations in research—may not completely account for the behavioural innovation in political science, but provide sufficient explanation for the growth and prosperity of the movement. According to Peter Merkl, the most momentous single factor for the current transformation of the study of comparative politics was the rising importance of the politics of developing areas. With the great rush of former colonies to independence and nationhood, and with their increasing importance in world politics, these countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America simply could no longer be unseen.

Almond and Powell mentioned three developments being chiefly responsible for the new situation, namely the national emergence of a multitude of nations with a baffling variety of cultures, social institutions and political traits, the loss of dominance of the nations of the Atlantic community and the changing balance of power and the emergence of communism as a power factor in the process of restructuring national and international political systems.

Revolution in Comparative Politics

All these factors led to dynamic efforts in innovation and to an effort to create a new rational order. The result was, as Sidney Verba so aptly comments, 'A revolution in comparative politics'. Verba has adequately summed up the principles behind the 'revolution': 'Look beyond description to more theoretically relevant problems; look beyond the formal institutions of government to political process and political functions; and look beyond the countries of Western Europe to the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.' In the language of Almond and Powell, the efforts at innovation were motivated by the search for more comprehensive scope, the search for realism, the search for precision and the search for theoretical order.

Nature and Directions of the Transformation

It is not really needed at this stage to concern ourselves with the specifics of the behavioural phenomena. A more apt thought will be the general nature of the

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transformation brought about by behavioural influence in the field of government and politics and the central features of this approach within the purview of our study. It must be noted that the behavioural approach has now been generally accepted and incorporated into the discipline.

Under the influence of the behavioural reform, the institutional mode of analysis has been restored by the process mode. Behaviorists study the behaviour of people and groups rather than the structure, institutions, ideologies or events. It is now largely agreed that the process mode avoids the static quality of structural analysis. It has a dynamic dimension that is particularly valuable in accurately capturing the mercurial quality of political life. Secondly, the state was no more regarded as the central organizing concept, and attention was now paid to the empirical investigation of relations among human beings. Smaller, more manageable units like individuals and groups and their interaction became the center of study. In the third place, one of the directions of practical innovation had been the redefining of institutions as systems of related individual behaviour or systems of social action. For example, instead of studying the American Supreme Court or the American Congress as isolated institutions, behaviorists enquire about the behaviour patterns of the justices of the Supreme Court and of the members of the Congress.

In the fourth place, in terms of the methods, one finds a diverse tendency toward the building of complicated models, the use of quantitative techniques of statistical measurements and management of computers in speeding up the management of large amounts of quantitative data and in stimulating administrative or military processes of decision-making.

Lastly, as Sydney Verba has examined, some of the fruits of revolution have been a rich body of theoretical literature, a proliferation of frameworks, paradigms and theories, and elaborate system models which are important as part of the intellectual equipment of the students of political systems. Some of these paradigms and frameworks have often been so abstract as to suggest no clear focus on problem, but nobody can question the utility of these models in accounting for the observed regularities of political behaviour and for providing a solid foundation for its further study.

1.5.2 New Approaches to the Study of Government and Politics

The discussion about the nature of behavioural political analysis and its departure from the traditional approach in terms of nature, goals and methods, would enable the students of government and politics to understand and review the major paradigms, conceptual frameworks and contending approaches and models, with a view to assess their significance for the study of comparative government and politics at a time when a debate between the empirical and normative theories is still continuing.

1. General Systems Theory

The most well-known among these are a number of systematic approaches which stem from the general systems theory. The systems theory had its origins in natural sciences, but on the whole, the theory originated in movements aimed at amalgamation of science and scientific analysis. The advocates of the theory wanted to find a

unifying element which would offer a broader perspective for creative analysis. In the period after the World War II, this resolved itself around the concept of systems, which Von Bertalanffy, the German biologist, defined 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.

The term 'system' is useful for organizing one's knowledge about many social objects. The use of the 'systems' approach to politics allows one to see the subject in a way that 'each part of the political canvas does not stand alone but is related to other parts'. The operation of the one part cannot be fully understood without referring to the way in which the whole system operates.'

David Easton, one of the first political scientists to propose the utility of systems analysis for the study of politics, defines a political system as that 'behaviour or set of interactions through which authoritative allocations (or binding decisions) are made and implemented for society.' A system is marked by separation and integration. The chief function of a political system is making authoritative decisions that allot advantages and disadvantages for an entire society. At the core of this concept, lies decision-making which is the essence of the political system. The proponents of the systems theory identify three primary constituents of every political system, namely the political community, the regime and the political authorities. The political community comprises all those persons bound together by a political division of labour. The regime makes up the constitutional legal structures, political processes, institutional norms, as well as basic values. The political authorities are those individuals who exercise power as agents of the state for any given time. For example, we may regard the Indian people as one such political community.

The administration consists of Indian constitutional foundations, basic values of the politico-economic system, political parties, periodic elections and other institutions that are allied with the Indian system of government. The ruling elite in New Delhi consists of major political authorities. The general systems theory provides a broad structure for the examination of politics. It provides the theoretical equipment for both, looking at political phenomenon on a macro-level and the setting in which micro-analysis can be carried out. It keeps us conscious of the broad implications of political acts and institutions and of the relation between events. It provides a large-scale map of the political world, a new pattern for the discipline.

In the general systems structure, there are certain fundamental concepts which may be divided into three categories. Some concepts are primarily explanatory, as for example, those distinguishing between open and closed systems, organismic and non-organismic systems, such hierarchical levels as subsystems, orders of interaction and scale effects, such organizational aspects as integration, differentiation, interdependence and centralization and also such terms as boundaries, inputs and outputs dealing with interaction of systems with their environments. Some concepts focus on factors that control and maintain systems. In this connection, the concepts of stability, equilibrium and homeostasis are introduced. Lastly, there are concepts that focus on dynamics or change, both disruptive and non-disruptive. Here, the

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notions of adaptation, learning and growth, disruption, dissolution and breakdown, systemic crisis, stress and strain, overload or decay, are introduced and utilized.

The general systems theory appears to be striking from the point of view of empirical research. It gives us an excellent opportunity for fusing micro analytical studies with macro analytical ones. The notions developed by this theory open up new questions and create new dimensions for investigating political processes. Time and again, this theory facilitates the communication of insights and ways of looking at things from other disciplines. It provides excellent channels for maximizing the flow of interchanges with disciplines that are far removed from political science in substantive terms. It contains a number of extremely clear and accurate ways of formulating concepts which can be reduced to operational forms. It may be regarded as one of the more motivated attempts to construct a theoretical framework from within political science.

The general systems theory has been criticized for failing to sufficiently provide for concepts such as political power and influence or to handle mass behavioural aspects such as voting. It is of limited utility in studies of political policy-making. Critics also refer to the problems of empirical operation, when applied to social sciences. It is also pointed out that the entire approach is ingrained in conservatism and reaction. No fully developed attempt has yet been made to apply the theory of political analysis.

Offshoots of the Systems Theory

The behaviorists adapted the essential framework and terminology of the general systems theory to fit the needs of political science and then continued to develop new techniques of political analysis. One of the most important challenges in political science to develop a broadly applicable theory of the political system was made by David Easton. His 'input-output' model stressed the behaviour of the political system, vis-à-vis its environment, in terms of analysing inputs (demands and support) and outputs (authoritative allocation of values or policy decisions and actions).

Another significant systematic approach is structural functionalism which is one of the most widely known offshoots or derivatives of systems analysis and a matter of considerable controversy. One important school of systematic theory stresses models of decision-making by entire political systems or parts thereof. Another kind of systems theory uses the communications theory and models of communication systems, to conceptualize the process of political integration among the several countries or ethnic communities that make a new system.

Input-Output Analysis

David Easton has developed an original and unique systemic approach for purposes of political analysis, which was not borrowed from other social sciences. In 1965, his book, *A System Analysis of Political Life*, has engaged the interest of social scientists for providing an explanation of political phenomena in a new way. Easton has criticized the structural-functional approach, mainly on the grounds that it does not provide the concepts to deal sufficiently with all kinds of systems. Its main

concept of function cannot be taken as a basis of a theory and it cannot be experimentally applied because it lacks exactitude.

The empirical theory which Easton has pronounced is called the 'general theory of politics'. It is general for two particular reasons. First, he rejects the idea of constructing different kinds of theories to deal with national politics and international politics. He is keen on building a 'unified theory of politics' for explaining the behaviour of national and international political systems and also for comparing them. Second, he states that the primary task of political science is to analyse the general problems that are common to all political systems, i.e., analysis of the conditions under which a political system survives as a system over a long period. Further, Easton rejects the type of political analysis which is concerned with power-relations between elements of a political system. He is of the opinion that the benefits provided by political and governmental processes cannot be decided by the amount of power an individual power-holder exercises.

Easton's fundamental concept is that of a political system as one of the subsystems of a society which that operates within an environment. Easton describes the political system as 'that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented.' A political system has certain features. First, it is a system because it has a regularly frequent pattern of relationships among actors, i.e., the individuals and institutions involved; second, it is the system for a particular society because it is universally accepted and unquestioningly authoritative; third, it is political because it is concerned with the satisfaction of those needs of society which are beyond the scope of non-governmental capabilities. Input-output analysis takes for granted that every political system is open and adaptive. Another prominent feature of the political system is the nature of exchanges and transactions between the political system and its environment. It brings into the limelight various concepts concerning systematic boundaries and boundary conditions. It emphasizes the fact that the political system works in processing and converting a variety of inputs into outputs. The inputs include demands and support. Demands are statements of authoritative allocation that should or should not be made by those responsible and authorized for doing so. Support consists of actions, statements, or attitudes that are favourable to a person, group, institution, goal or idea. Demands may be generated by the environment or may originate within the political system itself. Demands pass through conversion or weeding out procedure to reach the output stage. Only a small number of demands, in the long run, reach the output stage, leaving the rest to be eliminated in the conversion process. If the demands call for authoritative action, there is a problem of overloading. Overloading may take place due to too many demands (volume stress) or due to the qualitative elements in the nature of the demands (content stress).

Support makes both selection and processing of demands possible. Easton makes an imperative distinction between overt and covert support. Overt support is any open and direct action which an interest group would take to advance its demands. Covert support means simply an attitude or a sentiment that is not hostile or even unfavorable. Both kinds of support flow concurrently and both are vital for functioning

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of the political community, the regime and the government. It is for the authorities to process inputs from environments into outputs.

The outputs of a political system are authoritative decisions and actions of the political authorities for the distribution and division of values. According to Oran Young, these decisions and actions play a crucial role in generating specific support for a political system because of the existence of the feedback loops that completes the cycle of a political system and makes it dynamic. This is the process through which information about the performance of a system is communicated in a way to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system.

Easton's formulation pivots on two core variables, namely a strong underlying concern for systematic persistence, sources of stress and process of regulating stress and a sequence of concepts which Easton calls 'summary variables'. The central point in the input-output analysis is concerned with the developments which may drive the essential variables of a political system beyond critical ranges, coupled with various regulatory responses to these developments. The bulk of the approach deals with the sequence of concepts.

According to this analysis, the stability of a political system, i.e. its ability to retain the basic qualities despite the impact of disturbing factors or developments, depends on the existence of structural mechanisms like political parties, pressure groups, news media and legislatures. These articulate and regulate the flow of demands; cultural mechanisms like customs, mores, etc., which establish criteria for the suitability of demands. Procedural mechanisms convert general demands into specific issues for political processing and channels of communication which effectively transmit the demands to the centre of decision-making. We have also seen that the stability of a system is further augmented by sustained and extensive support to the three main components of all political systems, namely the political community, the regime and the political authorities.

It should be remembered that a political system is not just a set of processes which converts inputs and outputs as a routine matter. It is a complex cyclical operation, with dynamism of its own. It has a programmed goal towards which it tries to move, though at every stage it may have to face problems of stress and maintenance and go through regulatory processes. Input-output analysis is certainly an outstanding technique for comparative analysis since it focuses on an overview of all political systems and has an inclusive set of concepts and categories which facilitate comparison. Oran Young has described this analysis as 'undoubtedly the most inclusive systemic approach that has so far been constructed specifically for political analysis by a political scientist.'

According to Eugene Meehan, Easton has produced one of the few comprehensive attempts to lay the foundation for systems analysis in political science and to provide a 'general' functional theory of politics.' An even stronger feature of input-output analysis is its dynamic approach to the problem of pattern maintenance and its awareness of the importance of the problems of stress, disturbance, regulation and planned reorientation of system goals. Easton claims that his method is definitely oriented towards exploring change as well as stability. There is a continuous exchange

going on between the political system and its environment and the system is constantly engaged in a conversion process by producing outputs and altering the environment. The analysis suffers from some weaknesses. First, its basic presupposition that concerns system-persistence is the most important and inclusive subjects for political analysis may not always be acceptable. Second, such a focus may be productive, but does not result in a general theory of politics. Third, it is for the most part limited in scope in terms of the interaction among different political systems. Fourth, its focus on the politically active and relevant members of society tends to give it an elitist orientation. Fifth, in its emphasis on functional rather than revolutionary processes of change, the approach is believed to be oriented towards status quo and this is not an entirely reasonable criticism. Finally, the input-output analysis is the cause of some confusion for its practitioners.

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Structural-Functional Analysis

The structural-functional analysis is one of the primary system-derivatives in political science and a major framework for political research. As a result of the works of anthropologists of the early 20th century, particularly that of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, structural functionalism emerged a political science through sociology. It has been adopted as a field of comparative politics by Gabriel Almond. This mode of analysis is primarily concerned with the phenomena of system-maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition is that in all social systems, certain basic functions have to be performed. The central question is: 'What structures fulfil what basic functions and what conditions govern any given system?'

According to this approach, a political system is composed of several structures which are 'patterns of action and resultant institutions.' These institutions and patterns of action have certain functions which are defined as 'objective consequences for the system'. A function is a regularly recurring pattern of action and behaviour that is carried on for preservation and advancement of the system. Dysfunction is the opposite of function which means an action detrimental to the existence and growth of the system. In the words of Robert Merton, 'functions are those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of a system'. A certain level of dysfunction is unavoidable in the operation of any pattern of action. From time to time, it is possible to identify actions or decisions which are functional for the political system, as a whole, or for some of its components.

Merton has advanced an additional distinction between manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions refer to those patterns of action, whose outcomes are intended and recognized by the participants. In latent functions, consequences are neither intended nor recognized and understood initially. The concept of structure is vital in structural-functional analysis. Structures refer to those arrangements within the system which perform the function. Merton has developed the idea that a given function can be fulfilled by many diverse structural arrangements. Likewise, any given structural arrangement may perform functions which might have different kinds of outcomes for the structure. Almond and Powell refer to the same phenomenon when they observe in a highly distinguished system, such as that of the United States. Political functions may be performed by a large number of highly

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specialized structures and those political structures, in turn, have a propensity to be multifunctional.

The advocates of the structural-functional analysis draw attention to certain 'conditions of survival', or certain functions which are vital for the maintenance and preservation of fundamental characteristics of a political system so that it stays recognizable over a length of time. Marion Levy, Jr., for example, has tried to identify the functional requisites of any social system on a theoretical basis and has compiled a list of required functions. Following the lead of Talcott Parsons, sociologists attempted to identify four such functions, namely goal-attainment, adaptation, integration and pattern-maintenance. Gabriel Almond, in applying this analysis to political science, developed a list of political functional requisites and divided them into four input and three output functions. The four input functions are: political socialization and recruitment, interest-articulation, interest-aggregation and political communication. The three output functions are: rule-making, rule-application and rule-adjudication. The input functions that are performed by non-governmental subsystems, by society and the general environment, are looked upon as highly important. The output functions are performed by traditional governmental agencies like the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and the bureaucracy.

Almond's classic statement of structural-functional analysis is found in the introduction to *The Politics of the Developing Areas* that has been edited by Almond and Coleman. He is inspired by the desire to develop a more universal and clear analytical vocabulary for the study of non-western states, especially of the politics of the 'third world' countries. He defines politics as the integrative and adaptive functions of a society, based on more or less legitimate physical coercion. He defines the political system as 'that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation (both internally and vis-a-vis other societies), by means of the employment or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in the society.'

Almond stresses the interdependence between political and other societal systems and suggests several common properties of all political systems. According to him, there are political structures that perform the same functions in all systems; that all political structures are multifunctional; that each political culture is a mixture of the 'traditional' and 'modern'. Systems adapt to their environment when political structures do not behave dysfunctionally. Almond's functional categories have already been mentioned, Almond is aware of the common criticism pointed against his model that it is stability-oriented and conservative. In his later work, he clarifies that his concept of 'political system' is one of 'interdependence' but not one of 'harmony'. He also admits that his framework 'did not permit us to explore development patterns, to explain how political systems change and why they change.' It might, on the other hand, be observed that Almond, in his formulation, is primarily concerned with the capabilities of the system and the problem of system-maintenance.

The structural-functional approach has been very widely adopted in the field of comparative government and politics because it claims to provide standard categories for markedly different political systems. Its heuristic value, its influence

on the development of comparative politics in several different ways and the success of the model for comparative political research must be admitted.

Criticism has nevertheless been made of its value orientations, its tautological premises; its vague and non-operational conceptual units. Neither its conceptual framework, nor the ranges of derivable propositions for research are as definite as one would like. What Almond has produced is at best, as Meehan points out, 'a classificatory scheme, or perhaps a model, a very imperfect and loose model, that can be used to order political data and perhaps standardize observations of political phenomena.'

Meehan also thinks that the functional categories he suggests are far too broad to be of much use. Almond has not produced a theory, of course, nor even as well-articulated classification scheme. The taxonomy is incomplete and unambiguous. Oran Young has criticized its tendency to force divergence phenomena into a systematic framework of, 'fallacy of functional teleology', the fallacy of functional teleology', the fallacy deductive functionalism and the postulate of universal functionalism. When applied to Third World countries, the functional framework cannot analyse the empirical reality that exists in these societies. The complex political realities of these societies cannot be effectively explained with the help of assumptions on which the theoretical scheme of the functionalists is based.

One great limitation of this analysis, as we have already seen, is that it is basically a static system. Its stress on the way things are, can lead to an inclusive assumption of stability and incapacity to deal with the challenge of change, particularly of a swift or violent character. It has a strong favouritism towards status quo and its research tends to support the existing order of things. Hence, great caution needs to be exercised in applying these analytical tools, if drawbacks are to be evaded.

2. Decision-Making Theories

Decision-making in certain respects is least successful of all new approaches to the study of government and politics. Politics, as we have seen, is a process of allocating values through the making of decisions. Process refers to the sum of techniques, methods, procedures and strategies by which a given decision is made. A political system is a mechanism for decision-making. The efficiency of a political system can be measured in terms of its ability to make decisions that are widely accepted. The interplay between social configuration, ideology and governmental organs constitute the dynamics of politics, the making of decisions.

Marxist Methodology for the Study of Comparative Government and Politics

In spite of claims by some political scientists that the field of comparative politics has experienced swift progression, has been made towards the construction of sophisticated empirical models. There is no doubt that the sub-discipline is still seeking the right methodological direction and theoretical orientation. Whereas systems analysis and structural-functionalism, along with other approaches, have been found to have fallen short of satisfactory methodological orientations and requirements, the primary

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questions are: To what extent does Marxism provide a scientific methodology? Can we use it in the field of comparative politics?

Roughly speaking, the whole doctrine of Marxism is based on dialectical and historical materialism. Based on the three laws of dialectics, the law of transformation of quality into quantity and vice versa, the law of negation and the law of the union of opposites, Marx identifies the following general pattern of social phenomena: Their interdependence, their movement and development, positive interconnection between opposite forces and intrinsic disagreements within the social process. To him, 'the mode of production in material life determines the general character of social, political and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence; it is their social existence that determines their consciousness.'

Marx never defines the term 'class' except in the third volume of capital where he says: 'The owners merely of labor power, owners of capital and land-owners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and ground rent, in other words, wage laborers, capitalist and landowners, constitute the three big classes of modern society based upon the capitalist mode of production.'

Still, 'class' makes up the base of his discussion—individuals are dealt with only to the extent that 'they are personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests.' Even though no one agreed with Marxist's model of politics, we can identify, very reasonably, a few methodological themes: search for social bias in social 'facts'; efforts at being rigorously scientific without pretending to be value-free; explanations of human activity, partly in terms of affirmed purposes and conscious interactions and partly in terms of a given moment in historic time; emphasis on the necessary determinacy of economic elements in the social structure with recognition of reciprocal interaction of the political, social and cultural elements, search for contradictions as a key constituent in social dynamics, use of the concept of 'class' as vital in social development, recognition of technology as an important variable; and finally, recognition of a careful distinction between possibility, causes and symptoms of capitalist crisis. Therefore, the materialist interpretations of history, the relation of the objective to the subjective and of material to non-material within the structure of a single organism and the theory of socio-economic transformation, are some of the central hypotheses in terms of the Marxist theory of learning and comparing political systems. This theory not only reveals the dependence of social realization and the entire social structure, but also observes the totality of social relationships, structures and institutions by probing existing productive forces of society and resultant productive relations and the ideological superstructure that is built on them.

Now, let us observe how we can apply the Marxist theory in the field of comparative politics. First, one can make inquiries into the nature of property relations in different political systems. In this attempt, though, one should remember that property relations do not simply mean relation between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Then again, one should also keep in mind the difference between 'possession' and 'ownership'. It is, in effect, the latter on which the focus is more. Second, to

what extent does the social division of labor distinguish different political systems? Although Marx speaks of different types of divisions of labor, he gives emphasis to the division of labor as leading to exchange, communication and introduction of techniques, practices and consequently, ideas. Yet again, division of labor may be found in a family, in a village and so on, but our main focus should be on the division of labor in society. Third, in order to compare different levels of political development in various countries, we ask this question: What is the stage of economic activity in a particular society? According to Marx, there are different types of state-society relationships, which are based on the diverse stages of development in different societies. In a feudal society, regardless of the feudal lord being both, the owner of the means of production and of the political authority in his sphere of influence, his exploitativeness over the peasants remains 'veiled by religious and political illusions', but this is no longer true in a capitalist society where the 'state and society become abstracted from one another.' Thus, through the comparison of different stages of economic development of various political systems, both the nature of political authority as well as the extent of 'freedom' that is enjoyed by the people can be made. Fourth, the nature of the political system and its direction can best be explained only when we place it against the background of its past development. Neither the systems theory, nor the structural-functional theory lays any stress on the historical procedures. The Marxian approach is undoubtedly better than them in this respect. Fifth, we have already argued that in both systems, the structural functionalist theorists have transferred their social values and institutions into a theoretical framework which they have claimed to be universal. As a result that political reality in the Third World remains either unclear or vague. But, on the basis of Marxian analysis, we can argue that common factors in the world are settled on by the world's economic order. In comparing Third World countries, one should start from the existing world economic order and the production relations in the societies that are being compared. Finally, by using what Warner describes in Marx's method as 'the method of specification by comparison', we can understand the conditions for the appearance of a particular historical configuration or to emphasize the features of that configuration.

Therefore, to summarize, the Marxist framework is far better adapted to analyse different systems in terms of historical development of various social structures and their interrelationships and particularly to tackle the problems of instability and change. Marxist analysis provides a general framework within which one can search for historic process laws about particular structures that are applicable to limited and concrete situations. But one should remember that 'completeness of method, however, does not necessarily mean that one can find in Marx, everything in every specific context. Instead, these can come to light only through long, patient research, conducted on the basis of the Marxist method, which brings out the global, historical sense of a social evolution.' Again, all philosophers are the product of their own times and Marx was no exception. There were certain 20th century developments, which Marx could not visualize in his 19th century background. This did not mean that he had been disproved or was ignorant. He himself says: 'Like all other laws, it is modified in its actual working by numerous conditions.'

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1.5.3 Classification of Constitution: Aristotle

The political literature of Greece is unimaginable and incomplete without the mention of Aristotle. The history of Greece is full of interesting characters and Aristotle has his own special place among those great men. Aristotle was born at Satgira, a Macedonian city, in the year 384 BC. He studied under Plato (another great Greek Philosopher) and it is said that the master recognized the great potential of his student quite early; hence, he was prepared since the beginning, to become the founder of science.

To understand Aristotle's political philosophy, we need to understand his way of thinking which is visible in the remarkable successions of his works, in speculation and research. In the fifty-third year of his life, Aristotle established his school; the Lyceum, and students flocked to it. The academy was devoted, above all, to mathematics and to speculative and political philosophy. Many years have passed and Aristotle is still remembered as the father of political science. In the words of Karl Frederick, 'He (Aristotle) was the first man in the world's literature, who applied a deeply inductive (experimental or comparative) method to the diverse phenomena of the a state.'

The whole of Aristotle's political ideology seeks to realize an ideal state, a dream that he could not meet in his lifetime. Aristotle was honestly conservative of his ideologies because of the turmoil and disaster that had come out of the Athenian democracy. In his own words, 'The habit of lightly changing the laws is an evil; and when the advantage of change is small, some defects whether in law or in the ruler had better be met with philosophic toleration. The citizen will gain less by the change than he will loose by acquiring the habit of disobedience.' Aristotle's politics raised more questions on fundamental issues which confront any serious thinker of politics and society. He raised fundamental issues over how and in which manner human societies are and should be organized and governed.

Theory of Constitution

Aristotle asserts that since every community is formed for the sake of some good, the state, which is supreme to the community, must aim at supreme good. Aristotle's works show that discovering the differentia of the state is to analyse it into parts and to study its beginning. The meaning and nature of everything in the world is to be looked for in the end of its beginning. In case of non-living things this is an end desired by its user and the form of the instrument is in accordance with this end. In case of a living creature or a community, the end is immanent to the thing itself—for the plant the life of growth and reproduction, for the animal the life of sensation and appetite which is superimposed on the vegetative life, for man and for the human community the life of reason and moral action superimposed on the two others. Thus, the explanation does not lie in what they have developed from, but what they are developing into; their nature is seen not in their origin but in their destiny.

With his theories, Aristotle provides a theory on the nature and function of the state and an analysis of possible constitutional structures and also discusses in great detail, topics such as justice, equality, property and citizenship. Sadly, much of his

work has been lost. Only one of the constitutions collected by Aristotle's school has survived, which is, 'The Constitution of Athens'. It contains both, a political history of Athens and a description of the constitution in the times it was written. Aristotle states that there are two primary instincts which lead human beings into associations:

- The reproductive instinct, which brings together man and woman
- The instinct of self-preservation, which brings together master and slave-provident mind and sturdy body

Hence, we get a minimum society of three persons: the family, which is the association established by nature for the supply of everyday wants. The next stage is the village, which is a union of several families. The village is formed most naturally by the union of families of common descent. The third stage is the union of several villages into 'a complete community that is large enough to be nearly coming into being for the sake of good life.

Aristotle further discusses points on household management. He discusses two such points in great detail:

- The relation of the master and the slave
- The acquisition of wealth

He held the view that the rule over slaves is identical in kind to political rule, being an instance of the normal rule of superiors over inferiors. His other view states that nature recognizes no distinction between master and slave; that slavery rests on an unnatural convention and is therefore unjust. He says 'In essence a slave is an instrument for the conduct of life.' Aristotle's greatness also lies in the fact that the man was far ahead of his time and thus could see the construction of the futuristic societies and political systems. He mentioned that the age of machinery would abolish the system of slavery and the masters would not need slaves.

On the question of whether nature intends any person to play the part of slavery, Aristotle points out that the antithesis of superior and inferior is found everywhere in nature: between soul and body, between intellect and appetite, between man and animals, between male and female and that where such a difference between two things exists it is to the advantage of both that one should rule the other.

Aristotle on Ideal Constitution

Aristotle always had this concept of an ideal state and these ideas loom large in various books that he had written. The word 'Ideal' comes from the Greek word *euche* which literally means prayer. He stated that, that state is the best where the middle class is strong. Best political community is formed by citizens of the middle class and 'those states are likely to be well administrated, in which the middle class is large and if possible, larger than both the other classes.' A large middle class brings stability to a state. Aristotle's preference of the best type of state in order of excellence is as follows:

- Ideal royalty
- Pure aristocracy
- Mixed aristocracy

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- Polity
- Most moderate democracy
- Most moderate oligarchy
- The two intermediate varieties of democracy and oligarchy
- Extreme democracy
- Extreme oligarchy
- Tyranny

Criticisms

Aristotle's ideal constitution presents several problems and can be criticized on the following grounds:

- Werner Jaeger argues that Aristotle's Ideal State is an expression of youthful utopianism. He says that Aristotle emulates Plato, but goes on to say that a more mature Aristotle adopts a more Unitarian and pragmatic approach.
- Democracy in contemporary times is regarded as the best form of government. It is a government of the people, for the people and by the people. But Aristotle regards it as a degenerated form of government. This conception is to be justified from the modern point of view.
- Aristotle regards democracy as a government by the poor people, which now is proven as a false notion. Rich countries like America, France and West Germany are living examples of democratic countries in the world.
- Aristotle's classification does not include a number of governments such as dictatorship, representative democracy, parliamentary system, totalitarian government, etc. and thus his classification seems outdated.

Ideal Theory and Political Practice

Aristotle attributed happiness as the most desirable ingredient of the ideal life of an individual as well as the state. Happiness, he says, lies in the position of wisdom and virtue rather than power or wealth, which has only an industrial value. He stated that a virtuous life must be practical and not speculative and should be equipped with external goods of instruments. It depends upon two factors which are:

(i) External conditions

- **Population:** A minimum population is essential to make the state self-sufficient and also a certain maximum, beyond which government becomes impossible. The state should be of a manageable size, though Aristotle gives no maximum or minimum number. The population must be regulated by arresting the birth rate. Population is among the first materials that are required by the statesman. He will consider what should be the number and character of the citizens.
- **Territory:** The territory of the state should be sufficiently large to ensure a free and leisurely life. In size and extent it should enable the inhabitants to live in a peaceful and liberal manner and enjoy their leisure.

- (ii) **Character and culture of the people:** Aristotle was of the opinion that the character and culture of the citizens should combine in themselves the elements of spirit and courage of the European races and should possess the intelligence of the Asians. But in his heart, Aristotle was a staunch Greek who thought that the Greek society was the only civilized society on earth and the rest were barbaric and nomadic tribes of people. In his words, 'The Hellenic race which is situated between them is likewise intermediate in character, being high-spirited and also intelligent. Hence it continues to be free and is best governed of any nation and if it could be formed into one state, it would be able to rule the world.'

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1.5.4 Modern Classification of Constitution: C. F. Strong

The classification of constitution has become more flexible over the years. Contemporary political thinkers have had a great impact on the molding of the ways through which new forms of constitutions have emerged throughout the world. One such eminent political thinker is C. F. Strong.

C. F. Strong states that there can be no single base for the classification of states because of the complex nature of modern governments. Contemporary governments move at high speeds, bringing rapid changes in political situations. Thus, it is impossible to apply the same foot ruler of classification. Ancient thinkers like Plato and Aristotle used to speak of political cycles according to which governments change or degenerate in a particular pattern. The same theories cannot be applied in modern times. It would be foolish to say today that monarchy degenerates into tyranny and Aristocracy in its perverted form becomes oligarchy, and so on. The ways to classify modern governments according to C.F. Strong would be on the following basis:

- On the basis of the nature of the state (unitary or federal)
- On the basis of the constitution itself (rigid or flexible)
- On the basis of the nature of the legislature (unicameral or bi-cameral)
- On the basis of the nature of the executive (parliamentary or presidential)
- On the basis of the nature of judiciary (rule of law or administrative law)

- (i) **On the basis of the nature of state:** On the basis of the nature of state, C.F. Strong classifies the state into unitary and federal. Its features are as follows:

a. The unitary state: In a unitary state, the powers of the government are concentrated in the hands of the central government. Hence, there is no division of power. The units get delegated powers from the centre government. Great Britain is one of the best examples of unitary government. Before the enforcement of the Government of India Act, 1935, India was also a unitary state.

b. Federal state: Unlike the unitary state, the federal state has complete division of power. Powers are distributed among the federal union and

federal states. All of them are supreme in their own right. The US and Australia are some of the best examples of the federal form of government.

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(ii) On the basis of the nature of the constitution: C.F. Strong states that the nature of the constitution, either rigid or flexible, determines the classification of states. Some countries have it in a written form. Such a constitution is specifically written in the form of a book and the laws are to be followed as per the constitution written in the book. Amendments to the laws can be done, which is a complicated case. India and France, among others, have a written constitution.

There are countries that have an unwritten constitution. The laws are found in several charters, documents, customs and conventions. The amendment of such constitutions is very easy and can be done with the application of ordinary law. Such a constitution is unwritten and flexible. Not many countries in the world have such a form of constitution. Great Britain's constitution is the best example of an unwritten constitution.

(iii) On the basis of the nature of the legislature: C.F. Strong classifies state on the basis of the nature of the legislature as one of the five bases. It can be determined whether the state follows a unicameral legislature or a bi-cameral legislature. The legislature of a state that has two houses (lower house and upper house) is called bi-cameral legislature and the legislature of a state with a single house is called unicameral legislature. The nature of the houses should also be determined—whether the houses are elected, nominated or hereditary, permanent or temporary or quasi permanent. This can be further elaborated with the examples of the following countries.

a. United Kingdom: UK has bicameral legislature, namely, House of Commons and House of Lords. House of Commons is a directly elected house and House of Lord is a nominated hereditary body.

b. India: In India, the Lok Sabha is the directly elected house and Rajya Sabha is the indirectly elected, Quasi Permanent house. Many states in India have unicameral legislatures. West Bengal, Punjab and Assam are examples of states that have unicameral legislatures. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are examples of bi-cameral legislatures.

(iv) On the basis of the nature of the executive: C.F. Strong also classifies states on the basis of the nature of executive. According to him, the nature of executive can be parliamentary or presidential. In case of a parliamentary executive, the executive is responsible to the legislature for all actions. It is constituted by the majority party in the legislature and it can be removed by the majority in the legislature with a no confidence vote. The executive can also remove the legislature by getting it dissolved. Executive and legislature work together.

On the other hand, presidential executive is completely free from any legislative intervention. It is independent of legislature. It is not responsible to legislature. Neither can legislature remove the executive nor can the executive remove the legislature on any account before the expiry of their respective terms. Both enjoy a fixed tenure, except that the executive can be impeached on highly grave charges. Otherwise, impeachment is also a very difficult procedure.

India and the UK have parliamentary executives and USA and Canada have presidential executives.

- (v) **On the basis of the nature of judiciary:** Distinction between the states on the basis of judiciary is suggested by C.F. Strong. It means that we must see what type of law prevails in the country—rule of law or administrative law. Under the judicial system of the rule of law, all citizens come under the purview of common law. No distinction is observed between the statuses of two human beings. There is only one rule which prevails in the whole country and that is the rule of law. Britain follows rule of law. The states which follow the system of administrative law have different methods of trying the cases of civil servants. In India, different rules are applicable to different communities, for example, Muslim code bills, Hindu code bills, etc.

A Brief Description of Modern States

Modern states have adopted the forms of governments which suit them best because of the many changes that they have undergone.

Democratic State

A state in which the people rule as they hold the supreme power to govern their territory is called a democratic state. Though a very ancient form of governance, Greek city state has now become a popular form of government in the developing and developed countries of the world today. The people of the state elect their representatives freely and thus help in formation of a government which stays in power for a fixed period of time. Since it is made/formed by the people, they have every right to change the government through a mechanism called election. Free and fair elections are regularly held through universal adult franchise.

A democratic government/state provides every individual with all fundamental rights, as it is based on the principle of democracy. Individuals in such a state are born free and grow up into free citizens. They can follow their own ideas and ideologies and the state does not interfere in this matter, i.e., it does not crush the right to freedom. It believes in internal peace. It believes in the development of the people in every sphere of human activity. It is remarkably guided by an independent judiciary rule of the law. The presence of elected representatives is its chief features with accountability responsiveness and responsibility being its hallmarks. In Rousseau's words, 'Voice of the people is the voice of God'.

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Totalitarian State

Totalitarianism is synonymous to dictatorship. However, the two are perceived to be slightly different in modern times. In earlier times, dictatorship used to be legal with constitutional sanction behind it in some states. In the Republic of Rome it was a recognized institution and people used to select their dictator with extraordinary powers to rule over them and solve the problems of the state. But modern dictators have changed the definition of dictatorship. They are not selected legally. They come to power by using force. They are not answerable to any other authority in the state, except themselves. The rules made by the dictator are applicable on one and all and are enforced with might. Basically, people do not have any right and opposition is not tolerated by the rulers. Such a ruler can be a single person like was the case with Hitler of Germany and Mussolini of Italy. Their governments were totalitarian.

Authoritarian State

Authoritarianism and totalitarianism are basically two faces of the same coin, with minor differences. An authoritarian system is not tyrannical like totalitarianism. Liberty is restricted in an authoritarian state but is not totally absent as in the totalitarian state. People do enjoy a little freedom and do possess some rights. Society is traditional and people have no power to influence government policies. The powers lie in the hands of a small group of people like military, bureaucrats or religious leaders. The rulers come into power by force. The peace and tranquility of the state is torn between coups and revolts against the rulers. The regime does not tolerate opposition. Rebellions and revolutions are the only way to overthrow the government. Pakistan is an example of authoritarian state.

Unitary Government

Unitary form of government gives all its power to the central government. The local governments are creations of the central government. They get delegated powers from the centre. Unitary form of government is usually democratic and it ensures in full rights to the individuals. UK is an example of a unitary government.

Federal Government

Federal form of government runs on separation of power among different organizations of the government. These organizations are free to work independently in their own spheres. They are not answerable to the people of the country. Union and state governments are supreme in their own areas. The US has a federal form of government.

Parliamentary Government

The hallmark of a parliamentary form of government is its cabinet system. Here, legislature and executive work in close relation with each other. Both can act as a source of life and a source of death for each other. Executive is responsible to the legislature for all its actions. Cabinet members are individually and collectively responsible to the parliament. The head of the country is a titular head. He has full

executive powers but his powers are enjoyed by the council of ministers, on his behalf. India is one of the best examples of a parliamentary form of government.

Presidential Government

A presidential form of government runs on the principle of separation of powers. The head of the state is the head of the government. He is the real executive of the state. All the organs of the government function separately and independently and are not answerable to each other. The US has a presidential government.

1.5.5 Constitutionalism: C. J. Friedrich

There are two schools of constitutional theory which are contrary to each other. One is at normative level and the second one is inherently explanatory or casual. In modern contexts, virtually all constitutions are ostensibly designed to secure democratic government. Arguably, the greatest failing of every such constitution is its seeming incapacity to make institutional sense of democracy. Clearly, there is no correct institutional structure for making democratic decisions; sensibly different systems will produce different results. This is, however, a failure of democratic theory and practice and a failure of collective human capacity, when acting in very large groups. Hence, the most important feature of constitutionalism for modern nations is in placing limits on the power of the government. This might be conceived as the central point of constitutionalism.

Constitutionalism is descriptive of a complicated concept, deeply imbedded in historical experience, which subjects the officials who exercise governmental powers to the limitations of a higher law. Constitutionalism proclaims the desirability of the rule of law as opposed to rule by the arbitrary judgment or mere fiat of public officials.... Throughout the literature dealing with modern public law and the foundations of statecraft the central element of the concept of constitutionalism is that in political society government officials are not free to do anything they please in any manner they choose; they are bound to observe both the limitations on power and the procedures which are set out in the supreme, constitutional law of the community. It may therefore be said that the touchstone of constitutionalism is the concept of limited government under a higher law.

Source: Philip P. Wiener, ed., "Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas", (David Fellman, "Constitutionalism"), vol 1, p. 485, 491–92 (1973–74)

Generally, it is not advisable to assess the normative qualities of a constitution from its content alone. The whole point of a constitution is to organize politics and society in particular ways. Constitutions are inherently consequentialist devices. To judge a constitution normatively requires focusing on its actual consequences. The consequences of a particular constitution are likely to depend to some extent on the nature of the society that it is to govern. What may be a good constitution for one society might be a disastrous constitution for another. Purely abstract discussion of constitutions and constitutionalism is pointless and misdirected. For many theoretical enterprises, looking to specific examples is a necessary part of making sure the

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theory is polished and adequate. In the discussion of constitutionalism, looking at specific examples forces us to recognize that the theory is not unitary, but is fractured and contingent on circumstances.

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The fundamental basis all of these discussions is the backdrop for a practical and calculated theory of political economy. This political economy approach towards politics and institutions stands upon economic inspirations. Thomas Hobbes says that 'If mere consent to living in justice were sufficient, we would need no government at all, because there would be peace without subjection'. His assessments are incorrect on the basis that we still would require harmonization on numerous points and we would require combined actions in a lot of circumstances in where impulsive stipulation would be improbable. However Hobbes's discharge of the possibility that people can be collectively inspired by obligation towards fairness and justice is convincing. Thus, people in reality consider Hobbes as an early political economist.

Some moves in modern-day political philosophy rely upon featuring intense enthusiasms of justice or public spiritedness to citizens, against the suppositions of political economy. For instance, Brian Barry presumes that if the citizens have correct inspirations, contractualism will surely work. However there are no good reasons to presume that people can be re-cultured into having influential enthusiasm towards justice, more willingly than being self-centered. Constitutional political economy appears to be bound to deal with cases where interests triumph time and again. John Rawls assumes that once we set up a fair management, government or management will teach future generations to be fair. According to him, institutions 'must be not only just but framed so as to encourage the virtue of justice'. Additionally, he states that once we have fair institutions, the first stipulations of self-centeredness will no longer apply and governments and its citizens have an obligation to sustain such institutions. This theory goes against experience and against James Madison's and David Hume's outlook that we ought to plan the foundations ourselves to be testimony against exploitation by office holders. Hume and Madison see liberalism as naturally stuck in the mistrust of political office-holders, not in assumption that these leaders will by and large work towards the interest of the citizens. Madison's constitution is the paramount constitutional reply to liberal mistrust.

The essential argument which serves as a basis for constitutionalism in political economy is that, in most cases, it is to our joint benefit to safeguard society since it is in the best interest of everyone that it be conserved. Obviously, shared benefits can have multiple propositions in cases of disproportionate organization furthermore and very frequently in cases of compound possible harmonization which is just as attractive.

C. J. Friedrich on Constitutionalism

Carl Joachim Friedrich was a political scientist and observer. He worked as a professor of the science of government at Harvard from 1955–1971. He had liberal views pertaining to constitutionalism, which were that the state should have its own rules and regulations to preserve the ideals of law, rights, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity in the fundamental law of the land. These rules may be written, unwritten,

framed at a particular time or developed over a very long period of historical development, easily amendable or amendable with great difficulty.

C.J. Friedrich and a host of other western writers like Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and Harold Laski, to name a few, believed that constitutionalism is both an end and a means, it is both value-free and value-laden; it has both normative and empirical dimensions. The constitution is not only an end that ought to be respected by all; it is also means to an end, the end being the achievement of security and the protection of the liberty of the people. On the whole, it desires a constitutional state having a well-acknowledged body of laws and conventions for the operation of a 'limited government'. If there is a change, it should be peaceful and orderly so that the political system is not subjected to violent stresses and strains. There is the rule of law that ensures liberty and equality to all; there is the freedom of the press to act as the 'fourth estate'; there is a plural society which has freedom for all interests to seek the 'corridors of power'; there is a system that strives to promote international peace, security and justice.

Difference of Opinion

Marxist view of constitutionalism is different from liberal views. In a socialist country, constitution is not an end in itself; it is just a means to put into practice, the ideology of 'scientific socialism.' It is a tool in the hands of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' that seeks to create a classless society, which would ultimately turn into a stateless condition of life. The purpose of having a constitution is not to limit powers of the government but to make them so vast and inclusive that the ideal of a workers' state is realized and a 'new kind of state' comes into being. The real aim of the constitution in such a country is not to ensure liberty and equality, rights and justice for all but to see that the enemies of socialism are destroyed and the new system is firmly consolidated. In this way, the real way of the constitution 'is to firmly anchor the new socialist discipline among the working people.' All power is in the hands of the communist party whose leaders lay down their programmes and implement them according to their best judgment, without caring for the niceties of a limited government. The communist party becomes the state and its leaders become custodians of the new socialist order.

A possible mixture of the liberal and Marxist notions with a heavier part of the former may be said to constitute to hallmark the concept of constitutionalism in the Third World countries. The reason is that these countries have a liking for the western constitutional system on account of their being in subject to colonial rule and also their experiments with the political systems of the master-countries. At the same time, their attraction to the goal of socialism makes them a follower of some of the important principles of a socialist system, so as to achieve the idea of social and economic justice in their countries. The result is that the countries of the Third World like to implement both systems and thereby happily involve themselves in a contradictory situation.

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Problems and Prospects

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Now the concept of constitutionalism is faced with three problems: rise of totalitarianism, emergence of war conditions and socio-economic distress of the people. The problem before us is how to deal with and get to the bottom of these problems through the action of a constitutional state. The rise of fascism in Italy and of Nazism in Germany coupled with the advent of communism in Russia and then emergence of totalitarian systems in other countries of the world like Spain and Japan in the period after the first World War and then emergence of such systems in a very large number of Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries after the World War II, are instances that offer a grim challenge to the illustrious concept of constitutionalism. Then, there is the problem of war conditions that induce the rulers of a state to resort to emergency measures. The political system of a country may survive in the midst of warlike conditions, as in the cases of Britain and France, or it may collapse yielding place to an authoritarian system of any sort, as in many countries of the Third World. Lastly, there is the problem of securing the goal of social and economic justice in the country. Sometimes, the administrators of a democratic country increase their powers for the sake of effecting some radical schemes of social and economic justice, but they are opposed by legislators and judges of the country, as in the United States when the New Deal Policy of President Roosevelt had its setback after invalidation of the National Recovery Act by the Supreme Court.

However, it is likely that the people of democratic countries would understand the nature of problems facing them and try to solve them within the framework of their liberal constitutions. For this, it is required that the convictions of the people in the system of democracy should be strengthened so that they are not attracted by the forces of totalitarianism.

In the end, it may also be said that the concept of constitutionalism should change in response to the changes in urges and aspirations and social and economic conditions of the people. This would not be possible just by devotion to the views of great constitutionalists. It calls for the modification of old values and systems in the light of new hopes and requirements of the people.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

12. Define comparative politics.
13. On what grounds has the general systems theory been criticised?
14. Differentiate between authoritarian state and totalitarianism.

1.6 UNITARY STATE, FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS

In a parliamentary form of government, the tenure of office of the virtual executive is dependent on the will of the legislature; in a presidential form of government the

tenure of office of the executive is independent of the will of the legislature (Leacock). Thus, in the presidential form, of which the model is the United States, the President is the real head of the executive who is elected by the people for a fixed term. The president is independent of the legislature as regards his tenure and is not responsible to the legislature for his/her acts. He, of course, acts with the advice of ministers, but they are appointed by him as his counsellors and are responsible to him and not to the legislature for his/her acts. Under the parliamentary system represented by England, on the other hand, the head of the executive (the crown) is a mere titular head, and the virtual executive power is wielded by the cabinet, a body formed of the members of the legislature, which is responsible to the Popular House of the Legislature for its office and actions.

Being a republic, India could not have a hereditary monarch. So, an elected president is at the head of the executive power in India. The tenure of his office is for a fixed term of years as of the American president. He also resembles the American president in as much as he is removable by the legislature under the special quasi-judicial procedure of impeachment.

But, on the other hand, he is more akin to the English king than the American president in so far as he has no 'functions' to discharge, on his own authority. All the powers and 'functions' [Article 74 (1)] that are vested by the constitution in the president are to be exercised on the advice of the ministers responsible to the legislature as in England. While the so-called cabinet of the American president is responsible to himself and not to the Congress, the council of ministers of the Indian president is responsible to the Parliament.

The reason why the framers of the constitution discarded the American model after providing for the election of the president of the republic by an electoral college formed of members of the legislatures, not only of the Union but also of the states, has thus been explained. In combining stability with responsibility, they gave more importance to the latter and preferred the system of 'daily assessment of responsibility' to the theory of 'periodic assessment' upon which the American system is founded. Under the American system, conflicts are bound to occur between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. On the other hand, according to many modern American writers, the absence of coordination between the legislature and the executive is a source of weakness of the American political system.

What was wanted in India on her attaining freedom from one and a half century of bondage is a smooth form of government which would be conducive to the manifold development of the country without the least friction. To this end, the cabinet or parliamentary system of government was considered to be more suitable than the presidential.

A more debatable question that has been raised is whether the constitution obliges the president to act only on the advice of the council of ministers, on every matter. The controversy, on this question, was raised by a speech delivered by the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at a ceremony of the Indian Law Institute (28 November 1960) where he urged for a study of the relationship between the president and the council of ministers. He observed that, 'there is no provision in the constitution

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which in so many words lay down that the president shall be bound to act in accordance with the advice of his council of ministers.’

The above observation came in contrast with the words of Dr Rajendra Prasad himself with which he, as the president of the Constituent Assembly, summed up the relevant provision of the Draft Constitution:

‘Although there is no specific provision in the Constitution itself making it binding on the President to accept the advice of his ministers, it is hoped that the convention under which in England the King always acted on the advice of his ministers would be established in this country also and the president would become a constitutional president in all matters.’

Politicians and scholars, naturally, took sides on this issue, advancing different provisions of the constitution to demonstrate that the ‘president under our constitution is not a figure-head’ (Munshi) or that he was a mere constitutional head similar to the English Crown.

Presidential Government

The president of the United States of America is decidedly the most powerful elected executive in the world. The constitution had declared that, ‘the executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America.’ The framers of the constitution intended to make the president constitutional ruler. But, in due course of time, the office has gathered around itself such a plentitude of powers that the American president has become ‘the greatest ruler of the world’. He has vast powers. According to Munro, he exercises ‘the largest amount of authority ever wielded by any man in a democracy.’ It is difficult to believe that the modern presidency was deliberately created by the founding fathers in their form. They did not want to do anything that would directly or indirectly lead to concentration... rather than separation of powers. Their main decision was to have a single executive head... a part of honour and leadership rather than that of ‘commanding authority’. But the modern presidency is the product of practical political experience. Three powers of the president have been supplemented not only by amendments including twenty-second amendment, twenty-third amendment and twenty-fifth amendment; but also by customs, usages, judicial interpretations and enlargement of authority by various president’s themselves.

1.6.1 Process of Elections

The presidency of the United States of America is one of the greatest political offices of the world. He is the chief executive head of the state as well as the head of the administration. The makers of the constitution were very much agitated over the nature of the executive. In their anxiety to establish a free, yet limited government they devised a system of government which came to be known as the presidential system; their original contribution to constitutional law. All executive authority is, therefore, vested in the president.

The constitution provides that a candidate for the office of the president must be:

- (i) A natural born citizen of USA

- (ii) Not less than thirty-five years in age
- (iii) A resident of the United States for at least fourteen years

The president is elected for four years. Originally the constitution was silent about presidential re-election. US President George Washington, refused a third term on the ground that this would make the United States too much of a monarchical rule. So, a convention grew that a president should not seek election for the third time. The convention was followed till 1940, when Roosevelt offered himself for the third term election and he succeeded. He was elected even for the fourth time.

In 1951, the US constitution was amended. According to this amendment of the constitution, the tenure of the office of the president was fixed for two terms. Thus, Franklin D. Roosevelt continues to remain the only president to be elected for more than twice in American history.

Further the constitution provides that in case a vice-president assures the presidency consequent upon death, resignation, etc., of the president, he will be allowed to seek only one election provided that he has held the office for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected. If someone has held office to which someone else had been elected, for less than two years, he can be elected for two full terms by his own right.

The constitution provides for removal of the president earlier than the completion of his term of four years. He may be removed by impeachment. He can be impeached for treason, bribery or other high crimes. The impeachment proceedings against a president may be initiated by the House of Representatives only. The charges are framed by representatives by a simple majority. The charges thus prepared are submitted to the senate, and a copy of the chargesheet is sent to the president. Now the senate sits as a court and the chief-justice of the Supreme Court presides over its sittings. The president may either appear personally or engage counsel for his defence. After the arguments of both the sides are over, the senate may decide by two-third majority to impeach the president.

Election of the President

One of the most difficult problems faced by the framers at Philadelphia was that of choosing the president. Having decided that the head of the state must be elected, the problem before them was to decide how he would be elected. Ultimately, it was decided that the president would be indirectly elected by the people. But the growth of political parties and political practices has set up the method of presidential election. First we shall see the constitutional provisions and then examine how the election is actually held.

The plan of election as provided in the constitution is rather simple. The president is elected by an electoral college consisting of the representatives of the states. The people of each state elect presidential electors (members of electoral college) equal to the number of representative the state has in Congress. No member of the Congress is allowed to be a presidential elector. The presidential electors meet in each state on fixed dates and vote for the president. All the votes are sealed and sent to the capital of USA. The president of the senate counts the votes in the

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presence of members of both the Houses of Congress. The candidate who secures majority of the electoral votes cast for the president is declared elected. If no candidate receives a clear majority of the electoral for the president, the members of the House of Representatives choose a president from among the three candidates who have received the highest number of electoral votes and the new president assumes office on the 20 January.

Election in Practice

According to the constitution, the American president is elected indirectly; but in practice his election has become direct. Although the language of the constitution of presidential election remains unchanged, whether that be the party system or the means of communication and transportation, all make his election direct. The developments have reduced the importance of the electoral college. The following are various stages of his election.

- (i) **National convention:** The first step in the election of the president is taken by the political parties who proceed to nominate their candidates early in the year in which the election is due to take place. Both the major political parties convene a 'national convention'. The convention may be held sometime in June or July. Delegates to the national convention are chosen according to certain rules framed by the parties. About a thousand delegates take part in the Convention, and all of them are leading and active party workers in their states. The convention selects the presidential nominee and issues a manifesto which in the US is known as the 'platform'.
- (ii) **The campaign:** The campaign generally begins in the month of July and continues till the Election Day in November. The parties have their campaign managers and a very effective machinery to conduct the nationwide propaganda. The presidential candidate visits all the states and addresses as many meetings as he can, deliver a number of nationally televised speeches. His supporters use various media of mass contact.
- (iii) **Election of the electoral college:** The election of the members of the Electoral College is held in November. Technically voters go to polls to elect members of the Electoral College; but as we have seen above, this in practice means direct vote for a particular candidate. Due to the rise of party system, the electors are to vote for their party nominee for the presidential office.

They do not have a free hand in the choice of the president. They are rubber stamps. As it is known before hand for which candidate each elector will vote, the result of the presidential election is known when the results of the election of the presidential electors are announced.

Thus, the election of the president has become direct. It is no longer indirect. The American voters personally participate in the election of the president. Now the president election in the month of December merely becomes a formality. Thus theoretically, the president is elected indirectly, but in practice he is elected directly.

1.6.2 Powers and Functions of the US President

The US president is not only the head of the state but also the head of the administration. The constitution clearly lays down that all executive authority belongs to him. The constitution enumerates the powers of the president. In fact, they are much beyond those contained in the constitution. Many factors are responsible for the growth of the presidential powers and today many view the extent of these powers as a dangerous trend. In addition, lot of powers enumerated in the constitution, the president has acquired a list of authority by statutes.

‘Congress has lifted the president to a status again to that of constitutional dictator’. The decisions of the Supreme Court usages have also considerably strengthened the position of presidency. The powers of the president may be studied under the following heads:

1. Executive Powers

The executive powers of the American president include the following:

- (i) He is the chief executive and it is his duty to see that the laws and treaties are enforced throughout the country.
- (ii) He has the power to make all important appointments but all such appointments are to be approved by the senate. As a matter of usage, the senate does not interfere in the appointments of the secretaries, ambassadors and other diplomats. Appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court is scrutinized thoroughly by the senate. In the appointment of federal officers in various state of USA, the convention ‘senatorial courtesy’ has come into existence. The constitution says that the federal are to be made by the president and approved by the senate. The president has the power to remove any person appointed by him. The senate has no share in the removal of officers appointed with its own consent. Thus, the president has almost unrestricted power for removing the federal officers.
- (iii) The president has control of foreign relations which he conducts with the assistance of the secretary of state. He appoints all ambassadors, consultants and other diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, with the approval of the senate. Besides he may send ‘special’, ‘secret’ or ‘personal’ agents, without the senatorial approval, who take orders directly from him. The president receives all foreign ambassadors and other diplomatic agents accredited to the United States. He can if circumstances require, send them home and even break of relation with a certain country. He negotiates treaties with foreign powers. But such treaties must be rectified by a two-third majority of the senate. The senate can block a treaty that president has negotiated but it cannot make treaty or force the president to make one. Though his treaty making power is subject to rectification by the senate, he is free to enter into ‘executive agreements’ without the consent of the senate.
- (iv) He has the sole power to recognize or refuse to recognize new states. In fact, he is the chief spokesman of the US in international affairs and is directly for the foreign policy of his country and its results.

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- (v) The president is the commander-in-chief of all the three forces. He is responsible for the defence of the country. He appoints officers of the army, navy and air force with the consent of the senate and anybody's approval, during a war. He cannot, however, declare war. This power has been entrusted to the Congress but as supreme commander of the defence war. He is regulator of foreign relations and can handle the situation in such a way as to make war; the president may also govern the conquered territory. He can appoint officers there, make laws and ordinances.

2. Legislative Powers

The US Constitution is based on the theory of separation of powers. The executive and legislative organs of the government are made independent of each other. So in strict language, Congress legislates and the president executes.

But, in practice president has become a very important legislator. His legislative powers are as follows:

- (i) The president is required by the constitution to send messages to Congress giving it information regarding the state of the Union. It is a duty rather than the power of the president. The time, place and manner of sending the message to the Congress depend upon the discretion of the president. Formerly, the president used to deliver his messages permanently to the Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives meeting in a joint session for the purpose. Later on, the practice was given up and messages were sent to be read to the Congress on his behalf. A custom has been developed which requires that the president must send a comprehensive message to the Congress at the beginning of every session. This is a regular feature. Besides these regular messages, the president may send many more special messages every year. Sometimes, these messages contain concrete proposals for legislation. Today, the 'message' is not merely an address to the Congress; it is used as an address to the people of the country and to the world at large. In recent years, the drafts prepared by the president are introduced by some members of the Congress belonging to the president's party, in their own name. The messages exercise very great influence on the legislation by the Congress, particularly when a majority of the legislature is composed of the party to which the president belongs.
- (ii) In the USA, the president is not authorized to summon or prorogue the Congress or to dissolve the House of Representatives. However, the president can call special sessions of both Houses of the Congress, or any one of them, on extraordinary occasions. These extra sessions are convened, the agenda is also fixed by the president and the Congress does not transact any other business during that session only of the senate. Thus, very often the president is introduced by some members of the Congress belonging to the senate. This may be done to secure rectification of an urgent treaty.

Again the president may insist upon disposal of certain business before adjournment of a regular session of the Congress, by threatening to convene an extraordinary session soon after the regular session prorogues. Thus,

normally the president has no power of convening the sessions of Congress, but to deal with extraordinary situation, he has got this power also.

- (iii) The president can also issue certain executive orders having the force of law. This is known as the 'ordinance power' of the president. Some of the ordinances are issued in pursuance of authority conferred upon him by the Congress; others are issued to fill the details of laws passed by the Congress. The number of such executive orders is very large. As a result of this, the president has been able to increase his legislative influence tremendously.
- (iv) In recent times, the presidents of America have used the device of taking the Congressional leaders into confidence by holding personal conferences with them. By this that president is able to secure their support for his legislative measures.
- (v) If president's party is in majority in the Congress, then he does not face much difficulty in getting certain laws of his choice passed.
- (vi) President can appeal to people at large. It means, the president can win public opinion for his policies and measures. He tries to win public opinion through speeches on the radio, television, weekly press conferences that in practice the election of President is direct; therefore, it is easier for the president to gather opinion on his side. When Congress knows that the public is with the president, it has to pass the laws wanted by him.
- (vii) We have seen the president's position in law making which is equally important and his influence is exercised by him through his veto power. Veto power means the authority of the president to refuse his signature on a bill or resolution passed by the Congress. All bills passed by the Congress are presented to the president for his assent. The president may refuse to sign a bill and send it back to the House in which it originated within ten days of the receipt of the bill. While returning a bill, that the president has voted, he is required to assign reasons for his disapproval the Congress can override a veto by passing the bill again. The only condition is that the Bill must be passed by a two-third majority in each House of the Congress. So the Veto of the president is only a suspensive one. But sometimes, it becomes difficult to secure a two-third majority in each House. In that case, the suspensive veto becomes an absolute one.

If a bill is sent to the president and he neither signs the bill nor returns it back to the Congress, the bill becomes the law within 10 days even without his signature. The only condition is that Congress must be in session. If the Congress adjourns in the meantime, the bill is automatically killed. This is called 'Pocket Veto' of the president. This means that the president can simply ignore a bill (pocket a bill and forget about it), if it is passed by the Congress on a date less than 10 days before it adjourns. Many bills passed towards the close of the session of the Congress are killed in this way. The pocket veto is absolute and cannot be overridden by the Congress. Thus, the president can recommend persuading the Congress to pass legislation which he approves and can prevent too hasty or inadvisable legislation by using the weapon of veto. But it has been said 'he can persuade or guide, but rarely threaten'.

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3. Financial Powers

In theory, it is the Congress which controls the public purse in practice, the budget is prepared under the guidance and supervision of the president. Of course, Congress is at liberty to change the budget proposals, but it seldom makes any changes.

4. Judicial Powers

The president has the power to grant pardon and reprieve to all offenders against federal laws, except those who have impeached or those who have offended against the state. He also appoints (with the consent of the senate) judges of the Supreme Court which is the highest practical organ in the US.

Leader of the Party

The makers of the US constitution had rejected the parliamentary system of government because it could not function without parties and political parties according to them were not the need of the time. It means they were against the political parties. However, today organized political parties, and the president is the leader of his party. The moment a party selects its presidential candidate, he becomes its national leader and if he succeeds in the election then he becomes the president, he also becomes the leader of his party for the next four years. He as leader of the party has a decisive voice in the selection of party candidates for numerous elective offices. He can exert great influence in decisions such as the distribution of party funds. As chief campaigner of his party, he may be more enthusiastic in support of some of the candidates, and less in case of others. It is all the important to note that the role of the president as party leader is entirely extra-constitutional.

Position

The powers of the presidency in practice have varied from time-to-time with the men occupying the office and the circumstances under which they came to occupy it. Whenever there has been an emergency or crisis or whenever, foreign affairs have overshadowed domestic affairs, one finds strong presidents coming to power and completely dominating the Congress which recedes and becomes a body for the purpose of voting supplies as and when demanded by the president, but in times of tranquility, when domestic affairs have been to the force, we find presidents of weaker timber in saddle, lacking personal force magnetism and initiative, the Congress which recedes and becomes powerful and exercises the chief choice of policy. At any given moment, therefore, the circumstances in existence and the personality of the president, each acting and reacting upon the other, have been responsible for establishing the powers of the presidency.

We can say that the president enjoys enormous powers. He combines in himself the office of the head of state and of the head of the government and this makes the office of the American president the most powerful political office in the world and his decision can sway the destinies of the world. In the range of his powers, in the immensity of his influence and in his special situation as at once the great head of a great state and his own prime minister, his position is unique. All this

does not mean that he is a dictator. The American presidency is a constitutional office. Its powers are huge, but they have to be exercised within constitutional limits.

1.6.3 Comparison between the US President and the British King and Prime Minister

The American presidency is considered the most powerful executive office in the world. E.S. Griffith has described it as the ‘most dramatic of all the institution of the American Government.’

According to Munro, the American president exercises the largest amount of authority ever wielded by any man in a democracy!’ Due to his increasing powers and importance he has become ‘the focus of federal authority and the symbol of national unity.’ Prof. Laski has very correctly said that the American president is both more or less than a King; he is also both more or less than a prime minister. In a sense, he is a king, who is his own prime minister.

The US president is both head of the state and head of the government. Both the queen of Great Britain and the president of the US are heads of state and mighty figures in their respective countries. Both have supreme command of defence forces in their hands.

Being heads of the state, they receive foreign chief executives. They receive diplomats accredited to them and appoint foreign ambassadors for foreign countries. This similarity is superficial. The British king is the constitutional head of the state and as such he has practically no hand in the administration of the country. The British king reigns but does not govern, while the American president governs but does not reign. The British sovereign being nothing more than a constitutional or titular head of the state, and government, the ceremonial functions are merely the decorative penumbra of office and forms a very small part of this work.

American president is more than a British king: The US president has vast powers. Article II of the constitution reads, ‘The executive power shall be vested in the president of the United States of America.’ He is the head of the state and government and runs the whole administration but the British monarch is only the head of the state and not of the government. In all his official functions, he acts on the advice of his ministers. It means the king has to do what ministers tell him to do. He is held, no doubt, in great esteem and still exercises in Bagehot’s wordings the right ‘to be informed, to encourage and to warn the ministers.’

Position of the US president in relation to the cabinet: The position of the US president is superior to the British king in relation to his cabinet. In USA, there is a cabinet; but its members are not equal to the president, they are not his colleagues.

In fact, ministers are his subordinates. He is their boss. They are nominees of the president and they work during his pleasure. He is not bound to act according to their advice or even to consult them. On the other hand, the British king is bound to act according to the advice of his ministers, who form *de facto* executive. There

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was a time when ministers used to advice and king used to decide but now the case is just the reverse. He has no hand in the selection of his ministers. Nor can he dismiss them. He can advice them but cannot override the decisions of the cabinet. The king is outside the cabinet and cannot participate in its proceedings. It is the prime minister who leads the cabinet.

Executive Powers

The US president exercises vast executive powers. He has the power of appointing a large number of officers with the consent of the senate but he enjoys absolute power in the removal of the officers. But the British king has to exercise all his executive powers with the advice and consent of his ministers.

Legislative Powers

The US president has an important role to play in the field of legislation. He can send messages to either house or both, in extraordinary session. He has suspensory and pocket veto powers. On the other hand, the British king has no legislative powers. In reality, it is the cabinet which exercises his power to summon, prorogue and adjourn the legislature. His speech is prepared by the cabinet. As a convention, his absolute veto power has not been used since the time of Queen Anne.

Judicial Powers

The US president exercises judicial powers given to him by the constitution. He has an important role to play in the appointment of judges. While the British king exercises his judicial powers on the advice of his ministries.

Foreign Affairs

The US president plays a leading role in the formation of his country's foreign policy by virtue of his being the commander-in-chief and the chief manager of his country's relation.

American president is also less than the British king: It is also true that the president is less than the king in certain respects.

1. Appointments

The American president is elected directly by the people. He is eligible for re-election for only one extra term. The British king, on the other hand, is a hereditary monarch born and brought up in the royal family.

2. Term of office

The American president is elected for a term of four years. He is eligible for re-election for only one extra term. As a president, he can remain in office for 10 years at the most. On the other hand, once the British king or queen becomes a monarch, he or she remains on the throne for the rest of his/her life.

3. Party relations

The British monarch has no party affiliation and renders significant impartial advice to his ministers. He can view problems from a national angle, much above the narrow partisan viewpoint. He gains experience, while acting as an umpire in the game of politics being played by leaders of the ruling party and the opposition party. As for the American president, he is elected on party lines. He does not reign, though he has been called 'the crowned king for four years.' He occupies the White House for a short duration and after his term of tenure, he becomes an ordinary citizen. The monarch is head of the church as he is regarded as the 'Defender of Faith' and commands respect of all the subjects, but it is not so in the case of the President.

4. Impeachment

Lastly, the president of America can be impeached by the Congress on the ground of 'Violation of the Constitution' and can be removed even before the expiry of his term. But the British monarch is immune from such sort of impeachment.

From the above points of comparison it can be concluded that there is truth in Laski's saying that 'the president of America is both more or less than the British king.' He rules but does not reign and the American president combines in his person the office of the king and prime minister. But on the whole, he enjoys vast and real powers than the British king.

Comparison of Presidential Powers in America and Britain

It is worthwhile comparing the office of the president of USA with that of the prime minister of the UK. There are significant and marked differences between the two. Both the offices occupy top most position in the government structure of their respective countries, following large democracies. It is rather difficult to point out as to whose position is superior to the other one. Both are the choice of the people. They are the representatives of the people, and are popularly elected but in an indirect way. Both the offices wield enormous power in peace time as well as in time of war. The relative strength of the two most powerful executive officers in the world depends upon the form of government prevailing in their respective countries.

If the president of the United States is the 'uncrowned king', he is at the same time his own prime minister. He is the head of the state as well as of the government. Administration is carried out not only in his name, but by him, and under his direct supervision by his subordinate officers. But he is not a dictator as certain limitations are imposed upon him. He combines in him the offices of the head of the state as well as head of the government. On the other hand, the British prime minister is only head of the government. He is a *de facto* executive. It is he, who carries on the administration, in reality, but in the name of the president, who is a *de jure* executive. Dr. Jennings, while talking about the Atlantic Charter, once said, 'the president pledged the United States, while the war cabinet, not the prime minister, pledged the United Kingdom.'

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Appointment

Strictly speaking, the American president is indirectly elected by an electoral college, but in reality, his election has almost become direct in actual practice due to strict party discipline. The British prime minister is appointed by the king. Normally, he has no choice as he 'has to call the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons'.

Term

In the parliamentary government of Great Britain, the prime minister and other ministers are collectively responsible to the House of Commons. They continue in office as long as they enjoy the confidence of the House. They have no fixed term of office. The House of Commons can dismiss them of any moment, if they lose confidence 'of the House, that is, if they lose their majority in it.' On the other hand, in the presidential form of government in the USA, the president enjoys a fixed tenure of four years. He stands outside the Congress. He is neither a member of either house of Congress nor is he responsible to it. Of course, he can be impeached by the Congress on ground of 'Violation of constitution', and can be thus removed. This has happened, so far, only once in the American history in the dismissal of President Johnson.

The president is then in a position to pursue his policies persistently and with firmness, while the prime minister has to submit the political pressures in the parliament. Therefore, administration in England lacks promptness and firmness.

Administrative Powers

Apparently, the American president is more powerful than the British prime minister. He is the *de jure* as well as *de facto* head of the executive. He is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He conducts foreign relations on behalf of the country. He concludes treaties and makes high appointments though, of course, with the consent of the senate. He wields a vast patronage.

The British prime minister and his cabinet colleagues work under constant responsibility to the parliament. They have to answer a volley of questions regarding their omission and commissions. But the British prime minister with a strong and reliable majority behind him in the House of Commons, can do almost everything that the American president can. He can conclude treaties and offer patronage without seeking the approval of the parliament.

Their Relation to their Respective Cabinets

The relationship of the president of America with his cabinet is markedly different from that of the prime minister of England with his cabinet colleagues. The president is the master or boss of his cabinet and completely dominates its members. They are his subordinates or servants. They are his nominees and hold office during his pleasure. It is purely a body of advisors to the president known as his 'kitchen cabinet', 'family cabinet.' They have been rightly described by President Grant as 'Lieutenants to the President'.

In the words of Laski, 'It is not a council of colleagues with whom he has to work and upon whose approval he depends.' President Roosevelt turned to his personal friends more than to his cabinet for advice. On the other hand, the prime minister's relations with members of the cabinet are more or less like a chairman of the Board of Directors of a government enterprise. They are his trusted colleagues, not his subordinate. They are public men and have the support of the people. The British prime minister is the recognized leader of his cabinet, but he is neither its master nor a boss but only a captain of his team. The phrase, 'first among equals', does less than justice to his position of supremacy but it does indicate that he has to carry his colleagues with him; he cannot drive them out. He runs a great risk, if he provokes the antagonism of any of his eminent and powerful ministers.

In relation to Legislation: The American president is often spoken as the chief legislator, in the United States but, in fact, he has no direct legislative power. Thus, he cannot get legislation of his choice enacted by the legislature. Though, of course he can apply brake in the enactment of a law by exercising his veto power. But that is only his limited power. He can only request the Congress to make a law but cannot force or compel it. Prof. Laski has said, 'he can argue, bully, persuade, cajole, but he is always outside the Congress and subject to a will he cannot dominate.' He is neither a member of the Congress nor has any intimate relation with it.

Hence neither he nor his ministers can participate in the proceedings of the legislature. He can only pressurize the legislature through his power of sending messages and convening special sessions. He can issue ordinance and executive orders.

On the other hand, the prime minister is a member of the legislature along with his colleagues. They are rather important members of the parliament and participate actively in its proceedings, prime minister enjoys vast legislative powers. He prepares the ordinary bills and monthly bills with the help of his cabinet and being a leader of the majority in the house, can easily get those enacted. The king cannot exercise his veto power over such law as according to convention this power has become obsolete. Hence, no bill can become an Act without his consent. But the president can issue ordinance and executive orders; the prime ministers cannot do so.

The US president is the Supreme commander of the American armed forces and can order general mobilization. But this power is enjoyed by the king in England and not by the prime minister.

The prime minister wields enormous powers which the American President does not. As far as the American president is concerned, he is a constitutional dictator during emergencies; obviously the powers of the president and the Prime Minister are greater and less than those of the other at different Points. Much depends on the personality of the occupant of the office.

From the above discussion it can be summed up that the American president is both more or less than a king; he is also more or less than a Prime Minister.

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Brogan has also rightly stated that the American president combines in his person the choice of the king and the prime minister.

Election of the US Vice-President

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The framers of the constitution have provided for a vice-president of the limited states. Many of the delegates at the Philadelphia convention, which framed the American Constitution, expressed the view that the office was unnecessary. One of the delegates said that the vice-president might aptly be called 'His superfluous Highness'. Ultimately the office of the vice-president was created with qualifications similar to those laid down for President.

He must be a natural born citizen of America. He must have attained the age of 35 years and must have been a resident of the United States for at least 14 years. The original constitution did not provide for separate election to the office of vice-president. The presidential candidate obtaining the second highest vote electors were declared as elected vice-president. This arrangement was changed by the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, which provided for separate nominations for the offices and separate ballot papers. The candidate for vice-presidency, who polls an absolute majority of the votes of 'Presidential electors', is elected vice-president. If no candidate receives an absolute majority, the senate makes the choice between the two obtaining the largest number of votes. The vice-president of the US receives a salary of 62,500 dollars per year.

The constitution assigns two functions to 'the vice-president, one potential and the other actual. Vice-president is the presiding officer of the senate. He is not a member of the Upper House, but presides over it. He has no vote except in case of a tie, when he can exercise a casting vote. As the presiding officer of the Senate, vice-president performs normal duties of a chairman. Roosevelt, when he presided over the Senate referred to it as 'an office unique in its functions of rather in its lack of functions.'

Succession to the Presidency

The potential function of the vice-president is to fill the office of the president 'in case of the removal of the president from office, or his death or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office'. Thus, the vice-president does not get or officiate as the president for a short period. But the moment the office of the president falls vacant, the duties of the chief executive shall devolve upon the vice-president'. He assumes the presidency and remains in office till the next election of the president. The Constitution has authorized the Congress to decide by law, who will succeed, in case of death, resignation, removal or disability both of the president and vice-president.

The office of the vice-president has developed along a line different from that expected from the constitutional makers of the US. According to Munro, the founding fathers intended the office to be 'a dignified one and a sort of preparatory school for the chief executive position'. Actually, the vice-president has been 'forgotten men in American history'.

The vice-president of the United States is generally regarded as an object of pity. In this connection Prof. Laski says, 'the vice-president has been little more than a faint wrath on the American Political horizon.' Much, however, depends upon the personal relationship between the President and his number two. Mr. Johnson was sent out by President Kennedy as his envoy to renew contacts with foreign governments. Nixon was also sent to various foreign countries as special envoy of the president to iron out differences with those governments or to improve relations with them. However, the fact remains that most presidents have not availed themselves of the limited assistance the vice-president may render.

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Cabinet in USA

The president's cabinet is not known to the law of the country. It has grown by conventions during the last 200 years. The founding fathers did not regard it as an essential institution.

Many of the 'constitution makers assumed that the senate—a small body of 26 members at the time of its creation would act as the president's advisory council. The first president, George Washington actually tried to treat the senate as such. But the experiment was so discouraging that it was never repeated. Naturally, therefore, the American president developed the practice of turning for advice to the heads of the executive departments. In this connection, the constitution provides that the president may require the opinion in writing of the principal officers in each of the executive department. 'The meetings of the heads of executive department soon come to be called cabinet meetings. Thus, the cabinet has arisen as a matter of convenience and usage. According to William Howard Taft: 'The cabinet is a mere creation of the President's will. It is an extra statutory and extra constitutional body. It exists only by custom. If the President desired to disperse with it, he could do so'. Though unknown to law yet it has become an integral part of the institutional framework of the United States.

Composition: The size of the cabinet has undergone a steady growth. George Washington's cabinet included only four heads of the existing departments. The cabinet's strength has increased to twelve with the creation of more departments. Besides, President may include others also. Some presidents invite the vice-president to the meetings of the cabinet. Frequently, the heads of certain administrative commissions, bureaus and agencies are also included in the cabinet meetings. The actual size of the cabinet, therefore, depends upon the number of person the president decides.

Manner of selection: The members of the cabinet are heads of executive departments and are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. Constitutionally, the consent of the senate is necessary but in practice, the Senate confirms the names recommended by the President as a matter of course. Though the President is free in the choice of his ministers, he has to give representation keeping in mind the geographical considerations, powerful economic interest and religious groups in the country. He has to pay 'election debts' by including a few of these persons who helped in securing nomination and election to the like. He also has to appease the various sections of his party by including their representations in

the cabinet. Tradition dictates that every President selects a 'well balanced' cabinet, a group of men whose talents backgrounds and affiliations reflect the diversity of American Society.

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States of the cabinet: The US Cabinet is purely an advisory body. It is a body of President's advisors and 'not council of colleagues' with whom he has to work and upon whose approval he depends. The members of the cabinet are his nominees and they hold office during his pleasure. President Roosevelt consulted his personal friends more than his cabinet members. President Jackson and his confidential advisors are known as 'Kitchen Cabinet' or 'Place guards'.

In the words of Brogan, the President is 'ruler of the heads of departments'. The President may or may not act on the advice of his cabinet. Indeed, he 'may or may not seek their advice. The President controls not only the agenda but also the decision reached. If there is voting at all, the President is not bound to abide by the majority view.

The only vote that matters is that of the President. In fact when the President consults the cabinet, he does so more with a view to collecting the opinions of its members to clarify his own mind than to reaching a collective decision. In short, the members of his cabinet are his subordinates or mere advisors while the President is their boss. The Cabinet is what the president wants it to be. It is by no means unusual for a cabinet ministry to get his first information of an important policy decision, taken by the president through the newspapers.

Thus, the cabinet has no independent existence, power or prestige.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

15. State two executive powers of the American president.
16. Comment on the procedure of appointment of the American president and the British prime minister.

1.6.4 Comparison between the American and the British Cabinet

Both America and Britain have cabinets in their respective countries, but they fundamentally differ from each other. The American cabinet can be said to resemble the British cabinet in one thing only. Both have arisen from custom or usage. While in all other respects the American Cabinet stands in sharp contrast to its American counterpart. The chief differences between the two are as follows:

- (i) **Difference regarding constitutional status:** The contrast is because of the different constitutional systems in which the two cabinets function. The British Parliamentary government is based on the close relationship between the executive and the legislative branches of government. So, all the members of the British Cabinet are members of the Parliament. They are prominent leaders of the party. They present legislative measures to the Parliament, participate in debates and are entitled to vote.

On the other hand, the American constitutional system is presidential, which is based upon the principle of separation of powers. So, the members of the cabinet cannot be the members of the Congress like the president himself. They may 'appear before Congressional committees, but they cannot move legislative measures or speak on the floor of either House of Congress.'

- (ii) **Membership of legislature:** In the presidential system like USA, in case a member of either House of Congress joins the presidential cabinet, he must resign his seat in the House.

Whereas in Britain, if a member of the cabinet is chosen from outside the parliament, he must seek membership of the parliament within a period of six months; otherwise, it will not be possible for him to continue as minister.

- (iii) **Political homogeneity:** The British cabinet is characterized by political homogeneity, all its members being normally drawn from the same party. The American cabinet may be composed of politically heterogeneous elements. Presidents frequently ignore party considerations informing their cabinet.
- (iv) **Ministerial responsibility:** The British cabinet holds office so long as it enjoys the confidence of the House of Commons, which is the Lower House of the British Parliament.

But in USA, the ministers act according to the wishes of the president and they are responsible to him alone.

- (v) **Collective responsibility:** The British cabinet always functions on the principle of collective responsibility. Its members are individually as well collectively responsible to the parliament. But this is not the case with USA. As Laski says 'The American cabinet is not a body with the collective responsibility of the British cabinet. It is a collection of departmental beads that carry out the orders of the president. They are responsible to him'. They can remain in office during the pleasure of the president.
- (vi) **Official status:** Membership of the British cabinet is a high office which one gets as reward for successful parliamentary career. It may be the stepping stone to prime ministership. Whereas, in America, many of the persons appointed to the cabinet have little or no Congressional experience. It is not even, necessarily towards the presidency. According to Laski, it is 'an interlude in a career, it is not itself a career'.
- (vii) **Position of their heads:** Members of the American cabinet stand on a completely different footing in their relations with the president from that of the members of the British cabinet in their relations with the prime minister. The prime minister is the leader of his cabinet team. His position with his colleagues is that of a primus-inter-pares or first among equals. He is by no means their boss or master. He hazards his head when he dispenses with a powerful colleague. In other words, he cannot disregard a powerful colleague without endangering his own position.

On the other hand, the members of the American cabinet are not the colleagues of the president. They are his subordinates. The president is the complete master of

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his cabinet, which, in fact, is his own shadow. Members of the cabinet are his subordinates, at best advisors and at worst his office boys. According to Laski 'the real fact is that an American Cabinet officer is more akin to the permanent secretary of government departments in England, than he is to be a British cabinet minister.

Keeping in view the composition, position and the relationship of American cabinet with that of president, Laski describes that 'the cabinet of USA is one of the least successful of American federal institutions'. Being completely over-shadowed by the President and being excluded from Congress, the cabinet officer has no independent forum and no independent sphere of influence. An influential member of the Senate is in a better position to influence public policy because he has a sphere of influence in which he is his own master. Prof. Laski, rightly contends that 'the American Cabinet hardly corresponds to the classic idea of a cabinet to which representative government in Europe have accustomed us.'

The Congress

The legislative branch of the American federal government is known as the Congress. Congress consists of two Houses—the House of Representatives and the Senate. The organization of the Congress on the bicameral pattern was the result of a compromise between the claims of more populous states who wanted representation, in the new legislature, and the smaller states that were keen on equal representation to ensure equality of status in the new set-up. In accordance with the formula devised, aspirations of bigger and smallest states were fulfilled. Each state irrespective of its population, sends two members to the senate and representation of the States in the House is in proportion to their population.

Each state, however, has at least one member in the House of Representatives. The founding fathers had intended the Senate to act as an advisory council to the President, but their intention, however, did not materialize.

Composition and Powers of the American House of Representatives

The House of Representatives is the Lower House of the American Congress and represents the whole nation. The House was initially known as the popular branch of government, as this was the only branch of federal government which was directly elected by the people.

At present, the total strength of the House is 435. Every state is given representation in the House on the basis of population. According to a law of 1929, seats are to be reapportioned among the states after each decennial census. Each state, irrespective of its population, is given at least one seat. Since the membership of the House is linked with the population of the states, the number of its members from each state is not fixed by the constitution. The number of representatives from different states is determined by the Congress. Generally one representative represents about 350,000 people.

The qualifications requisite for a person to be a representative are that, he shall be a citizen of the United States:

- (i) He must be 25 years of age.

- (ii) He should have lived in the United States, (as a citizen) for at least seven years;
- (iii) He should be a citizen of the state from which he is seeking elections and;
- (iv) He should not hold any office under the authority of the United States.

Although he is usually a resident of the district in the state which he represents, it is not mandatory under the law. Members of the House of Representatives are elected for two years. The House cannot be dissolved earlier than two years. Its tenure cannot be extended beyond two years period. The idea of two-year term is to keep the members closely in touch with the people. Members of the House of Representatives are elected by the single-member constituencies. The constituency is known as the electoral district. Each representative gets an annual salary of \$3,000 besides many other allowances and facilities. It has been rightly said that the House of Representatives is the most expensive law-making institution of the world.

The House has full control over its method of procedure. It publishes a journal of its proceedings. It meets for every annual session on the first Monday in December and elects its own speaker and another officer. Speaker is a party man and while discharging his function as a Speaker, he favours members of his own party. The House is elected in November but the members occupy their seats on 3rd January following the actual date from which the life of every house is counted.

Powers and Functions

The House of Representatives can be discussed under the following heads:

- (i) **Legislative powers:** To legislate is the primary duty of the House of Representatives.

The house has coordinate rights with the senate in ordinary legislation. Ordinary bills can originate in the House also. Differences between the two chambers over a bill are referred to a conference committee made up of selected members from the House and the Senate. If it fails to arrive at an agreement, the bill is killed.

- (ii) **Financial powers:** The House of Representatives have the sole right to introduce money Bills. Money Bills cannot originate in the senate. But the senate has the authority to amend a money bill in any way it likes. Thus, in this field also both the chambers are equally powerful.

- (iii) **Executive powers:** The American executive is of the presidential type. So the executive is not responsible to the House of Representatives. The House can, however, control indirectly the executive by its control over public money. Moreover, it shares with the Senate the power to declare war.

- (iv) **Judicial powers:** The Congress has been given the important judicial power of impeachment. The president, vice-president, judges of the federal courts and other high public official cannot be removed except through impeachment. The House of Representatives has the exclusive right to initiate impeachment, proceedings by preparing charges against the official concerned.

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(v) Miscellaneous powers

- (a) The House of Representatives has the sole right to elect the President of USA from among first three candidates if none of them is able to secure an absolute majority of votes in the Presidential election.
- (b) The House of Representatives shares with the Senate the power to propose amendments to the constitution.

(vi) **Position:** A student of comparative governments will feel a little bewildered when trying to understand the powers and practical working of the House of Representatives. In all, the democratic countries of the world, the lower chambers enjoy greater power than the upper ones. But in America, the House of Representatives is less influential and powerful than the Senate, though the intention of the, constitution makers was to make it more powerful than the upper chamber. The House of Representatives is much less respected and powerful than the House of Commons of England which controls the government itself. The reasons for its weakness can be summed up as:

- (a) House of Representatives is elected for a period of two years. Therefore, the members of the House are always worried about their re-election. The result is that they cannot discharge their duties seriously.
- (b) The constitution has conferred certain executive powers on the Senate and the House of Representatives have been deprived of those powers. So the men of ability and experience try to become members of the Senate.
- (c) The small membership of the Senate makes its discussion more effectively and vigorous than those of the House of Representatives.
- (d) House has placed restrictions on its discussions. The result is that the members do not have opportunity of taking part in detailed discussions and debates.
- (e) The Senate is also a directly elected chamber. This fact has enhanced the importance of the Senate at the cost of the House of Representatives.

Speaker

The speaker is the presiding officer of the House of Representatives. He is elected by the members from among themselves. He is elected on party basis and remains a party man throughout. His election is always contested. He is elected for the duration of the House of Representatives. When the next election for the House takes place he must seek election from his district. Even if he is re-elected to the House, his re-election as the speaker depends upon the party position. If his party is again in, he is sure to be elected as the speaker.

The framers of the US Constitution did not define his powers. They left it to develop its own traditions. The earlier speakers had little to do except keeping order and signing the bills passed by the House. He gradually assumed the importance and role entirely different from that of the British speaker. He acts as the party leader and uses the power of his office to promote the ends of his party. His position and powers were at one time next only to the president's and he called the dictator of the lower chamber. It was he who decided the composition of the various which really

govern the House. He was himself, normally the chairman of the most important of those committees, namely, the Committee on Rules. Being essentially a party man he can neither be impartial nor judicious and he has a right to vote and participate in discussion. Under the rules now the speaker is not allowed to vote except in case of a tie or when the voting is by secret ballot. Today speaker's powers have been curtailed to a large extent.

He still decides all points of order which arise in the House but no longer wields the controlling power of appointing members to the House committees. Perhaps the most important power of the speaker today is to allow members to take the floor. When two or more members rise to speak he may see anyone of them and recognize him. He has to maintain proper decorum and order in the House. As has been said, 'He has to protect the House itself'. In the line of succession to the presidency, in case of death of the president in office, he comes next only after the vice-president.

The dignity and prestige of the chair in the US has depended on the incumbent himself and the circumstances in his party, in the Congress and in the country. Great speakers like Reed, Cannon and Longworth built up the authority and prestige of the House to an amazing degree, lesser occupants were content to play the humble role of a mere presiding officer. In the end we can say, the speaker is not a dictator now; but still is a partisan, powerful and influential presiding officer of the House of Representatives.

1.6.5 Comparison between the British Speaker and the American Speaker

The framers of the US Constitution adopted the designation of their presiding officer of the House of Representatives from Britain. In Britain, the presiding officer of the House of Commons is known as the 'Speaker'. Apart from the similarity in name, both the speakers are elected by the House from amongst its members. There is some similarity in the functions of both the speakers. Like his counterpart in England, the American speaker presides over the meetings of the House, maintains order, decides disputes, points and 'recognizes' members on the floor of the House when they stand to speak.

But the similarity between the two ends here. They play different roles. There is a marked difference between the two. In this connection, the following points may be noted:

- (i) The American speaker is strictly a party man and he safe-guards the interest of his party jealously. He shows every favour to his party and supports party measures. He retains partisan character and acts as the leader of his party. On the other hand, the speaker of the British House of Commons resigns from his party immediately after his election as speaker and assumes non-partisan character. On his appointment as speaker, he has to lay aside his political affiliations and party connections. He must become a non-party man and in all his functions acts most impartially. The speaker of the British House of Commons must accept with his office a sentence of exile from politics.

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- (ii) As the American speaker continues to remain an active member of his party, this office is keenly contested in every new House of Representatives. He can be re-elected only when he is returned by his constituency and the same party is able to control the House. In this way his election is always contested, it is never unanimous. When the next election for the House takes place, he must seek election from his district. On the other hand, the British speaker, because of his neutrality in politics is always re-elected even if a different party comes into power. It is very common in the House of Commons to find a Conservative serving as speaker under a Labour government and vice versa. He is even returned unopposed by his constituency.

Thus, there is practice of once a speaker always a speaker. The American speaker is always a prominent member of his party and after his election becomes its leader. Although the speaker is formally elected by the House, in practice he is chosen by the census of the majority party. On the other hand the British speaker is a back-bencher. He is formally selected by the prime minister in consultation with the leaders of the opposition parties.

- (iii) The American speaker exercises a right to vote in case of tie or when the vote is taken by ballot or when his vote is needed to make up the two-third majority. He must exercise this right in favour of his party.

On the other hand, the British Speaker votes only in case of a tie, and he gives his casting vote in accordance with well established tradition and not according to his own political convictions. He casts vote in such a way as to maintain the status quo.

- (iv) The Speaker of the British House of Commons enjoys, under the Parliamentary Act of 1911, the power to decide whether a particular bill is a money bill or not. On the other hand, power is exercised by the American Speaker.

- (v) The American speaker once appointed the House of Committees and nominated their chairman. The committees control the legislative business of the House. So the speaker was able to dominate legislation. In 1911, this power was taken away from him. But even now, he has a powerful position in the House of Representatives.

On the other hand, in England, the legislative leadership is in the hands of the cabinet. No bill can be passed without the support of the cabinet.

In the end we can say that the American speaker is a prominent party leader and tries to influence the course of legislative business.

Unlike his American counterpart, the British speaker is a non-party man. He refrains from any display of personal sympathies or partisan leanings. He never publicly discusses or voices an opinion on party issues. He is famous throughout the world for his political neutrality.

Powers and Functions of the US Senate

The US Federal Legislature is, the Congress which is bicameral. Senate is its Upper or Second Chamber. It was created to protect the interests of small states and to check the radical tendency of the Lower House, the House of Representatives.

Thus, the senate is indispensable and the most important branch of the American Government. 'The Senate was looked upon by the framers of the constitution as the backbone of the whole federal system'. They wanted to give the Senate a dominating share in the government of the United States. In this connection Munro says: 'It was by no mere slip of the pen that the article of the Constitution is establishing a Congress if the chambers, gives the Senate priority of mention. The men who framed this document—most of them—looked upon the Senate as the backbone of the whole federal system.' As Washington said: 'The Senate is the saucer in which the boiling tea of the House is cooled.' 'The Senate of the United States has long excited the admiration and the wonder of foreign observer', Brogan in 'American System,' and added, '... what conservates in other lands have deemed of is here achieved. Presidents come and go, every two years a House of Representatives vanishes into the dark backward of time but the Senate remains. It is the only branch of American government that never dies'.

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The Senate has one hundred members, each state being represented by two members. Article V of the constitution safeguards this principle of equality between the federating units by providing that no state shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate without its consent. It means irrespective of their population strength all the states are equally represented in the Senate.

The constitution had originally provided for indirect election of the Senate's. They were chosen by the legislatures of the state concerned. This practice was followed up to 1913. This system now has been changed. The seventeenth amendment has provided for direct elections of the senators by the same voters who vote in the election of the House of Representatives. Thus now senate has become as much a popular chamber as the House of Representatives. The senate is a permanent body. It is never dissolved. The term or office of a senator is six years, one-third of the senators returning every two years. In case of a casual vacancy the governor of a state may appoint a senator till a regular member is duly elected. To be eligible to be a member of the senate:

- (i) He must be a citizen of the United States;
- (ii) He must have resided in the country for at least nine years;
- (iii) He must not be less than thirty years of age; and
- (iv) He must be an inhabitant of the State he wishes to represent.

Salary and allowances of the Senators, fixed by the Congress, are practically the same as far as the representatives. They are allowed the same privileges and immunities as the representatives do. Like the Lower House again the quorums of the Senate is the majority of the total membership. The Senate like the House of Representatives is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members.

The vice-president of the United States is the ex-office presiding officer of the senate. He is not a member of the senate and has no vote except in case of a tie. This casting vote has proved decisive on some occasions. In his absence the senate elects a President pro tempore and being a member of the senate he votes on all issues. Sessions of both the Houses of Congress commence simultaneously and are adjourned at the same time.

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Powers and Functions

The American Senate is now the most powerful second chamber in the world. In all other democratic states the powers of second chambers have waned. But the authority of the US Senate has waxed. In the words of Munro: 'The fathers of the constitution intended it to be a body which would give the states as states, a dominating share in the government of the nation. They had on mind something that would be more than a second chamber or a co-equal branch of the Congress. To that end they gave the Senate some very important special powers such as the approval of treaties, the confirmation of Presidential appointments and the trying of impeachments-powers in which the House of Representatives was given no share'. Its powers and functions can be discussed under the following heads:

Legislative Powers

In the legislative field, it is a co-ordinate chamber of the Congress and shares the function of law making with the House of Representatives. There is one exception to this equality. 'All measures for the raising of revenue must originate in the House of Representatives'. Similarly, usage requires that all appropriation bill, must originate in the House of Representatives. This limitation has proved to be of little importance. The Senate can virtually initiate new financial proposals under the guise of amendments. The Senate can therefore, originate financial legislation in fact if not in form. If the two chambers do not agree on a Bill the disputed points are placed before the conference committee made up of selected members from both chambers of the senate and the House of Representatives. The conference committee tries to arrive at a compromise. If it fails to do so the bill is regarded as rejected. Thus, no bill can become law without the concurrent of the Senate.

The position of the senate in the legislative sphere is much better than that of any other second chamber in democratic countries. The House of Lords is now a shadow of its former self. It is now only a delaying chamber. The Indian Rajya Sabha has very little control over financial matters. It is now only the American senate which stands on a level with the House of Representatives in legislation and finance.

Executive Powers

The US constitution allows the senate to perform the following executive functions:

- (i) The investigating powers of the senate deserve not merely mention but attention. The senate has a right to demand information about any administrative matter. It establishes administrative committee for this purpose. The senate committee may sit at Washington or it may go about the country hearing testimony. These committees have the power to summon witness, compel the production of papers, and take evidence on oath, and in general exercise the authority of a court. They do their job very thoroughly and expose the weakness of the administration. Recent investigations have covered crimes, un-American activities and juvenile delinquency.

- (ii) As the US constitution embodies the theory of checks and balances, and as the President has been given powers in respect of the appointment of federal officers, it was felt desirable that the legislature should exercise some control over the executive department in this matter. Also it was felt that the States ought to have some control over federal appointments. Thus, it was provided that the president's power regarding federal appointments should be shared by the senate as representing both the legislature and the states.

The power of ratifying the president's nominees for federal posts is conferred by the constitution on the Senate. In this sphere one convention—Senatorial Courtesy—plays a very important role. It means that if the President nominates a local officer with the approval of the senators from the state concerned then the senate will by convention approve the nomination. These senators must, of course belong to the same political party as the President otherwise the rule does not apply. The approval of the senate is however not necessary when the President removes some officers.

- (iii) Likewise the constitution makers deemed it imprudent that the President should have absolute control over foreign affairs. The President was therefore given the power 'with the advice of the senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur.' Thus the treaties concluded by the President do not become effective without the approval of the Senate.' There is a long record of treaties killed by the Senate. A wise President always keeps himself in touch with the leaders of the Senate, especially with the Committee on Foreign Relations.
- (iv) Moreover, the Senate shares with the House of Representatives the power to declare war.

Judicial Powers

In case of impeachment the Senate sits as the chief court of justice. Impeachments are preferred by the House of representatives and the trial take place in the Senate. The President, the vice-president and all civil officers can be impeached before the Senate. A two third majority of the Senate is required for conviction.

Miscellaneous Functions

- (i) If in the election of the vice-president of the USA, no candidate secures a clear majority of electoral votes, the Senators voting as individuals elect one from the first two candidates.
- (ii) As far as amendments to the constitution are concerned, Senate has coordinate powers with the House of Representatives in the matter of proposing amendments.
- (iii) The Senate has coordinate power with the House of Representatives in the matter of admitting new States to the Union.

The Position and Prestige of the Senate

It is difficult to form a just estimate of the Senate. Both lavish praise and censure have been heaped upon it due to over emphasis on one aspect or the other. It is a

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complex, many-sided body not capable of being described by facile generalization, yet hardly one can deny that the Senate is probably the most powerful second chamber in the world and is certainly the dominating partner in the US Congress.

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It is a well-known fact that most leading figures in public life in USA are to be found in the Senate and not in the House of representatives. He comes into business with a greater variety of public business. He has confidential relations with the President and greater contact with federal outlets as all federal appoints are subject to his approval. He is normally in close touch with foreign affairs as a wise President takes the 'Senate in his confidence on this matters. The senate is also regarded as the guardian of State rights and every Senator is a champion of his State.

Senate is the most powerful Second Chamber in the World

The Senate is decidedly an indispensable institution in the political system of the United States. A comparative Study of the Senate and the Upper House in other parliaments of the world, show that Senate is the most powerful second chamber in the world.

The British House of Lord was once a very powerful chamber, but today it is the shadow of its former self. Now it is only a second but a secondary chamber. Probably it is the weakest chamber in the world. In Russia, the two Houses of Supreme Soviet are equally powerful. The Upper House, the Soviet of Nationalities is in no respect superior or more powerful than the Lower House—the Soviet of the Union. Likewise in India, Rajya Sabha is weaker than the Lok Sabha.

This comparative study shows that in some countries the two Houses are equally powerful and in some other countries the Upper House is weaker than the Lower House. But Senate is the only upper chamber in the world which, in comparison to its lower chamber is more powerful. It is due mainly to the following factors:

- (i) Senate is a very small body. Its total strength is only 100, whereas the strength of the House of Representatives is 435. The small size of the Senate makes possible effective discussions. To quote Prof Laski: 'Discussion in the House of Representatives is formal and static; discussion in the Senate are living and dynamic.'
- (ii) The constitution itself has given vast powers to the Senate. The Senate not only enjoys co-equal power with the House of Representatives, it also enjoys important executive and judicial powers which the House does not enjoy. Treaties and all important appointments made by the President must be submitted to the Senate for its approval. The Senate has also the power of trying impeachments. Such powers are, normally, not enjoyed by the Second Chamber of any democratic country of the world.
- (iii) Senate is a permanent chamber. After every two years one-third of its members retire and are re-elected. In this way, the life of one Senator is six years. The House of Representatives is elected only for two years. Therefore, the members of the House are always worried about their re-election. They

cannot, therefore take much interest in their work. On the other hand, the long term of the Senators enables them to learn thoroughly their legislative work.

- (iv) We know that the Senate is directly elected. This direct election has added greatly to their power and prestige. The Senate can speak for the nation with the same authority as the House of Representatives.
- (v) There is almost a complete absence of restrictions on the debates of the Senate. So senators get ample time to express their views.
- (vi) Seasoned politicians and legislators try to secure seats in the Senate because its membership is associated with vast powers. Most members, of the House of Representatives like to become Senators. When they manage to enter the senate, their places in the House are filled by comparatively junior politicians. As a result of this, the Senate contains a large number of experienced politicians well versed in the art of law-making.

The fathers of the US Constitution thought that the House of Representatives would be more powerful and influential than the Senate. They created the Senate to act only as a check upon the radical tendencies of the popular chamber. 'In its origin, it was a product of distrust of democracy. But now it can certainly be a brake on democracy'.

Procedure in the American Congress

The principal function of the Congress is to make laws. We know that the American Constitution is based on the principle of separation of powers. It means the government does not take part in the legislative process. The government can introduce the bills in the Congress. So that in America, there is no difference between the government's bills and the private member's bills. All bills are private member's bills. However, there is a difference' between public bills and private bills. Public bills are those bills which concern the entire country or an unascertained people and the private bills are of special character and they apply only to particular persons, places or corporations. Further a distinction can be made between money bills and non-money bills. Money bills for raising revenue, are required to be introduced only in the House of Representatives.

Both the Houses of American Congress are equally powerful in the field of legislation. The ordinary or non-money bill can be introduced in either House of the Congress. Once a 'bill is introduced in the Congress it remains alive throughout the duration of the existing Congress, unless it is disposed of earlier. All the bills depending, in either House, at the time of dissolution of the House lapse, and the succeeding Congress can consider them only if they are introduced afresh.

Bills are introduced by the members of the Congress, but they are not always the authors of these bills. Many bills originate in the office of the president, executive departments and administrative agencies. These bills are introduced in the Congress by the Congressmen belonging to the president's party. We have also seen somewhere else that the president may initiate bill through one of his messages to the Congress.

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The legislative procedure in the American Congress is in some respect the same as that followed in Britain. Every bill is introduced and is given the usual three readings. Here let us assume that an ordinary bill is introduced first in the House of Representative.

Introduction of a bill is a simple affair. A member of House of Representatives may write his name on the bill and drop it in the box known as the 'hopper' lying on the clerk's table. Thus, the bill has been introduced without any permission sought to introduce it and without any speech having been made. This completes the first reading of the bill.

Then the title of the bill is printed in the *Journal of the House*, and simultaneously it is sent to one of the standing committees which studies it clause by clause. In most of the cases there is no difficulty in deciding the committee to which a bill is to be sent. The US committees have clear cut jurisdiction and the title of the bill itself may indicate which committee will receive it. Very often many bills may be introduced by different members on the same matter. The committee may decide to consider only one of them and reject the rest. Thus a very large number of bills are killed every year by the committees because there are many bills on the same matter.

If the committee likes, it can ask executive official and other interested persons to appear before it to express their views. The committee hears all those who wish to be heard for or against the measure. Paid lawyers may appear before the committees to argue for or against a proposal. Pressure groups exert influence through their agents. The committee may (a) report the bill in its original form; or (b) it may suggest amendments ;or (c) it may be re-draft the bill; or (d) it may not report at all and thus 'Pigeonhole' and kill it.

Many bills are killed in this way. It may be mentioned here that the House has the power to compel the committee to give its report on Bill. But this power is rarely exercised. It is, therefore, true that the committees have virtual power of life or death over every bill. A bill, which is favourably reported by one of the standing committees of the House of Representatives, is sent to the clerk of the House. The clerk places the bill depending on its nature upon one of the three lists, known as the 'Calendars'.

The stage when a bill is called up from the calendar and taken up for consideration by the House is called second reading. At this stage; it is discussed in detail by the whole House.

The bill is read line by line, amendments are moved, discussed and disposed of and members get an opportunity to express their views on the bills as a whole or a part thereof. After the debate and adoption of amendments, if any, moved by the members the House is called upon to vote the measure. If majority of the members vote in favour of the bill, it is then ready for the third reading.

The third reading is formal like the first reading. It merely means reading the title of the bill, and ordinarily no debate takes place. But sometimes in case of a controversial bill a few members may demand that it may be read in full. In that case the bill may be discussed, again new amendments may be proposed. After the

discussion a vote is taken on the bill. If the vote is favourable after the third reading, the bill is signed by the speaker and sent to the Senate for its consideration.

In the Senate, the bill meets almost the same treatment. If the senate passes the bill without any change, then it is sent to the president for his assent. In case the Senate has made some changes, the measure is sent back to the House of Representatives for reconsideration.

The House may accept the changes suggested by the Senate, and transmit the bill to the President. In case the Senate does not agree with the changes suggested by the Senate, the bill is referred to the conference committee. If the conference committee fails to resolve the differences, the bill is killed.

When a bill is passed by both chambers it is sent to the President who may either give his assent to it or veto it by returning the same within a period of ten days. If each House passes the bill again by a two-third majority it becomes law even without the approval of the President. If the Congress remains in session and the President takes no action for 10 days, it becomes law. He may however 'Pocket Veto' a bill if the Congress is adjourned within 10 days.

Difference of Procedure in England and US

- (i) In England, there is a difference between public bills and private member bills. There is little difference in the process of becoming law. But in the US there is no difference between these two types of bills. There all the bills are private member bills.
- (ii) In England, most of the bills are introduced, defended and guided by ministers. The bill can reach at the final stage without the support of the minister. In America, there is separation of powers and bills are introduced by private members and the 'legislative leadership is in the hands of the chairman of appropriate committees. Bills are even named after the chairman of the committees.
- (iii) In England, the committee stage follows the second reading i.e., a bill is referred to a committee when the general principles underlying the bill have been discussed and approved by the House. In this way, the House decides beforehand whether it wants a law on a particular subject or not. In the USA committee stage precedes the second reading, i.e., before the House has approved the principle, of the bill and has decided whether or not it wants a law on a particular topic. The result of this is that sometimes the House rejects a bill on the ground which are not acceptable. In this way the whole work of a committee is undone.
- (iv) The American second chamber i.e. the Senate possesses greater powers than the House of Lords to amend reject bills. The British House of Lords cannot touch a money bill sent up by the House of Commons. It can delay an ordinary bill at the most for one year under the provisions of the parliamentary Act of 1949. But in America, no bill or either money bill or ordinary bill can become law without the consent of the Senate.

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- (v) In England, the committees are not much powerful. Neither they can reject a bill nor can they bring such amendments in the bill which amount to amend the principles of the bill. On the other hand, in America the committees are very much powerful. Committees decide the fate of the bill, they can even reject a bill altogether.
- (vi) In Britain, the king does not send a bill back if once it is passed by Parliament. In United States the President can veto a bill, but Presidential veto can be overridden if Congress passes the bill again by a two-third majority of each House. The suspense veto of the President can sometimes become an absolute veto.

1.6.6 Unitary Form of Government

As the name suggests, a unitary form of government is a single unit state where the central government is supreme. All the power rests with the central government and any divisions in governance, for instance, in the form of administrative or sub-national units, have only those powers that the central government gives them. While democratic systems have become popular over the world, a number of states still have a unitary system of government among several other archetypes that are found in different countries. Some of the examples of a unitary form of government are dictatorships, monarchies and parliamentary governments. Some countries that follow the unitary system of government are France, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom.

Since the power is vested in the Centre, a unitary system of government is based on the principles of centralization of power. Within such a system, a fair amount of hegemony is found between different regions in a same country. Thus, local governments follow instructions of the Centre and have only those powers which are delegated by the central government.

Yet, there are no fixed rules to this system and not all countries use the same principles of centralization and decentralization of powers. One of the major advantages of such a system is the fact that the government at the centre can make quick decision since it has all the powers of rule-making. A significant disadvantage is that there are no ways to keep a check on the activities of the central government. Moreover, most unitary governments have large bureaucracies where the members are not appointed on the basis of popular voting.

The opposite of unitary government will be a federal government where governance powers are not centralized or where central government is a weak one. Political powers are actively decentralized and individual states have more sovereignty compared to those in a unitary state. Principally, a federal government holds some middle ground between the unitary and the federal system because powers are distributed between the central and local governments. The political system of the United States of America is an example of a federal system. One needs to also explore the nature of the state when the analysis of the form of government is being made. For instance, not every state will encourage social and political integration and some will monopolize force in their hands, thus encouraging one form of governance compared to the other.

Nonetheless, monopolization of power is also a central idea to a unitary government. Popularly in such a system, local governments will exist but they will not be independent of the central government. They are subordinate to the central government in all respects and often act as mere agents of such a government. Thus, the whole state is governed with full might of the central government. Such a system is useful in those states which do not have strong nationalities, are at risk of outside forces or are very small states.

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Salient Features of Unitary Government

As stated above, a unitary system of government widely differs from one that is federal in its organization. Federal governments, by their very nature, constitutionally divide powers between the centre and the state. No such power division occurs in a unitary system even though the central government, by its own accord, delegate some superficial powers to various states. Moreover, in a federal system, the constitution is supreme and determines the powers between the centre and the states. Both exist as equal before a federal constitution. In contrast, centre is supreme authority in a unitary government. States function independent of the centre in a federal system whereas in the unitary system, states are subordinate to the centre. In short, Unitarianism can be referred to as: “The concentration of the strength of the state in the hands of one visible sovereign power, be that power parliament or czar.” Federalism, on the other hand, is distribution of force. As has been cited: “The sovereign in a federal state is not like the English parliament an ever wakeful legislator, but like a monarch who slumbers and sleeps. And a monarch who slumbers for years is like a monarch who does not exist.”

A unitary government can have an unwritten yet flexible constitution but federal government cannot go about its daily chores unless it has in its possession a written constitution. Judiciary also plays a very important role in a federal government and also decides on disputes that may crop up among the central and state governments or between other units. These are some of the key differences between federal and state governments. This brings us to the characteristics and features of unitary form of government:

- **Centralization of power:** The centre is the reservoir of all powers in unitary system. There exist no province or provincial governments in such a system and the central government has the constitutional powers to legislate, execute and adjudicate with full might. There is no other institution with this kind of state to share the powers of the central government. Thus, it rules with no external pressure and runs the state and administration free of any checks and balances. Their power is absolute. What powers are to be centralized and decentralized are also decided by the central government. Local governments exist but it is the centre which decides what powers will be given to them. Even these are carried out with central control or supervision.
- **Single and simple government:** The unitary system of government is a simple system. There exist no provincial assemblies, executives or upper chambers in the Centre. One exception to this is Britain. Yet, most unitary systems are defined by single central government where the popular voting is

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held for unicameral legislature. It is the central legislature that legislates and executes. The expenses of such a system are minor and a unified command is adopted in running the state. Democratic systems can be expensive; upper chambers demand finances and weak states cannot afford them. Thus, unitary system is simple and understandable. Its structures and powers also understood easily by the citizens.

- **Uniformity of laws:** Laws in unitary system are uniform laws unlike the ones in the federal state. This is one crucial characteristic of a unitary government. Laws are made and executed by the central government for the entire state. They are enforced without any distinction being made for any state. In contrast, in a federal system, the nature of a law can vary from state to state. But in the unitary system, the laws are made uniform on the principles of justice and nature of human beings. In a federation however, laws of similar nature can have sharp contrasts, thus complicating their understanding.
- **No distribution of powers:** As stated, within a federation powers are distributed among the federal and the state. In contrast, in the unitary system, no such distribution of powers is made. All powers rest with the centre. One of the advantages of this lack of distribution of power is that the government does not have to bother about delegating powers and instead concentrate on more welfare issues and development of the state and citizens.
- **Flexible Constitutions:** Flexibility is what defines the constitutions of unitary states. It is within federal systems that a rigid constitution is required so as to clearly define and maintain the relationship between the centre and the state. One of the advantages of a flexible constitution is that it can be altered as be the needs of the state amid the continuously changing circumstances. As said, a constitution is a document which is necessary to run a state according to the changing orientations. A flexible constitution ensures that the desires and changing demands of people are included in it accordingly and from time to time. It is crucial to the idea of progressiveness. Thus, constitutions in unitary systems are evolutionary and are strong to respond to contingency situations.
- **Despotism attributes a Unitary State:** A unitary state can turn totalitarian or despotic when its rulers do not follow rules or move away from the path of patriotism. Since powers are with the Centre and there is no check on the activities of the government, there are higher chances of misuse. Such a government can become absolute and abuse its powers mainly due to the absence of an internal check system.
- **Responsibility:** In contrast to a federation, a unitary system is more responsible. Certain defined institutions have fixed responsibility and this is a significant characteristic of a unitary system. The central government is responsible for legislation, executive for implementation and judiciary for adjudication. Thus, it is these institutions that are responsible for their activities and therefore they try to operate within the law of the land.

- **Local government institutions:** Usually in a unitary form of government, the powers lie in the hands of urban bureaucracy. Such a government has also been found to be limited in the city areas and have no influence in remote towns and villages. Therefore, to maintain its influence in rural areas, the central governments manipulate their affairs through municipalities and other such local institutions. In one way or other, local governments also become important and effective in unitary systems. Such examples are found in states like China and Great Britain where local governments are very powerful. The central government maintains its influence through local governments and also gives them financial support to run their daily affairs. In fact, local representatives are elected for these institutions on the guidelines of the central government.

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Advantages of Unitary Form of Government

Some advantages of unitary system include:

- (i) Throughout the state, uniform policies, laws, political, enforcement, administration system is maintained.
- (ii) There are fewer issues of contention between national and local governments and less duplication of services.
- (iii) Unitary systems have greater unity and stability.

Disadvantages of Unitary Form of Government

Disadvantages of such a form of government include:

- (i) Local concerns are usually not the prerogative of the central government.
- (ii) Thus, the centre is often at a lax in responding to local problems.
- (iii) In case the centre gets involved in local problems, it can easily miss out on the needs of a large section of other people.

1.6.7 Federal Government

A federal government is the national government of a federation. It is defined by different structures of power; in a federal government, there may exist various departments or levels of government which are delegated to them by its member states. However, the structures of federal governments differ. Going by a broad definition of basic federalism, it comprises at least two or more levels of government within a given territory. All of them govern through some common institutions and their powers often overlap and are even shared between them. All this is defined in the constitution of the said state.

Therefore, simply put, a federal government is one wherein the powers are delegated between the centre and many other local governments. An authority which is superior to both the central and the state governments can divide these powers on geographical basis, and it cannot be altered by either of the government levels by themselves. Thus a federation, also called a federal state, is characterized by self-governing states which are in turn united by a central government. At the same time,

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both the tiers of government rule on the basis of their own laws, officials and other such institutions. Within a federal state, the federal departments can be the various government ministries and such agencies where ministers of the government are assigned. For instance, in the US, the national government has some powers which are different from those of other 50 states which are part of the country. This division of powers has been elaborated in the constitution of the US.

Thus, a federal government works at the level of a sovereign state. At this level, the government is concerned with maintaining national security and exercising international diplomacy, including the right to sign binding treaties. Therefore, as per the guidelines of the constitution, the federal government has the power to make laws for the entire country and not the state governments. For instance, the US Constitution initially did not empower the federal government to exercise undue powers over the states but with time, certain amendments were introduced to give it some substantial authority over states. The states that are part of a federation have, in some sense, sovereignty because certain powers are reserved for them that cannot be exercised by the central government. But this does not mean that a federation is a loose alliance of independent states. Most likely, the states that are part of a federation have no powers to make, for instance, foreign policy; thus, under international law they have no independent status. It is the constitutional structure in the federation that is referred to as federalism. This is in contrast to the unitary government. With 16 *Länder*, Germany is an example of a federation while its neighbor Austria was a former unitary state that later became a federation. France, in contrast, has always had a unitary system of government. As mentioned earlier, federation set-ups are different in different countries. For instance, the German *Länder* have some independent powers which they have started to exercise on the European level.

While this is not the case with all federations, such a system is usually multi-cultural and multi-ethnic and covers a large area of territory. An example is India. Due to large geographical differences, agreements are drawn initially when a federation is being made. This reduces the chances of conflict, differences between the disparate territories, and gives a common binding to all. The Forum of Federations is an international council for federal countries which is based in Ottawa, Ontario. This council brings together different federal countries and gives them a platform to share their practices. At present, it includes nine countries as partner governments.

Where states have more autonomy than others, such federations are called asymmetric. Malaysia is an example of one such federation wherein states of Sarawak and Sabah joined the federation on their own terms and conditions. Thus, a federation often appears after states reach an agreement about it. There can be many factors that could bring in states together. For instance, they might want to solve mutual problems, provide for mutual defense or to create a nation state for an ethnicity spread over several states. The former happened in the case of the United States and Switzerland and the latter with Germany. Just like the fact that the history of different countries may vary, similarly their federal system can also differ on several counts. One unique system is that of Australia's where it came into being after citizens of different states voted in the affirmative to a referendum to adopt the

Australian Constitution. Brazil has experienced with both federal and unitary system in the past. Till date, some of the states in Brazil maintain the borders they had during Portuguese colonization. Its newest state, Tocantins, was created mainly for administrative reasons in the 1988 Constitution.

History of Federalism

In the New World order, several colonies and dominions joined as autonomous provinces but later transformed into federal states after independence (see Spanish American wars of independence for reference). The United States of America is the oldest federation and has served as a role model for many federations that followed. While some federations in the New World order failed, even the former Federal Republic of Central America split into several independent states 20 years after it was formed. States like Argentina and Mexico have in fact shifted from being federal, confederal, and unitary systems before finally settling with being federalists. Germany is another example of the same shifting since its foundation in 1815. After its monarchy fell, Brazil became a federation and it was after the Federal War that Venezuela followed suit. Many ancient chiefdoms and kingdoms can be described as federations or confederations, like the 4th century BC League of Corinth, Noricum in Central Europe, and the Iroquois in pre-Columbian North America. An early example of formal non-unitary statehood is found in the Old Swiss Confederacy. Many colonies of the British that became independent after the Second World War also adopted federalism; these include Nigeria, Pakistan, India and Malaysia.

Many states can be federalists yet unitary. For instance, the Soviet Union, which was formed in 1922, was formally a federation of Soviet Republics or autonomous republics of the Soviet Union and other federal subjects but in practice remained highly centralized under the government of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Russian Federation has inherited its present system. Australia and Canada are independent federations, yet Commonwealth realms. In present times, many federations have been made to handle internal ethnic conflict; examples are Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Iraq since 2005.

Advantages of Federal Form of Government

Some advantages of a federal form of government are:

- (i) There is a larger federal unity though local governments may handle their own problems.
- (ii) The government at the Centre is more committed towards national and international issues.
- (iii) It is a participatory system and there are more opportunities to make decisions. For instance, what goes into school curriculums and ways in which highways and other projects are to be carried out, can be decided through participation of local populace.
- (iv) Local government/officials are more responsive towards people who elect them.

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Disadvantages of Federal Form of Government

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Disadvantages of federal form of government include:

- (i) Since laws are different in different states, people living in one country can be treated differently. This can happen not only in spending that each state makes of welfare programmes but even in legal systems, where different punishment can be meted out in similar offences or right laws are differentially enforced.
- (ii) Duplication of services.
- (iii) States can pass laws that counter national policy and this can influence international relations.
- (iv) Conflict can arise over power/national supremacy vs. state's rights.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 17. What are the essential conditions required to be eligible for becoming a member of the senate?
- 18. State some of the disadvantages of the unitary form of government.
- 19. State the advantages of federal form of government.

1.7 NON-DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

It was after the First World War that the totalitarian form of government gained prominence. The Weimar republic in Germany is one form of democratic government that countries tried to set up after the war. A democratic government gave its citizens the right to participate in politics, to vote and even form political parties. However, this kind of freedom to the citizens attracted much negative reactions from different leaders and eventually led to the collapse of governments, even the Weimar Republic. This meant that the democratic governments were replaced by the totalitarian form of government.

Pros and Cons

A totalitarian political system compromises with the freedom of the people to quite an extent even though a single political party in this system can bring in stability in any turbulent country. Propaganda is also much prevalent under such systems as the communication and media industry in under the control of the government. Naturally, citizens under such a system are more patriotic compared to those in other countries since they only get to hear pro-government material. Since such a system is 'totalitarian', the government aspires to have 'total' control over the people. In contrast to people under democratic systems, those in totalitarian control have no right to speak against the government, form political parties, have any other say in governance or even the right to choose their religion. Thus, there is a complete control over people's minds as only one political party rules the country. In Germany,

for instance, between 1933 and 1945, Nazis ruled the country completely and all other political parties were banned except the German Nationalist Party led by the Nazis. This meant that the party remained in power all those years and the citizens had no right to vote and were forced to follow the whims and fancies of the government. Few other examples of totalitarian political systems were Russia which was a communist state and Germany and Italy which were Fascist states.

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Impact of Totalitarianism on Society

In totalitarian countries, scientists have no freedom to invent since technology and sciences are under the complete control of the government. For instance, Jewish inventions in Nazi-ruled Germany were restricted. Scientists had no freedom to carry out research of their own interest which they could in a democratic system. Significantly, the totalitarian state had the complete freedom to use the inventions of the scientists in any way they liked.

Features of a Totalitarian Government

The characteristics of totalitarian systems are said to be in contrast with the authoritarianism and dictatorship systems. Political scientists have defined many such differences. Firstly, it is contended that under such a system, only one political party is existent in a country and all others are either under the control of the state or are eliminated. All companies and organizations also belong to the state. Since communication and other such technologies are also under the state, the ideologies of the government get solidified. The government thus makes the people hear whatever it wants them to hear. Thirdly, such a government has complete control over the weapons of all kinds. This helps the government prevent any revolutions in the country. By keeping the weapons under control, the rulers make sure no revolt takes place. Fourthly, the state also has a total control over the economy. Since the state controls all companies, it has free access to any resources it needs for its own projects which are always not in the interest of the people. In turn, the citizens become even more dependent on the state for jobs and any complaints against the state only serves to leave them jobless. Another significant feature of such a state is that it uses terror to rule over the people.

For instance, the Nazi Germany had the Sturmabteilung (SA) and Schutzstaffel (SS) to inculcate fear in the minds of the people. All threats to their rule, in form of individual, groups or organizations, are effectively eliminated. Even members of the ruling party are at risk and any dissent is followed by police enquiry or even execution. One example is the ruthless 'Night of the Long Knives' as part of which even the members who were loyal to the Nazis were killed if they were perceived as threat or if the state believed they could go against it.

Authoritarian System

The state takes control of many aspects of the citizens' lives under the authoritarian form of government which had led political scientists to define it as a system which erodes people's civil liberties and freedom. However, the degrees of authoritarianism vary and even democratic and liberal states can display some features of authoritarianism. One such area can be national security. Mostly, the authoritarian

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form of government is not democratic as it governs the people without their consent. Political scientists also establish a link between authoritarianism and collectivism as under both such systems, group goals and conformities dominate over the right of individuals. Another group of political scientists which supports collectivism also tends to criticize collectivization and term it the opposite of authoritarianism.

Forms of Authoritarian Government

There are various forms of authoritarian government and they can be broadly categorized as follows:

- Monarchies: Depending upon the monarch, a monarchy can be authoritarian.
- Communism: As per the theory propounded by Lenin: “Communist states must always be authoritarian when on the path to ‘socialism’, because of the special repressive force needed to attain their goals.” A stateless society is the final aspiration of the communists and found supporters in theorists like Karl Marx. Government who rule as part of such systems never term it as a ‘communist’ but call themselves ‘socialist’. All authoritarian governments which are ruled by self-proclaimed communists will mostly be described by Non-communists and anti-communists with the Communist label.
- Dictatorships are mostly authoritarian.
- Authoritarian characteristics can be found in democratic states too.
- Fascist states are always authoritarian.
- Despotism is another name of authoritarianism.
- Those countries which are under military autocracies are almost always authoritarian.
- Theocracies are also authoritarian. In Consensus decision-making, an exception is found the Quaker Consensus: ‘Decision-making arrived at by finding a ‘spiritual consensus’, rather than voting, was developed by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) early in the 17th century and is in use to the present day.’
- Authoritarian states hand over extensive control to law enforcement agencies. Where such a responsibility to law enforcement agencies is found in the extreme, it leads to what is called a police state. Rule of law may or may not exist in authoritarian governments.

Authoritarianism and the Economy

Before 1997, it was widely believed that authoritarian governments were likely to have stronger economies and out-perform democracies. The myth was shattered with the Asian financial crisis. This was the time when political theorists in the East and Southeast Asia strongly believed that authoritarian states were more likely to be economically successful than their democratic counterparts. The examples were given in the form of the states of South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and Taiwan. These states were strictly authoritarian and were witnessing bumper economic growth. However, despite the fall brought about by the Asian Financial Crisis, the

idea that authoritarianism promotes economic development remains very popular, especially in developing countries. For instance, the Communist Party of China which rules over the world's fastest growing economy, uses this argument to continue its authoritarian rule in the country. At the same time, however, there are many examples of other nations where authoritarian rule failed to promote economic growth. One such good historical example is Spain in post-war Europe. Some of the recent examples of nations which have failed economically despite authoritarian regimes are Myanmar and Zimbabwe. It is difficult to establish a link between political authoritarianism and economic growth yet political thinkers in anarchist and anti-authoritarian traditions have used 'economy' as one of the characteristic features of analysis of authoritarianism. The common ground between business corporations and the state have often been cited as examples. This is because both the institutions are hierarchical and collective entities and have clear markings in terms of authority and command.

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Criticism

Authoritarian systems have many critics and most of them are supporters of democracy:

- As compared to poor dictatorships, poor liberal democracies have better education, longer life expectancy, lower infant mortality, access to drinking water and offer better healthcare. This is because liberal democracies are in the knowledge of maximizing their usage of available resources and not because they have the higher levels of foreign assistance or that they spend a larger percentage of GDP on health and education.
- Democratic peace theory has found supporters in numerous studies which have used different kinds of data, definitions, and statistical analyses. As per the original finding, liberal democracies had never initiated war with one another. Recent research has even extended this theory and found that democracies have few Militarized Interstate Disputes. This means there were less than 1000 battle deaths with one another. Democracies have few civil wars and those MIDs that have occurred between democracies have caused fewer deaths.
- Despite an initial decline, most democratic nations that were earlier Communist nations achieved greatest gains in life expectancy.
- Prominent economist Amartya Sen has argued that no functioning democracy has ever suffered a largescale famine. He even included democracies which were never prosperous historically, like India which suffered a great famine in 1943 and many more before this in the 19th century even when it was under the British Rule. Some critics ascribed the Bengal famine of 1943 to the effects of the World War II .
- Liberal democracies are associated with several strong and significant health indicators like life expectancy and infant and maternal mortality than they have with GDP, per capita income or income inequality or the size of the public sector.

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- Research has shown that liberal democratic nations have less instances of democide or murder by government. They also have less genocide and politicide incidents.
- It is in non-democracies that mostly the refugee crises occurs. It was in autocracies that in the last twenty years, the first 87 cases of refugee crises and flows occurred.
- The highest average self-reported happiness in a nation has been reported from liberal democracies.
- The level of corruption in a state is strongly determined by the existence of political institutions in it. This argument is supported by the World Bank research. Where countries have democracy, parliamentary systems, political stability and freedom of the press, the instances of corruption are lesser. Accountability and transparency is ensured through the freedom of information laws. For instance, the Right to Information Act in India “has already engendered mass movements in the country that is bringing the lethargic, often corrupt bureaucracy to its knees and changing power equations completely”.
- With the exception of East Asia, in the last 45 years even poor liberal democracies have had good economic growth, at an average of 50 per cent more speed than non-democracies. For instance, poor democracies such as the Baltic countries, Botswana, Costa Rica, Ghana, and Senegal have registered more swift economic growth than non-democracies such as Angola, Syria, Uzbekistan and Zimbabwe.
- Nations with intermediate political freedom have had more instances of terrorism, as found by research. Democratic nations have much less terrorism and are more equipped to deal with it. Only five of the 80 worst worst financial catastrophes occurred in democracies in the last four decades. It has also been found that poor democracies are half likely as compared to non-democracies to experience a 10 per cent decline in GDP per capita over the course of one year.

One finds that authoritarian powers are unlimited in their scope. It can be all embracing. As compared to authoritarian systems, power is distributed in plurality among different groups in a democracy. Moreover, democracies provide space for professional associations, trade unions, business organizations and religious institutions like churches, mosques and political parties to exist and function normally. Such institutions protect political freedom by keeping each others’ working in check. In contrast, authoritarian states are a kind of fusion of the state and society; they form a social system wherein it is the politics that deeply influences the entire range of human associations and activities. Therefore, an authoritarian state can use any kind of power methods to keep its interests and meet its ends. It can put people in exile, in labour or prison camps or execute them altogether without any restraint.

One finds no plurality in authoritarian systems. As mentioned above, only one political party exists in such systems and it plays a significant role in strengthening the powers of its top leaders. It is also the only party that provides a platform for

training for future leaders and administrators. The state, on the other hand, uses its influence to create an army of volunteers who watch over the population and in turn report to the state any activities of dissent. Therefore, under such societies, power rests in the hands of the few, leading to centralization of power. The government also takes over communication and technological set ups in authoritarian states; means of communication like television, radio, cinema and publication of books and magazines are all under the watch of the state. Naturally, there are no protests when the media is stifled. The government strategically filters out every opposition that can create uncomfortable position for itself or challenge its power.

Authoritarian systems give no freedoms or rights to its people; the citizens thus have no freedom of speech, press, and religion. Even minority rights are not protected by the government, which is usually led by the majority community. The political leaders usually belong to one small group, like aristocratic families or are comprised of top military officials. Such regimes are said to be existent in countries like China, Myanmar, Cuba and Iran. Political power is vested in one ruler or a small group of leaders in an authoritarian political system. Such a government may hold elections and establish regular contact with their citizens but it is a watershed. In practice, citizens have no right to chose their leader or decide how they may be ruled. Free choice is not given to the subjects by their leaders. It is this group of leaders or a leader which decides what people can have or cannot have. Citizens, on the other hand, must obey their masters and not participate or not criticize political decisions. Rulers of authoritarian governments can be kings, military leaders, emperors, a small group of aristocrats, dictators, and even presidents or prime ministers. What type of government a system has is not indicated by the leader's title.

In conclusion, it can be said that the principle of authoritarianism is based on blind submission to authority as compared with the individual freedom of thought and action enshrined in democracies. As a system of governance, authoritarianism refers to such political system where power is concentrated in the hands of one leader or a small group of elites who have not been mandated by the constitution of the said state to rule over the people. Power is often exercised arbitrarily under authoritarianism and no regard is given to the established bodies of law. Such governments cannot be replaced by citizens through elections or free choice between various political parties because there are none. Under authoritarianism, there is hardly any freedom to create diverse political parties or provide alternative political groupings to people. There are many characteristics to authoritarian governments and no nation can fall entirely into either category. As political scientists, one should be careful to not categorize a nation in any category in the moment during which they are being examined. Each political system changes over time, whether democratic and authoritarian. This has made the global mosaic of political systems uncertain and complex.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

20. When did the totalitarian form of government gain prominence?
21. Write a short note on the authoritarian system.

1.8 SUMMARY

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- Three classic sociologists were the most important influences on contemporary structural functionalism, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim.
- The English sociologist Herbert Spencer also adopted the organism, but in his sociology it combined with a utilitarian philosophy.
- Modern structural functionalism operates on the basis of several assumptions derived from the ideas of these three classic sociologists.
- Structural-Functional Theory of Stratification as articulated by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore (1945) is perhaps the best known single piece of work in the structural functional theory.
- One of the major concerns of a structural functionalist is an analysis of the things—the structures and particularly the functions—that a social system needs in order to survive.
- A society must also have sufficient differentiation of roles, as well as a way of assigning people to those roles. In all societies, certain activities must be performed and roles must be constructed so that they can be performed
- Talcott Parsons saw the social world in terms of people's ideas, particularly their norms and values. 'Norms' are the socially accepted rules which people employ in deciding on their actions. 'Values' can best be described as people's beliefs about what the world should be like, as they have to determine the effect on their actions.
- Parsons' early contributions were based on the conviction that the appropriate subject matter of sociology is social action, a view reflecting the strong influence of Max Weber, and to some extent, Thomas.
- Parsons' conception of the social system begins at the micro level with an interaction between the ego and the alter ego, defined as the most elementary form of the social system.
- Merton developed the notion of middle-range theory as the theoretical goal suitable for the contemporary epoch of sociology. He conceives of sociological theory as logically interconnected sets of propositions from which empirical uniformities can be derived.
- Like Parsons, Merton replaced structural functionalism with functional analysis and brought functional analysis to the fore, and raised it to the level of theoretical orthodoxy.
- Functionalist position of value, in the functional sociological theory, holds that all members of a society have the same value. However, since the positions of the actors in a social system are different, and actors positioned in different classes would differ in class positions.
- At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a drastic change in the contents of the institutional approach, and

thereby the nature and scope of comparative politics. This was due to the contributions of Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski.

- The Liberal perspective emerged as a critique of the comprehensive political control and regulation of economic affairs which had dominated European nation building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., the Mercantilist school of thought.
- The structural–functional analysis is one of the primary system-derivatives in political science and a major framework for political research. As a result of the works of anthropologists of the early 20th century, particularly that of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, structural functionalism emerged a political science through sociology.
- The whole of Aristotle’s political ideology seeks to realize an ideal state, a dream that he could not meet in his lifetime. Aristotle was honestly conservative of his ideologies because of the turmoil and disaster that had come out of the Athenian democracy.
- Authoritarianism and totalitarianism are basically two faces of the same coin, with minor differences. An authoritarian system is not tyrannical like totalitarianism. Liberty is restricted in an authoritarian state but is not totally absent as in the totalitarian state. People do enjoy a little freedom and do possess some rights. Society is traditional and people have no power to influence government policies.
- In a parliamentary form of government, the tenure of office of the virtual executive is dependent on the will of the legislature; in a presidential form of government the tenure of office of the executive is independent of the will of the legislature.
- The US Constitution is based on the theory of separation of powers. The executive and legislative organs of the government are made independent of each other. So in strict language, Congress legislates and the president executives.
- The legislative branch of the American federal government is known as the Congress. Congress consists of two Houses—the House of Representatives and the Senate.
- A unitary form of government is a single unit state where the central government is supreme. All the power rests with the central government and any divisions in governance, for instance, in the form of administrative or sub-national units, have only those powers that the central government gives them.
- A totalitarian political system compromises with the freedom of the people to quite an extent even though a single political party in this system can bring in stability in any turbulent country.
- The state takes control of many aspects of the citizens’ lives under the authoritarian form of government which had led political scientists to define it as a system which erodes people’s civil liberties and freedom.

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1.9 KEY TERMS

- **Societal functionalism:** It studies the large-scale social structures and institutions of society, their interrelationships and their constraining effects on social actors.
- **Theory of organism:** Tendency to see analogies between societies and biological organisms.
- **Structural functionalism:** Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.
- **Universal functionalism:** This postulate holds that all social and cultural items fulfil sociological functions. This assumption implies an image of society in which there are no dispensable or irrelevant elements.
- **Ethnocentrism:** Making value judgments about another culture from perspectives of one's own cultural system

1.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. In individualistic functionalism, the focus is on the needs of actors and the various large-scale structures (for example, social institutions, cultural values) that emerge as functional responses to these needs.
2. Norms' are the socially accepted rules which people employ in deciding on their actions. 'Values' can best be described as people's beliefs about what the world should be like, as they have to determine the effect on their actions.
3. Any behaviour becomes action when:
 - It is oriented to attainment of ends or goals.
 - It occurs in situations.
 - It is regulated by norms and values of society.
 - It involves an investment of energy or motivation or effort.
4. The three different units of a social system are:
 - The social act, performed by an actor and oriented to one or more actors on objects.
 - The actor's status-role.
 - The actor himself as a social unit.
5. Universal functionalism holds that all social and cultural items fulfil sociological functions. This assumption implies an image of society in which there are no dispensable or irrelevant elements.
6. Some examples of middle-range theories are Theory of Reference Groups, Theory of Relative Deprivation, and Merton's Theory of Role-Set.

7. A tautological argument is one in which the conclusion merely makes explicit what is implicit in the premise or is simply restatement of the premise.
8. David Easton criticized Bryce's approach in his work *The Political System* (1953), calling it 'mere factualism'. Easton claimed that this approach had affected American Political Science admitting that although Bryce did not neglect 'theories' his aversion to making explanatory or theoretical models, had led to a 'surfeit of facts' and as a result to 'a theoretical malnutrition'.
9. Institutionalism is the belief that western liberal democratic institutions are dominant. Thus, according to this view, western liberal democracy is not only the best form of government, but it also has a normative and universal character. The widespread nature of western liberal democracy takes for granted that not only is this style of government the best, but also relevant across the world. The 'normativity' of western liberal democracies is a consequence of this belief.
10. Political economy refers to a specific approach to study social and political events where economics and politics are not seen as separate domains. It is based on the belief that the two disciplines have an intimate relationship and the hypothesis that this relationship unfolds in diverse ways.
11. The Liberal perspective emerged as a critique of the comprehensive political control and regulation of economic affairs which had dominated European nation building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., the Mercantilist school of thought. Liberals rejected theories and policies which subordinated economics to politics. They wanted a free market which was not limited by any monopoly or an economy that was not disassociated from the interest of the poor and of the community as a whole.
12. Comparative politics is the study of the forms of political organizations, their properties, correlations, variations and modes of change.
13. The general systems theory has been criticized for failing to sufficiently provide for concepts such as political power and influence or to handle mass behavioural aspects such as voting. It is of limited utility in studies of political policy-making.
14. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism are basically two faces of the same coin, with minor differences. An authoritarian system is not tyrannical like totalitarianism. Liberty is restricted in an authoritarian state but is not totally absent as in the totalitarian state. People do enjoy a little freedom and do possess some rights. Totalitarianism is synonymous to dictatorship.
15. Two executive powers of the American president include:
 - He is the chief executive and it is his duty to see that the laws and treaties are enforced throughout the country.
 - He has the power to make all important appointments but all such appointments are to be approved by the senate.

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16. The American president is indirectly elected by an electoral college, but in reality, his election has almost become direct in actual practice due to strict party discipline. The British prime minister is appointed by the king. Normally, he has no choice as he 'has to call the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons.
17. To be eligible to be a member of the senate:
 - He must be a citizen of the United States
 - He must have resided in the country for at least nine years
 - He must not be less than thirty years of age
 - He must be an inhabitant of the State he wishes to represent.
18. Disadvantages of unitary form of government include:
 - Local concerns are usually not the prerogative of the central government.
 - The centre is often at a lax in responding to local problems.
 - In case the centre gets involved in local problems, it can easily miss out on the needs of a large section of other people.
19. Some advantages of a federal form of government are:
 - There is a larger federal unity though local governments may handle their own problems.
 - The government at the Centre is more committed towards national and international issues.
 - It is a participatory system and there are more opportunities to make decisions. For instance, what goes into school curriculums and ways in which highways and other projects are to be carried out, can be decided through participation of local populace.
20. It was after the First World War that the totalitarian form of government gained prominence. The Weimar republic in Germany is one form of democratic government that countries tried to set up after the war.
21. Authoritarian systems give no freedoms or rights to its people; the citizens thus have no freedom of speech, press, and religion. Even minority rights are not protected by the government, which is usually led by the majority community. The political leaders usually belong to one small group, like aristocratic families or are comprised of top military officials. Such regimes are said to be existent in countries like China, Myanmar, Cuba and Iran.

1.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. According to Parsons, what is the difference between 'value orientation' and 'motivational orientation'?
2. List the five 'pattern variables' given by Talcott Parsons.

3. What was the basis of 'Action Theory' propounded by Talcott Parsons?
4. Elaborate on the four action systems in Parsons' AGIL scheme.
5. State in brief the historical overview of the institutional approach.
6. State in brief the powers and functions of the US President.
7. State the differences between American and British cabinet.

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Long-Answer Questions

1. 'Stratification (of society) is a functional necessity'. Do you agree? Give examples to support your answer.
2. Give a detailed account on the Talcott Parsons 'Action Theory'.
3. Explain 'Middle-Range Theory' propounded by R.K. Merton.
4. Elaborate on Merton's 'Theory of Social Structure and Paradigm of Functional Analysis'.
5. Discuss the contributions of Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski to the institutional approach.
6. Discuss the unitary and federal forms of government.
7. Analyse the pros and cons of the non-democratic systems.

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UNIT 2 GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
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 - 2.3.2 Bureaucracy
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- 2.5 Electoral Systems and Elections
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 - 2.5.2 Comptroller and Auditor General of India
- 2.6 Parties and Party-Systems
 - 2.6.1 Evolution of the Party System in India in the Post-Independence Era
 - 2.6.2 Regional Political Parties
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- 2.11 Questions and Exercises
- 2.12 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Political institutions are official groups or establishments that are responsible for the creation, enforcement and application of laws. These establishments arbitrate discords, frame (governmental) policies on the economic and social issues pertaining to these systems. They also otherwise represent the chunk of the population. Political parties, police, military, bureaucracy, trade unions and legal courts are examples of political institutions. The term 'political institutions' may also refer to the acclaimed configuration of rules and principles that govern the functioning of these mentioned organizations. It comprises concepts such as the right to vote, responsible governance and accountability. This unit deals with the various governmental structures such as the legislature, judiciary, bureaucracy and so on.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the different political parties of India and comment on the evolution of the Indian party system
- Comment on the legislative, constitutional and parliamentary control in India
- Discuss the role of military and bureaucratic management in India
- Analyse the concept of judicial review in India
- Discuss the different forms of political systems and the pressure group techniques

2.2 LEGISLATURES AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

In a parliamentary government, the party commanding a majority of votes in the Lok Sabha enjoys the prerogative of forming and running the government. Each of its members is thus required to secure that his policies command the agreement of his colleagues. The whole Council of Ministers has to resign if an important issue affecting any Minister gets rejected by the Lok Sabha. A Minister thus swims and sinks along with his other colleagues in the Council of Ministers. Within the Council of Ministers, of course, he persuades his colleagues to accept his proposals, and a strong Minister would always carry the day. If, however, he fails to obtain the agreement of his colleagues on a policy which he considers to be very important or if he feels that he does not agree with a policy made in the Cabinet and which he cannot publicly defend, he must resign.

The concept of collective responsibility does not imply that all matters of governance are discussed and approved in the Cabinet; the rules and regulations have clearly specified the types of matters which are brought before the cabinet, the remaining one being left to the care of individual ministers for their decision-making. The personal accountability of each Minister to Parliament extends to all matters within his competence, which is as basic a principle of the constitution as is the rule of law. A Minister is accountable to Parliament (Lok Sabha, to be precise) for his own actions, or lack of them as well as for all those of civil servants serving in the ministry under his charge. The civil servants are protected by the well-known principle of anonymity. Parliament holds the Minister responsible if something in his/her ministry goes wrong, even if he/she did not have knowledge of the matter or did not approve it. The Minister's responsibility to parliament without any qualification or modification is the absence of ministerial responsibility.

It does not follow, however, that the concept of ministerial responsibility gives blanket protection to the civil servants. As regards Parliament, the civil servant is always protected; the former would be after the Minister's head if something in his charge goes wrong. This point needs further elaboration.

Even in its pure and pristine form, ministerial accountability has obvious limitations:

- It is just a convention without any legal sanction behind it. It is essentially a matter of conscience, a moral principle.
- It is limited by sheer common sense. If a railway station master has misbehaved with the public, there will be no demand for the Railway Minister's resignation. Similarly, if there is a drought, the Minister of Agriculture is not asked to resign.
- A Minister continues in office so long as he/she enjoys the confidence of Prime Minister.
- If the Minister is an important leader of his/her party and commands wide support, he/she is always sought, never sacked.

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Tools and Mechanisms of Accountability

Reference so far has been made to the external aspect of accountability. Accountability has an internal aspect as well. All civil servants working in a ministry are accountable to the Minister. As the Minister is responsible to the Legislature for actions (including inactions) of the civil servants, the latter must obviously be held accountable to him. This boils down to the following:

- The civil servants must know their Minister's mind well and seek faithfully to project it in what they do.
- They must observe, in all their official transactions with citizens, due processes of law of natural justice.
- They must remain alive to the sensitivities of the legislature and must abjure from doing things which might embarrass the Minister, particularly in his relationship with the legislature.
- They must be responsive to the larger public opinion.

Accountability is made more specific and is ensured by a complex of organizational and procedural devices. Hierarchy is itself an exercise in accountability fixation. Without adequate control and supervision over the actions of the lower levels, accountability can hardly be enforced. Span of control, unity of command, inspection, supervision, etc., are other well-known accountability-facilitating devices. To ensure financial accountability, a financial advisory system is now a part of each Ministry. Lateral agencies like the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Finance, etc. are other accountability mechanisms. Audit, too, is a powerful tool of accountability, so powerful that the Comptroller or Auditor-General is one of the topmost constitutional functionaries of India and is independent of the Executive.

Though the Minister has complete autonomy within his sphere of authority, he must concentrate on major matters of policy and leave tasks of day-to-day administration to the career civil servants.

A Critique of Conventional Mechanisms of Accountability

The mechanisms designed to enforce accountability are the products of an era when public administration was small in size and, engaged in simple tasks. Today,

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public administration has grown too big and complex and is subject to multiple pressures of varying intensities. This results in the convention's of accountability-enforcement proving to be weak and ineffective. Parliament should insist on getting adequate information about the functions and activities of each department. At present, it gets only an annual report from each ministry which is inadequate to make accountability feasible. The flow of information to Parliament is inadequate and not regular, and thus one may not be able to form a sufficiently reasonable judgement on the functioning of the Executive. Besides, Parliament does not appear to have consistent understanding of its own role. It currently spends a lot of its time in discussing trivial matters; when highly technical matters with far-reaching implications are brought before it, only a handful of MPs are present in the legislature.

The plain fact is that today the Executive has grown too big to be amenable to a sensible and sustained system of accountability: it needs to be controlled in respect of its size and staffing. Also, new paths should be researched for better accountability of public administration should be explored. This requires, among others, an innovative culture and certain commitment to out-of-the way approaches and strategies.

First and foremost, accountability must be imported with more positive contents. The common administrative spectacle, like lackadaisical performance, playing safe, not providing leadership and drive to the organization and features of this nature must be firmly discouraged. At present, accountability has been greatly devalued and has not been finely tuned. As a result, the public functionaries not taking decisions or given to procrastination and delay, pass off undetected and unpunished. In short, accountability must become sensitive to reward and punishment, and must not remain one-sided, which perhaps is the case at present.

Parliament must remain fully aware of its role and responsibilities, and oblige the political executive to render an account of its stewardship of the nation's public affairs. The Council of Ministers must set a programmatic vision before itself and set out to implement it by making appropriate policies ably supported by programmes and schemes and the necessary infrastructure. The individual Ministers must on their part provide the necessary policy inputs in their respective areas of operation, ginger up the machinery of administration, and instil a sense of efficiency, purpose and economy in the departments and the agencies under them. The Minister must periodically review the policies and programmes and take corrective action to ensure timely fulfilment of the targets. He must lead the bureaucracy, for the latter, when left to itself, remains self-programmed and suffers from a chronic incapacity to get out of the rut. The various levels in the hierarchy must be endowed with adequate powers and responsibilities. This needs to be underlined, for in many developing countries, it is characteristic of the lower-level personnel to have responsibility with power concentrated in the hands of top echelons. The classical tools of effective internal management, like inspection, visit, control and supervision, which have either fallen into disuse or are perfunctorily undertaken, must be activated, and the tone and standard in this respect, as in many others, must be set by the top civil servants themselves.

Decentralization, delegation, devolution and deconcentration are vital to accountability. As already emphasized, accountability is performance-based and result-

oriented, but in a responsible system of government public functionaries are not permitted to make short shrift of the prescribed procedures. This necessitates a dramatic simplification of rules and procedures so that administrators do not have to waste time in attending to unnecessary procedure. No less urgent is the need for appropriate changes in personnel administration, especially training, placement, performance appraisal, promotion, etc. Administrative reform, including reform of the country's civil service, is among the prerequisites to a system of effective accountability. Public administration is apt to become more accountable if it shows a greater degree of openness to welcome more of management in it. A reporting system providing information on the progress made towards the fulfilments of organization objectives must be put into operation, and follow-up action must be quick.

No less necessary for the promotion of a sense of accountability is increasing openness in administration. To secure this, the Official Secrets Act must be so revised as to grant to the citizens a right of access to official information in many areas of public administration. This requires an appreciation of the fact that the secrecy legislation at present tends only to keep the official protected and thus unaccountable, and not the official information.

Most important is to take cognizance of the most serious menace to accountability. Both the functionary called to account for his performance and the one who takes the account are but human; it is therefore vital that they be motivated by purely organizational objectives in their interactions. This is critically important, for accountability runs a grave risk of becoming personalized, thus promoting a privatization game at both ends. Nor should the network of accountability get tainted or polluted, an aspect, needing special care and attention. In many developing countries, the formal hierarchies in many organizations, especially those involving public dealings or other kinds of patronage, have been virtually converted into integrated circuits of corruption, thereby making nonsense of accountability. This must be avoided at all cost.

Thus we see how it is detrimental for administration if the public functionaries indulge in procrastination, betrayal, inaction, or move in circles simply because accountability has overawed and benumbed them.

Legislative Control in India

The scope of Public Administration is expanding globally. Governments are being saddled with additional responsibilities and each year some more functions are added to an already long list of functions. In India, too, after the Second World War and the partition of the country after Independence, created a host of problems demanding governmental attention, like integration of the princely states, adoption of the Constitution in 1950, all which contributed to the expansionist tendencies of the government.

Accountability of Public Administration: Control Devices

The misuse or abuse of authority on the part of Public Administration may assume various forms; overriding law and constitution, violation of established procedures, lack of integrity, favouritism or nepotism, unethical or improper conduct, gross inefficiency, misuse of discretion and above all, encroachment on fundamental rights

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and freedom of citizens. A large number of instruments of control have been devised in order to minimize and eliminate the misuse and abuse of authority. These are:

- Legislative or parliamentary control
- Judicial control
- Executive control
- Popular control — electorate or the people

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Legislative or Parliamentary Control

In the matter of the accountability of the Executive to Parliament, some semantic problem is involved. There is need for conceptual clarification. The Executive, depending upon what we mean by the Executive, is not accountable to Parliament. The Executive is responsible to the Lok Sabha. The administration is accountable to the Parliament. There is a distinction. If, by Executive we mean the President who is the constitutional or nominal Executive or the Council of Ministers who are the real or political Executive or the Government, they are parts of Parliament. The Council of Ministers is responsible to Lok Sabha under the provisions of the Constitution.

The term administration, for the sake of clarity, should be distinguished from the Executive. It should mean the permanent staff who are charged with the duty of implementing the policies approved by Parliament. In this sense while the Executive will be politically responsible to Lok Sabha the administration will be technically accountable to it. Accountability is always after the event. We are giving an account of what we have done. It is ex-post facto. Accountability is not contemporaneous, it is not concurrent. It is not day-to-day. Parliamentary scrutiny of administration is in the nature of a post-mortem. It is only after something has been done by the Administration that it can be called upon to explain and justify why it has been done in a particular manner. It is not the function of Parliament to interfere in the day-to-day administration of Government. But, if the administrator has done something, Parliament can ask him why he has done so and the former has to render account for what he has done.

On the other hand, the Council of Ministers is responsible to the Lok Sabha and if at any moment a vote of no confidence is passed in the Lok Sabha, the Government will have to step down.

Parliament occupies the centre stage in the Indian political firmament. The term 'Parliamentary' refers specifically to a kind of democratic polity wherein the supreme power vests in the body of people's representative called Parliament. The Parliamentary system is one in which Parliament enjoys primacy of place in the governance of the state. Under the Constitution of India the Union legislature is called 'Parliament'. It is the pivot on which the political system of the country revolves.

The founding fathers of our Constitution have placed Indian bureaucracy under the tight and elaborate control mechanism of the Parliament. It has given a free hand to the political master to legitimize their new role of disciplining the administration and has left the latter to discover and adjust itself with the new winds of political change as reflected in the Parliament. The political process of the last 53

years has witnessed this dramatic role reversal of Parliament and the administration and today the parliamentary institutions stand firmly poised to control the administrative universe in a very purposeful and meaningful manner.

Parliamentary control over Public Administration has two dimensions viz., the direct and the indirect. The latter variety operates through the Minister who provides a connection between his administrative department and the representative Parliament. In a parliamentary system, where Ministers are grilled on the floor of the house, the administration *ipso facto* stands accountable to the sovereign will of the people. The Minister being a servant of the Parliament and a master of his Department, is pulled up by the former for the lapses of his department. Resignations are demanded by the angry house whenever the administrative situation warrants correction and the Minister in turn fires his subordinates to honour the wishes of the Parliament.

Limitations of Legislative Control

‘The entire administrative machinery comes under the potential control of the legislature. This is because every action may provoke a question, every question an adjournment debate, and every adjournment debate a full-dress debate’. It remains, nevertheless, true that the legislative control over administration is not as effective as it ought to be. Inefficacy of legislative control and surveillance, however, is more or less a universal feature, India being no exception. On the contrary, the imperial background of Indian administration, the wide gulf between administration and the people, the unfortunate prevalence of widespread illiteracy in the country, which inevitably projects itself, to an extent, into our legislative chambers as well, put further limitations on legislative control over public administration. Control over defence is even less. Listed below are some of the limitations of the Parliament in India and other democracies:

- In the formulation of policies the Executive plays a decisive role. A large number of bills originate in the Government departments. The legislative leadership, therefore, safely rests with the Government.
- The work of administration has been phenomenally increasing both in volume and complexity. Legislatures do not have the necessary time and expertise to effectively control the rapidly expanding administration.
- Legislatures are severely hampered in their tasks of exerting effective control over finances. Legislators are not involved at the micro level at the various Departments and as such cannot question the grants requested by their Departments. Parliament requires the permission of the Executive for granting money for demands or for raising, reducing or abolishing taxes..’
- Party discipline, which is a firmly established attribute of modern political parties, has also made elected representatives, dependent on the ruling Executive. The Government feels safe behind its majority in the parliament and becomes complacent.

The legislature’s control of administration, is exercised only sometimes, but the Executive’s powers of control are constantly exercised.

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Ministerial responsibility is the cardinal principle of parliamentary democracy. Under this system, the Ministers have joint responsibility towards the legislature for all the departmental activities. The Cabinet or Council of Ministers is collectively in charge of the whole administration, but each Minister is also individually in charge of one or more Departments. Every activity or branch of the administration falls under the control of a Minister. The Minister is in full charge of his/her Ministry or Department, which he/she manages with the help of a secretary, a senior officer of the civil service, or a board, e.g., the Railway Board of India. The Minister has the final power of direction, control and supervision.

However, the Minister is only a link in the hierarchical chain; the vortex of which is the Cabinet. It is the Cabinet which formulates public policy of the state, executes this policy and manages the administration.

Following are the methods that the Executive exercises to control the administrator:

- The Executive (Cabinet) is responsible for policy formulation, supreme direction of administration and the co-ordination and control over the various branches of administration.
- Control over personnel, i.e., appointment, promotion, removal, transfer, enforcing and auditing system.
- Control over finances, e.g., allocation of resources through budget, accounting and auditing system.
- Rule making power, ordinances, etc.
- Political control, it is the final authority to take decisions.

However, in practice, the Executive control is not adequate and has the following limitations:

- The Executive is too busy and hardly finds time to review administrative actions.
- It has been seen that most of the Executives spend time in attending meetings rather than concentrating on their work.
- Outdated administrative machinery of the Government does not permit easy review and action.
- Ministers are laymen and the administrative process is complex and technical.

We have already noted the tremendous increase in the powers of the administrative authorities in modern times. The evolution of a new socio-economic order having its repercussions on the increased activities of the state has resulted in new vistas of administrative functions. The increased power of the administration owes a great deal to the judicial control as courts have proved more effective and useful than the legislature in settling certain matters.

Judicial Control

Judicial control over administration is no substitute for parliamentary control. In fact, they are supplementary but serve two different kinds of purposes.

Courts occupy a key position in India as regards judicial control of administrative action. Since we adopted the concept of welfare state, it became exceedingly necessary that the laws of the country conform to our Constitution and the innumerable administrative departments are answerable to the courts of law.

In India, judicial control of administrative action can be categorized under three methods:

(a) Constitutional: Our Constitution provides various provisions to bring the administrative action under the control and supervision of the superior course.

These are:

- Article 32 empowers the Supreme Court to protect the fundamental rights of every citizen under Chapter III of the Constitution.
- Article 226 empowers every High Court to protect the fundamental rights of every citizen, along with their legal rights.
- Article 136 further grants the Supreme Court, the power to permit any judgement, decree, determination, sentence or order by any court or tribunal in India to be appealed and retried in the Supreme Court. Article 136 also granted the Supreme Court extraordinary powers to review all administrative decisions, which are taken by the administrative authority in quasi-judicial capacity.
- Under Article 300 the courts have been empowered to entertain and allow petitions for damages against the Government for torturous acts of their servants.

(b) Statutory: As regards the second mode of judicial control, i.e., statutory, there are many statutes in which some special provisions for reference or revision by specified courts on specific faults relating to particular administrative action are provided. The methods of statutory review can be divided into two parts, statutory appeals and reference to the High Court.

(c) Ordinary or equitable: The ordinary or equitable mode of judicial control includes the following (a) Declarator judgement (b) Injunctions, and (c) Action for damages.

In cases where people have been wronged against by an administrative act, declaratory judgements and injunctions are the remedial solutions. An action for declaration is applied when authority has been wrongly exercised. An injunction is issued to control administrative or quasi-judicial bodies from abusing the powers bestowed on them. An injunction can be issued against private individuals or a statutory body.

The courts of law may intervene in any of the following situations:

- Abuse of power
- Lack of jurisdiction
- Error of law
- Error in fact finding
- Procedural error

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The court’s intervention may be sought if the administrator uses his authority vindictively to harm some person. The court also intervenes if the administrator commits jurisdictional errors which include absence of jurisdiction, excess of jurisdiction, and refusal to exercise jurisdiction. The court may also intervene if the official misconstrues the law or departs from the rules of procedure that have been laid down. An administrative act or a quasi-judicial decision can also be challenged on the grounds that it is unconstitutional.

2.2.1 Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism has a variety of meanings. Most generally, it is “a complex of ideas, attitudes, and patterns of behaviour elaborating the principle that the authority of government derives from and is limited by a body of fundamental law”. A political organization is constitutional to the extent that it “contain[s] institutionalized mechanisms of power control for the protection of the interests and liberties of the citizenry, including those that may be in the minority”. As described by political scientist and constitutional scholar David Fellman: It may be said that the touchstone of constitutionalism is the concept of limited government under a higher law.

Constitutionalism means limited government or limitation on government. It is antithesis of arbitrary powers. Constitutionalism recognizes the need for government with powers but at the same time insists that limitation be placed on those powers. The antithesis of constitutionalism is despotism. A government which goes beyond its limits loses its authority and legitimacy. Therefore, to preserve the basic freedoms of the individual, and to maintain his dignity and personality, the Constitution should be permeated with ‘Constitutionalism’; it should have some inbuilt restrictions on the powers conferred by it on governmental organs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. State the limitations of ministerial accountability.
2. State the limitations of executive control.
3. What are the three methods of judicial control of administrative action?

2.3 BUREAUCRACY AND MILITARY

Let us discuss the basic aspects of bureaucracy and military.

2.3.1 Military

The military is necessary for a nation’s security. Its main responsibility is to shield the nation’s independence and territorial integrity. Today, the military is a highly professional body. It is organized in a professional manner with the use of modern principles and techniques. However, it will be wrong to say that the military is of recent origin. In fact, it has existed since ancient times.

Features of Military

The military is a unique organization with several distinct features. First, being the chief instrument of war, the military has a virtual monopoly of weaponry and substantial coercive power. The weapons used in war and other such operations are in its possession. Second, armed forces are tightly organized and highly disciplined. They are organized strictly on the basis of hierarchy. Third, the military has a distinct culture. The military people believe in the value of fighting, killing and dying for sake of the country. Fourth, the military is generally above politics. This is also the public's belief.

Wholeness

The military is seldom a united whole. On the contrary, it has generally several internal divisions. There are tensions and conflicts among various groups having conflicting interests. The senior officers, coming from elite backgrounds, consider themselves superior to junior officers drawn from a modest background. Further, officers in general are conservative while ordinary soldiers, coming from a poor background, are radical in attitude.

Role of the Military

1. Instrument of war

The military mainly serves as an instrument of war. It can fight both offensively and defensively. The military can be ordered to attack another country which is seen as an enemy. It can also defend the country against an aggressor country. Further, a strong military may act as a deterrent against a likely aggressor. If a country has a powerful military, its enemy will fear to attack it. There is, however, a danger. If two countries, that are hostile to each other, go on recruiting more troops and procuring more of deadly weapons, they may rush into a war.

2. Preserving domestic order

The military can be legitimately deployed to serve 'public' interests at home. It can be employed to help people at the time of natural and other crises. The military is also pressed to service to quell an armed rebellion threatening the security and integrity of the nation. These are legitimate grounds on which the military can be deployed. However, use of military by the ruling regime to suppress and terrorize political opponents is sure to invite criticism.

3. Interest group

In many countries the military functions as a powerful pressure group. It puts pressure on the government to accept its demands which include more of promotions, more of costly weapons and more share in policy-making relating to national security.

The military considers itself as a 'sacred cow' and the public, in general, also thinks so. As a result, neither the government nor the people would ordinarily criticize the military. They consider the views of the military seriously. There is also the fear that the military, if excessively displeased, would retaliate and might stage a *coup detat*. That is why, the military often succeeds in influencing the policies of the government to its advantage.

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4. An alternative to civilian rule

While the normal role of the military is to serve the civilian government in maintaining national security, it also tends to replace the civilian government when the latter fails to defend the country against external aggression or internal rebellion. The military is also tempted to capture power, if the civilian government becomes corrupt or inefficient. Further, lust of power may prompt one ambitious general or a small group of ambitious military officers to seize power. Military takeover may also take place as part of external intervention. An external power may win over the military of another country whose government is considered as enemy. In 1973 the CIA of the US won over the military of Chile and general Pinochet of Chile staged a military coup. General Pinochet and his followers in the military killed Salvador Allende, the head of Chilean government. Allende, a Marxist, was the first Marxist leader in the world to have come to power through a democratic election. The US wanted to kill him because he was considered as an obstacle to America's economic interests in Chile.

Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has been ruled by military rulers for around 25 years. On the other hand, during the same period, India has never been ruled by the military. This is mainly due to the fact that in India, the culture of democracy has strong roots, while it has failed to grow in Pakistan. Military coups have taken place mostly in developing countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Developed countries are, to a great extent, free from military rule.

Civilian Control of the Military

The military, with the monopoly of coercive power, is a potential danger to the civilian government. The allegiance of the military to the civilian government cannot be taken for granted. A few ambitious military officers may stage a military coup. This would threaten civilian rule and democracy. This danger can be removed if the civilian control over the military remains effective.

According to Samuel P. Huntington, civilian control over the military can be enforced in two ways, namely, objective and subjective. Objective method is to make the military subordinate to civilian government by law and to ban the participation of military in politics. This method intends to ensure the neutrality of military in politics. The subjective method is to inject such values into the minds of military people which make them believe that it is their duty to be loyal to the civilian government. They can be imbued with these values through education, training and propaganda.

Factors Leading to Military Coup

According to S. Finer, there are five factors of military coup staged to capture power. They are as follows:

1. National interests

If the military feels that the elected government has failed to protect national interest, it will stage a military coup to capture power. All military generals who have captured power in Pakistan through military coup have cited this factor in their defence.

2. Class interests

Military officers who belong to the middle class, may stage a military coup in defence of the interests of the middle class.

3. Ethnic motive

In many countries, particularly of Africa, the military may stage a coup in support of one tribal group as against others.

4. Institutional interests

The military stage a coup if there is a big cut in the defence budget.

5. Personal ambition

One military officer or a group of officers, having lust for power, may try to capture power through a military coup. Idi Amin captured power in Uganda through military coup and stayed in power from 1971 to 1979.

Other factors leading to military coup are economic underdevelopment, loss of legitimacy of the elected government, dispute between the government and military on some issue and favourable international environment.

Normally, military officers do not give up power once they have it through a coup. However, sometimes they peacefully transfer power to a civilian government and go back to the barracks.

Military Alliance

Military has been formed in the name of regional security. Some of these are the N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., Warsaw Pact, etc. These military alliances have enabled the big powers of the world to exercise powerful influence over the domestic and foreign policies of weaker member states. Thus, the big powers are in a position to get several benefits. They have established military and air bases on the soil of member nations. Civilian and military personnel of these big states have enjoyed extra-territorial benefits. The surplus military equipment is dumped in these bases.

Financial Control

In a number of so called independent backward countries, currency and coinage is regulated by a foreign state or foreign bank. For instance, the US regulates the currency system in certain Central American States. These financial controls exercised by bigger powers enable them to influence other aspects of the backward states and thus derive numerous benefits. However, gradually this system is being abolished.

Leasehold

In modern times imperialism also continues in the form of leasehold. A particular part of a state's territory may be given on 99 years lease to a big foreign power. Although a nominal sovereignty of the small state continues over this area, virtually it is under the control of a big power. The leasehold of the US over the Panama

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Canal Zone is an example. In the Canal Zone the US authorities have full sovereignty on this area. This is a sort of imperialism under a different garb.

Protectorate

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By a mutual treaty agreement, the defence and foreign relations of a weaker state may be assigned to a big power. In all other aspects, the weaker state remains independent. There are several such protectorates in the world. Bhutan is the protectorate of India. On behalf of this state, the Government of India looks after its defence and foreign relations. This is also a type of imperialism.

Ideological Influence

Though the communist nations openly criticize the system of imperialism, these nations have practiced ideological imperialism. The states bordering the (earlier) Soviet Union such as Bulgaria, Romania, etc., were supposed to be people's republics. These had all facades of a sovereign state. However, the strong ideological influence under which these states functioned had virtually reduced their independence to nil. Similar is the case of North Korea and North Vietnam. These states were under strong ideological influence of Moscow or Peking. Their domestic and foreign policies were directed from Moscow or Peking. For lack of a better expression we may call it 'ideological imperialism'.

2.3.2 Bureaucracy

Modern societies for the most part do not accept socially embedded ways of recruiting or training based on personal connections and social networks. In today's world, however, a great many aspects of work organization are governed by a markedly different approach, one that is encompassed by the term bureaucracy.

Before dealing with the role of bureaucracy in policymaking, it is very essential to understand the meaning of 'bureaucracy'. According to Max Weber, 'bureaucracy is universal social phenomenon and the means of carrying community action to rationally ordered societal action.'

In the words of Marshall E. Dimock, 'bureaucracy is the state of the society in which institutions overshadow individuals and simple family relationships, stage of development in which division of labour, specialization, organization, hierarchy, planning and regimentation of large groups of individuals either by voluntary or involuntary methods, are the order of the day'.

However, bureaucracy is said to be the product of a large size of organizations in public or private service. The bureaucratic administration breaks the absolute power of elected leadership or monarchy due to its systematized administration. As a system, it has to practice autonomy and independence in giving its opinion to political leaders and to faithfully execute the formulated policies. Hans Rosenberg has observed that '...an essential part of the present structure of governance consists of its far-flung system of professionalized administration and its hierarchy of appointed officials upon whom the society is thoroughly dependent. Whether we

live under the most has role of bureaucracy totalitarian despotism, or in the most liberal democracy, we are governed to a considerable extent by a bureaucracy of some kind'.

Herman Finer says that bureaucracy is a 'professional body of officials, permanent, paid and skilled'. Arthur K. Davis looked at bureaucracy from the structural viewpoint. To him, bureaucracy is 'an integrated hierarchy of specialized offices defined by systematic rules, an impersonal, routine structure wherein legitimized authority rests in the office and not in the person of the incumbent'.

Bureaucracy is a system of administration under which all the employees are organized into a hierarchy of offices, each with well-defined spheres of duties and responsibilities. The meaning of 'bureaucracy' will become further clear by understanding its major characteristics as under:

- Ñ **Hierarchy:** In a bureaucracy, activities based on specialization are assigned to specific positions. There is a clear-cut division of work, competence, authority, responsibility and other job components. Each lower office is under the control and supervision of the higher office. Officials are accountable to their superiors for their official actions.
- Ñ **Professional qualities:** All officials possess professional qualities on the basis of which they are selected for appointment in various jobs. Their merit for selection is determined on the basis of objective criteria. They deal in an impersonal and formalistic manner in their relations with others and also in the execution of their official duties. They enjoy a permanent career with reasonable opportunities of advancement with sufficient security of service.
- Ñ **Rules and procedures:** In bureaucracy, decisions are governed by a consistent system of abstract rules, regulations and procedures. Official behaviour is to follow definite rules of conduct and discipline.
- Ñ **Specialization:** The use of authority has to be in accordance with the specialization of knowledge. Official tasks are organized on a continuous regulated basis. These tasks are subdivided into functionally distinct spheres, each furnished with the organizational resources.
- Ñ **Organizational resources:** The resources of the organization are quite distinct from those of the members who are private individuals. It means that officials do not own resources necessary for performing the official duties; rather they are accountable for the use of official resources. Official revenue and private incomes are strictly kept separate.

Bureaucratic Management and Commercial Management

Bureaucracy is a principle of administrative technique and organization. Let us now understand the peculiar characteristics of bureaucratic management as distinguished from commercial management. A bureaucratic management is bound to comply with detailed rules and regulations fixed by the authority of a superior body. The task of the bureaucrat is to perform what these rules and regulations order him to do. His discretion to act according to his own best conviction is seriously restricted by them.

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Business management is management directed by a profit motive. As success or failure to attain this end can be ascertained by accounting not only for the whole business concern but also for any of its parts, it is feasible to decentralize both management and accountability without jeopardizing the unity of operations and the attainment of their goal. The objectives of public administration cannot be measured in money terms and cannot be checked by accountancy methods. There is no yardstick available that could establish whether the expenses incurred by one of its regional or local branches were not excessive. The expenditures of a police station are not reimbursed by its successful management and do not vary in proportion to the success attained. If the head of the whole bureau were to leave, its subordinate station chiefs have a free hand with regard to money expenditure, and the result would be a large increase in costs as each and every person would be zealous to improve the service of his branch as much as possible. It would become impossible for the top executive to keep the expenditures within the appropriations allocated by the representatives of the people. It is not because of punctiliousness that the administrative regulations fix how much can be spent by each local office for cleaning the premises, for furniture repairs, or for lighting and heating. Within a business concern, such things can be left without hesitation to the discretion of the responsible local manager. He will not spend more than necessary as that would jeopardize the branch's profit, and thereby indirectly hurts his own interests. But this is not the case with the local chief of a government agency. By increasing the spending, the local chief improves the result of his conduct of affairs. Thrift must be imposed on him by regimentation.

In common parlance, bureaucracy is equated with public administration. According to Morstein Marx, the term was first used in the French form 'bureaucratie' by a French minister of commerce in the 18th century to refer to the government in operation; spread to Germany during the 19th century as 'burokratie', and has since found its way into English and many other languages. According to Andrew Heywood, bureaucracy literally 'rule by officials' is, in everyday language, a pejorative term meaning pointless administrative routine, or 'red tape'. In the social science, the concept of bureaucracy is used in more specific and neutral sense but refers to phenomena as different as rule by non elected officials, the administrative machinery of government and a rational mode of organization. Despite disagreement about its location and character, it is generally accepted that extract organizational and rule-governed professional administration are features of bureaucracy. In the field of comparative government it refers to the administrative machinery of the state, bureaucrats being non-elected state official or civil servants.

Albrow has identified seven modern concepts of bureaucracy:

- Bureaucracy as rational organization
- Bureaucracy as organizational inefficiency
- Bureaucracy as rule by officials
- Bureaucracy as public administration

- Bureaucracy as administration by officials
- Bureaucracy as organization
- Bureaucracy as modern society

To some extent, these contrasting concepts and usages reflect the fact that bureaucracy has been viewed differently by different academic disciplines. Students of government, for example, traditionally understood bureaucracy in a literal sense to mean ‘rule by the bureau’; that is, rule by appointed officials. In *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), J. S. Mill therefore contrasted bureaucracy with representative forms of government i.e., rule by elected and accountable politicians. In the field of sociology, bureaucracy has typically been understood as a particular type of organization, as a system of administration rather than a system of government. Bureaucracy in this sense can be found not only in democratic and authoritarian states but also in business corporations, trade unions, political parties, and so on. Economists, on the other hand, sometimes view bureaucracies as specifically ‘public’ organizations. They are thus characterized by the fact that being funded through the tax system, they are neither disciplined by the profit motive nor responsive to market pressure.

According to Max Weber, bureaucracy is an ‘ideal type’ of rule based on a system of rational rules, which opposed to either tradition or charisma. He defined a set of principles that characterize bureaucratic organization in the following way:

- Jurisdictional areas are fixed and official, and ordered by laws or rules.
- There is a firmly ordered hierarchy which ensures that lower offices are supervised by specified higher ones within a chain of command.
- Business is managed by on the basis of written documents and filing systems.
- The authority of officials is impersonal and stems entirely from the post they hold, not from personal status.
- Bureaucratic rules are strict enough to minimize the scope of personal discretion.
- Appointment and advancement within a bureaucracy are based on professional criteria, such as training, expertise and administrative competence.

Rationality is the central feature of bureaucracy as per Weberian perspective because bureaucratization reflects the advance of reliable, predictable and, above all, efficient means of social organizations. Bureaucracy for Weber was nothing less than the characteristic form of organization found in modern society. In his view, bureaucracy’s expansion was irreversible. This was not only a result of technical superiority of bureaucracy over other forms of administration, but also a consequence of significant economic, political and cultural developments. The development of a modern state and the extension of its responsibilities into the social and economic spheres, also led to the growth of powerful government bureaucracy. The growth of bureaucratization was further stimulated by the pressure of democratization.

The primary concern of bureaucracy is the execution and enforcement of the laws made by legislature and the policies decided by the political executive.

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Other functions of the government such as representation, policymaking, and interest articulation are carried out by a variety of institutions. Policy implementation is solely the responsibility of civil servants, albeit working under their political masters. Moreover, the Weberian model of bureaucracies as rational and objective machine appears to divorce the administrative world from the political world. In this view, bureaucrats are seen simply as cogs in a machine, as reliable and efficient administrators operate within fixed hierarchy and as per the clearly defined rules. The reality is very different. Despite their formal subordination and impartiality, bureaucrats exert considerable influence on the policy process, and thus fulfil a number of key functions in any political function. The most important of these functions include carrying out administration, offering policy advice, articulating and aggregating interests, and maintaining political stability.

Bureaucracy and Democracy

It is frequently asserted that bureaucratic management is incompatible with democratic government and institutions. The two pillars of democratic government are: (a) primacy of the law and (b) budget. Democratic government is defined as a system of government under which those ruled are in a position to determine, directly or indirectly by election, the exercise of the legislative and executive power and the selection of the supreme executives. Primacy of the law means that no judge or officeholder has the right to interfere with any individual's affairs or conditions unless a valid law requires or empowers him to do so. The aim of the constitutional state also is public welfare. The characteristic feature that distinguishes it from despotism is that not the authorities but the duly elected people's representatives have to decide what best serves the common well-being. This system alone makes the people sovereign and secures their right of self-determination.

The administration, in a democratic community, is not only bound by law but by the budget. Democratic control is budgetary control. The people's representatives have the keys of the treasury. Not a penny must be spent without the consent of parliament. It is illegal to use public funds for any expenditure other than those for which parliament has allocated them. Bureaucratic management signifies that under democracy, management is done in strict accordance with the law and the budget. It is not for the personnel of the administration and for the judges to inquire what should be done for the public welfare and how the public funds should be spent. This is the task of the sovereign, the people, and their representatives. The courts, the various branches of the administration, the defence forces, etc., execute what the law and the budget order them to do.

The assertion that bureaucratic management is an indispensable instrument of democratic government is paradoxical. This is not absolutely correct. The democratic government has been considered as the best system of government and bureaucratic management as one of the great evils. How can these two things be linked together? Moreover, America is an old democracy and the talk about the dangers of bureaucracy is a new phenomenon in this country. Only in recent

years have people become aware of the menace of bureaucracy, and they consider bureaucracy not an instrument of democratic government.

Bureaucracy in itself is neither good nor bad. It is a method of management which can be applied in different spheres of human activity. In handling the apparatus of government, bureaucratic methods are required by necessity. Many people nowadays consider bureaucracy as the expansion of the sphere in which bureaucratic management is applied. This expansion is the unavoidable consequence of the progressive restriction of the individual citizen's freedom, of the inherent trend of present-day economic and social policies toward the substitution of government control for private initiative. People blame bureaucracy, but what they really have in mind are the endeavours to make the state socialist and totalitarian. For example, there has always been bureaucracy in America. The administration of the customs and of the foreign service has always been conducted according to bureaucratic principles.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What are the seven modern concepts of bureaucracy?
5. Define democratic government.

2.4 JUDICIARY

Judiciary, also known as the rule-adjudication department of the government, in quite simple terms, may be defined as the third organ of government concerned with the job of doing justice. It interprets law and give punishments for the violation of laws. The primary objective of any political system is to protect the rights of the individual, and this work is done by the judicial organ of the government.

Concept of Judicial Review

Judicial review is the principle under which legislative and executive actions are subject to review, and possible invalidation, by the judiciary. Specific courts with judicial review power must cancel the acts of the state when it finds them incompatible with a higher authority, such as the terms of a written Constitution. Judicial review is an example of the functioning of separation of powers in a modern governmental system (where the judiciary is one of the three organs of government). This principle is interpreted differently in different jurisdictions, which also have differing views on the different hierarchy of governmental norms. Therefore, the process and scope of judicial review differs from country to country and from state to state.

2.4.1 Judiciary and Judicial Review in India

The power of judiciary to review and determine validity of a law or an order may be described as the power of 'judicial review'. It means that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land and any law inconsistent therewith is void. The term refers

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to 'the power of a court to inquire whether a law, executive order or other official action conflicts with the written constitution, and if the court concludes that it does, to declare it unconstitutional and void'. In other words, judicial review is the power exerted by the courts of a country to examine the actions of the legislative, executive and administrative arms of government and to ensure that such actions conform to the provisions of the nation's constitution. The institution of judicial review is predicated upon the existence of a written Constitution that is also rigid in the sense of being changeable only by some extraordinary process, usually requiring some special legislative or popular majorities. Normally, though not invariably, judicial review is associated also with a Federal Constitution, involving division of legislative powers between a Central government and member states, and with a bill of rights or some other system of fundamental limitation in law making powers.

Judicial review has two main functions:

- Legitimizing government action
- To protect the Constitution against any undue encroachment by the government

The most distinctive feature of the work of US Supreme Court is its power of judicial review. As guardian of the Constitution, the Supreme Court has to review the laws and executive orders to ensure that they do not violate the Constitution of the country and the valid laws passed by the Congress. The Constitution of the US makes specific mention of the power of judicial review. It was acquired by the Court early in the 19th century and has, since then, been copied by several countries, including our own. The power of judicial review was first acquired by the Supreme Court in Mar-bury vs. Madison case, 1803. Chief justice Marshall, while announcing the Court verdict in Supreme Court, under the Constitution, possessed the power to hold federal laws void when they violate the fundamental law of the country. The Court did not attempt to declare any other law void till 1857, but the power has been frequently used thereafter. The American federal judiciary assumed a power that grows more and more formidable in due course so much so that the outstretched authority of the courts covered even those legislative and administrative measures that were made by the state government. Judicial supremacy is not a fact and the Court has been called 'third chamber' because it can upset decisions of the two chambers of the Congress. The Supreme Court is not only the guardian of the Constitution, but it is also interpreter of the fundamental law. It has helped in the growth of the Constitution. It has been described as continuous constitution convention, because it continues to expand the Constitution.

Judicial Review in India

The Constitution of India, in this respect, is more akin to the US Constitution than the British. In Britain, the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy still holds good. No court of law there can declare a parliamentary enactment invalid. On the contrary, every court is constrained to enforce every provision of the law of Parliament. Under the Constitution of India, Parliament is not supreme. Its powers are limited in the two ways. First, there is the division of powers between the Union and the

states. Parliament is competent to pass laws only with respect to those subjects which are guaranteed to the citizens against every form of legislative encroachment. Being the guardian of the Fundamental Rights and the arbiter of constitutional conflicts between the Union and the states with respect to the division of powers between them, the Supreme Court stands in a unique position from where it is competent to exercise the power of reviewing legislative enactments both of Parliament and the state legislatures. This is what makes the court a powerful instrument of judicial review under the Constitution. As Dr. M.P. Jain has rightly observed, 'the doctrine of judicial review is firmly rooted in India, and has explicit sanction of the Constitution'. As the Supreme Court emphasized in 'Gopalan': 'In India, it is the Constitution that is supreme' and that a 'Statue law to be valid, must in all cases be in conformity with the constitutional requirements and it is for the judiciary to decide whether any enactment is constitutional or not and if a legislature transgresses any enactment is constitutional or not, and if a legislature transgresses any constitutional limits, the Court has to declare the law unconstitutional, for the Court is bound by its oath to uphold the Constitution'. Therefore, the courts in India cannot be accused of usurping the function of constitutional adjudication; it is a function which has been imposed on them by the Constitution.

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2.4.2 Principles of Judicial Review

Justice V.S. Deshpande in his celebrated book propounded a thesis that judicial review of legislation in India should rest merely on Article 245(1) and not on Article 13. According to him, Article 245(1) interpreted broadly would ensure the supremacy of the Constitution over all kinds of laws.

Thus, a law to be valid must conform to the constitutional norms. The grave responsibility of deciding upon the validity of laws was laid upon the judges of the Supreme Court. If a statue is not within the scope of legislative authority or it offends some constitutional restriction or prohibition, that statue is unconstitutional, and hence invalid. The statue is not held unconstitutional by the court in a light vein. Both the 'felt necessities of the time' and 'constitutional fundamentals are balanced by the Court.

Accordingly, the Supreme Court has evolved certain canons, maxims and norms. The power of judicial review in the hands of courts has led to what has recently been called as judicial activism. In recent years, at times there has been a vacuum in the executive and the judiciary has on many occasions filled that space. In India, the first push came after the Emergency phase when the Supreme Court came up with the device of public-interest litigation (PIL), a tool meant to ensure justice for the under-privileged and the marginalized. The recent regulations of the Indian Supreme Court and high courts, like making helmets compulsory for two-wheeler drivers, no felling of trees, bar on vehicles more than fifteen or twenty years old or ban on hoardings on the roadside in Delhi, are a few examples of judicial activism. The US Supreme Court's decision regarding the ban on abortions also shows how activated the judiciary has been in these countries. It is said that judicial review opens scope for more and more judicial debates and ushers in a 'paradise' for the lawyers. It leads to a confrontation between the executive and

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judicial departments. It makes the courts virtually a ‘third chamber’ or the ‘super-house of the legislature’. Thus, there is politicization of the judiciary that undermines the authority of the chosen representative of the people. On the other hand, it is by virtue of this power that the judiciary can save the people from the onslaughts of the executive or legislative despotism.

Thus, the courts have a very important share in the political process of a country; though this varies with the nature of the political system and the culture of the people. Cooperation and conflict between the real administrators and the honest adjudicators should go hand in hand so that the political system develops further and is not decayed. It is rightly observed: ‘The courts are the part of the political process and one should stress cooperation as much as conflict. They interact with other parts of the political system not as illegitimate outsiders but as part of the stable ruling political alliance’.

2.4.3 Judicial Doctrine under the Constitution

In the framework of a Constitution which guarantees individual Fundamental Rights, divides power between the Union and the states, and clearly defines and delimits the powers and functions of every organ of the state including the Parliament, judiciary plays a very important role under their powers of judicial review. The power of judicial review of legislation is given to the judiciary both by the political theory and text of the Constitution. There are several specific provisions in the Indian Constitution guaranteeing judicial review of legislation such as Article 13, 32, 131- 136, 143, 226, 145, 246, 251, 254 and 372. Article 372(1) establishes the judicial review of the pre-constitution legislation. Similarly, Article 13 specifically declares that any law which contravenes any of the provisions of the part of Fundamental Rights shall be void. Even our Supreme Court has observed, even without the specific provision in Article 13, the Court would have the power to declare any enactment which transgresses a fundamental right as invalid. The Supreme and high courts are constituted the protector and guarantor of Fundamental Rights under Articles 32 and 226. Articles 252 and 254 say that in case if inconsistency between Union and state laws, the state law shall be void. Article 246(3) expressly provides that in the state list, the state legislatures have ‘exclusive’ powers, while Article 245 makes the powers of both Parliament and state legislatures subject to the provision of the Constitution.

The constitutional validity of a law can be challenged in India on the ground that the subject-matter of the legislation:

- Is not within the competence of the legislature which has passed it
- Is repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution
- It infringes one of the Fundamental Rights

The basic function of the courts is to adjudicate (Articles 131-136) disputes between individuals, between individuals and the state, between the state and the Union, and while so adjudicating, the courts may be required to interpret the provisions of the Constitution and the laws, and the interpretation given by the Supreme Court becomes the law honoured by all courts of the land. There is no appeal against the judgment of the Supreme Court.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

6. State the two main functions of judicial review.
7. When can the constitutional validity of a law be challenged?

NOTES**2.5 ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ELECTIONS**

The concept of electoral systems and elections can be understood in terms of the political system of a country.

By ‘political system’ we mean a system of politics and government. Usually, it is compared to the economic system, legal system, cultural system and other types of social systems. Nonetheless, it is a very simplistic analysis of a rather complex system of categories comprising issues such as: Who should handle power and authority? How should religious issues be handled? What should be the government’s influence on its people and economy?

Political System: Meaning and Definition

The term ‘political system’ consists of two words—political and system. The first word ‘political’ refers to the subsistence and role of state in empirical terms. The second word, ‘system’, entails a set of parts in interdependence as well as in operation. According to G. A. Almond, author of *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, a system constitutes ‘the interdependence of parts and a boundary of some kind between it and its environment’. In this context, David Easton, a Canadian political scientist, says that a political system allocates values by means of its policies that are binding on the society by virtue of being authoritative.

A policy is visibly authoritative when the feeling exists that it must, or it ought to, be obeyed whether it is formal or effective. It must be accepted as binding. While the word ‘political’ signifies and attempts to separate a certain set of interactions in a society in order to relate it to other sets, by ‘system’ we mean an attribution to a particular set of properties of these interactions.

We have various definitions of ‘political system’:

- A political system comprises an inclusive set of institutions, interest groups (e.g., lobby groups, political parties and trade unions), the relationships among these institutions and the political standards and rules governing their functions (constitution, election law, etc.).
- A ‘political system’ is a theoretical concept based on which the government formulates policies and makes them more organized in administration.
- A political system ensures order and sanity in the society and simultaneously enables some other institutions to have their complaints and grievances put across during the course of social existence.

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According to D. M. Wood, co-author of *Comparing Political Systems: Power and Policy in Three Worlds*, the term ‘political system’ refers to the study of state and government in the empirical dimensions and also from an inter-disciplinary standpoint. Thus, political system becomes a set of interrelated variables conceived to be politically relevant and treated as if they could be separated from other variables not immediately relevant to politics. Samuel Beer and Adam Ulam, co-authors of *Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe*, describe ‘political system’ as ‘a structure that performs a certain function for a society’. It includes an arrangement for making decisions which have ‘legitimacy’, because the members of a society accept them as being in conformity with their conceptions of authority and purpose.

Analysis of Easton’s Approach to Political System

According to the systemic approach, the political system—like all open systems—is a product of their interactions with the environment. In a more precise way, it can be said that the environment may be decomposed.

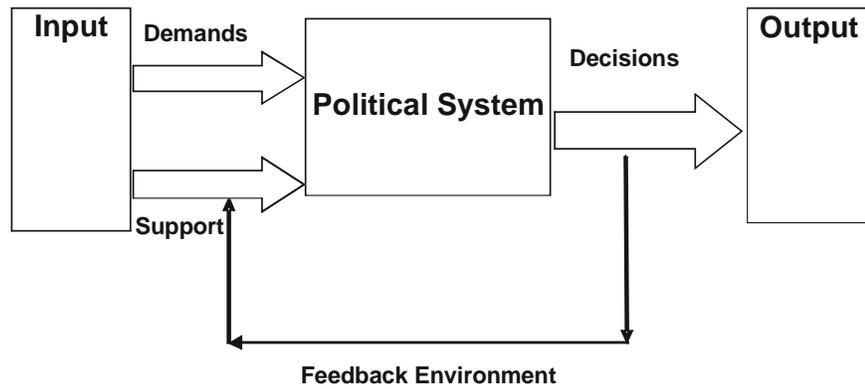


Fig. 2.1 David Easton’s Concept of Political System

Figure 2.1 illustrates Easton’s concept of political system. His approach is elaborated in his notable 1957 article called, ‘An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems’. David Easton was the first political scientist who systematically and scientifically developed a framework on the basis of the systems approach for the study of politics instead of merely adapting it from anthropology and sociology. In his piece, he observed that one of the chief objectives of research is to ‘establish the relationship between outputs and succeeding inputs of the system’. David Easton defines the political system as ‘a set of interactions, abstracted from the totality of social behaviour, through which values are authoritatively allocated for the society’.

He said the political system is just one among other forms of social systems, implying that political systems function within a certain boundary. Easton argued that the political system and the conditions in which it flourishes share an input-output relationship. The system of politics is viewed as a process that entails a changeover or a transition. Its main task is to change inputs into outputs and in so doing ensure the system’s survival.

Easton equates the political system with a big and sophisticated manufacturing plant that converts raw materials into the final commodity. Further, he makes a

comparison between the political system and a massive communications network into which one type of information is entered and to be converted into another type of information. If the system does not possess the capacity to handle stress, it will finally collapse. Still this system, according to Easton, has an extraordinary ability to maintain itself by reacting positively to stress. The constituents of a political system might foresee and try to avert negative circumstances that arise from the system's environment. They might restructure the situations in the environment in a manner so as to rectify or override disturbing elements. They might acclimatize the political system to dynamic circumstances without bringing too many alterations. If circumstances demand, they can renovate the configuration, courses and even the objectives of the political system to ensure that it does survive. Easton emphasizes that the political system is 'a goal-setting, self-transforming and creatively adaptive system'.

Easton uses the concept of 'feedback loop' to specify not just the information that comes back to the system, but all the resulting acts involved in making use of the derived information. The authoritative bodies utilize information feedback to decide expected outputs, which in turn impact following inputs, giving rise to a cycle of expected outcomes. If this information exchange is taken as a process continuing over time, it seems as an uninterrupted cycle whose each phase affects the succeeding phases. Easton specifies four distinguishing phases in this cycle, which he terms as the 'systemic feedback loop'.

In the 'dynamic response model' of the political system, such outputs and their different results should be taken not as end points, but as stimulus for the constituents of the political system. In the feedback loop's second phase, the constituents of the political system respond to these output stimuli, where they might adjust their requisitions or show allegiance to one or more fundamental political objectives. During the third phase, the response of the constituents is transferred as information feedback to the authoritative bodies. Lastly, these entities might 'react to the response by follow-up outputs and this reaction may be considered the start of another cycle in the flow of effects and information along the systemic feedback loop'.

If stress is born of too much demand and from inadequate allegiance, it is understandable that a customized system may deal with problems that are encountered by curtailing demands to convenient level and by strengthening the support system. Easton defines the society as a particular type of human grouping whose members recurrently interact among each other and hence generate a feeling of belongingness. But since this feeling is by default extended to all groups, the definition of society should include a second and seemingly exclusive feature: their self-sufficiency.

Easton seems primarily concerned with portraying the relationship between a system and environment in which it is located. Easton distinguishes between external demands coming from the environment and internal ones emerging from within the system. There are also three subjects of support—*political community* or a group that seeks to settle differences or promote decisions through peaceful action in common; *regime* or the constitutional order including arrangements for the processing of demands and the implementation of decisions; and *government* that undertakes concrete tasks.

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The environment in which a political system operates may be put into two categories—(i) intra-societal, i.e., one consisting of system in a given society and other than the political and (ii) extra-societal or the one including the systems existing externally in relation to the society. Intra-societal systems involve sets of behaviour, approaches and opinions like the economy, culture and social structures and individuals; while the extra-societal systems are operational elements of a global society, a ‘super system’ to which all societies belong and of which they are a component. The intra-societal and extra-societal categories make up the whole environment of a political system and the possible stress on the political system emerges from these two sources. A question arises as to how the ‘potentially successful conditions’ from the environment register their trajectory in the political system.

In order to solve this problem, Easton presents his input-output model. While the ‘input’ side covers all demands and supports through which a broad array of activities taking place in the environment can be channelled, reflected, summed up and be made to impact political life, they indicate the means of modifying and shaping the working of the political system by affecting changes in the political system.

‘Outputs’ are the decisions of the authorities. Thus, the decisions taken by the legislative, executive and judicial departments may be termed ‘political outputs’; moreover, they are authoritative as they are taken by men in authority roles. In between the inputs and outputs, there is a ‘feedback loop,’ which once identified aids in explaining the ways in which the system can minimize and deal with stress. The feedback loop consists of the creation of input by authoritative bodies; a reaction by the constituents of society; the transmittal of the constituents’ reaction to the authoritative bodies and possibly succeeding actions by the authorities giving rise to a repetition the same activities. The feedback is thus crucial in determining the capacity of the system to cope with stress.

Through his systems analysis, David Easton made a significant contribution to the study of political science. He provided a set of original concepts at the level of theory and the intergradation of the political phenomena in a manner that was unique for the understanding of the political process. Easton analysed all political processes and forces with due emphasis on the environment and its relationship with the political system. He also carefully examined the persistence adopted by political systems in the face of changing the stable environments through a process of authoritative value allocations. Easton was conscious that despite persistence of a system, a system has to undergo changes. A political system’s success depends on its capacity to adapt to the necessary changes.

Analysis of Almond’s Approach to Political System

The most exceptional contribution to structural-functional analysis comes from G.A. Almond. He provided a comprehensive analysis of structural-functionalism. In the book titled *The Politics of Developing Areas* published in 1950, he gives a detailed analysis of this approach. Almond suggested a classification scheme of structures that is based upon the following basic dimensions of the political system, namely:

- (a) The homogeneity of political information
- (b) The mobility of information

- (c) The volume of information
- (d) The direction of the flow of information

In his structural-functional analysis, Almond holds that political systems can be compared and ranked in terms of the manner in which the functions are performed. He categorizes two types of functions of a political system. They are: (i) Input functions, and (ii) Output functions.

- (i) **Input functions:** Input functions are those activities which are associated with the formation and transmission of demands and supports. Almond identifies the following four input functions of a political system: (a) political socialization and recruitment, (b) interest articulation, (c) interest aggression, and (d) political communication.
- (ii) **Output functions:** According to Almond, output functions are activities associated with policy-making and implementation. These are threefold: rule making, rule application and rule adjudication.

Almond says that a political system has its own properties and characteristics. Its properties are:

1. **Comprehensiveness:** It means that a political system includes all the interactions—inputs as well as outputs—that affect the use or the threat of the use of physical coercion.
2. **Interdependence:** It implies that a change in one subset of interaction produces changes in all other subsets. For instance, a change in the technology of communications has its effects on the transformation of the working of political parties, groups and the departments of government.
3. **Boundaries:** It means that there are certain boundaries where the other systems end, and political system begins.

Generally, a political system has five characteristics, which are as shown in Figure 2.2:

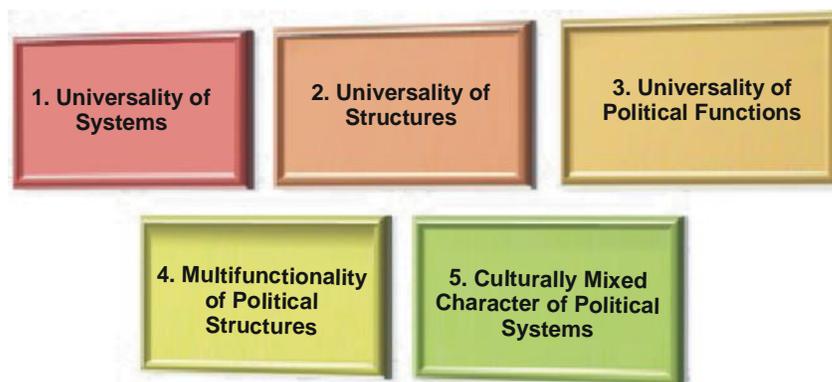


Fig. 2.2 Characteristics of a Political System

1. **Universality of systems:** It implies that all political systems whether old or new, developed or undeveloped, have political structures or a legitimate pattern of interaction by means of which internal and external order is maintained.

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2. **Universality of structures:** All political systems have same structures that perform same functions, though in varying degree of frequency. It is a different thing that in an advanced system political structures perform specialized functions as compared to those where traditional structures in the form of kinship or lineage groups still operates.
3. **Universality of political functions:** In every political society, these structures perform political functions. These may be in the form of proper structures like legislature, executive and judiciary, or these may be in the form of infra-structures as political parties, interest groups, mass-media agencies, etc. In a study of political system, the proper or super as well as infrastructures should be taken into account.
4. **Multifunctionality of political structures:** Though every structure has its specialized functions, it performs some other functions as well that are supposed to fall within the domain of another structure. For instance, the legislature not merely makes law, it also performs some executive functions by exercising control over the President or the Prime Minister and his ministers. In traditional systems, the monarch or the head of the state is the maker of law, the chief administrator as well as the fountain head of justice.
5. **Culturally mixed character of political systems:** All political systems have a mixture of formal and informal structures. Even the modern political systems have many traits of a traditional system. For instance, the proceedings of the British Parliament start after a short prayer. Similarly, even the most primitive political systems have some traits of a modern system like codification of law and administration of justice through the law.

From the structural-functional point of view, a political system has two sides: inputs and outputs. The input category includes four variables: political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation through organized groups, interest aggregation through political parties and political communication. The output category includes three departments of the state: legislature (rule-making), executive (rule-implementing) and judiciary (rule adjudication). In short, the function of a political system is to convert inputs into outputs. Now, it is crystal clear that three things emerge from Almond's definition of the political system:

- A political system is a concrete whole, influencing and in turn influenced by the environments.
- Interactions take place not between individuals but between roles adapted by them.
- The political system is an open system engaged in a continuous communication with entities and systems beyond its own boundaries.

The concept of political system lays stress on the study of state in empirical terms on the basis of structural-functionalism. Instead of using two terms like state in the abstract and government in the concrete forms, the new writers prefer to use one term 'political system' that operates with the mechanism of 'inputs' or demands and supports coming from the 'environment' and 'outputs' or decisions that are

taken by the concerned authorities and that are binding as well as legitimate on account of being taken by the legally constituted authorities of the state. However, the whole interpretation may be criticized from the Marxian standpoint. The political system should be studied in the context of its historical development in which the fact of class antagonisms should not at all be lost sight of. As a matter of fact, political system operates according to the laws of historical materialism that bring about a change in its character from a feudal to a bourgeois order and then form a bourgeois to a socialist order. Easton and Almond desired to maintain and stabilize the model of the bourgeois political system that should be saved from revolutionary change or 'violent upheavals'.

Basic Forms of Political Systems

Political systems can take various forms. The following sections explain its kinds. Certain political systems are typically mutually exclusive (e.g., monarchy and republic), whereas others may overlap in various combinations (e.g., democracy and Westminster system, democracy and socialism).

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|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Anarchism | 2. Democracy |
| 3. Monarchy | 4. Meritocracy |
| 5. Technocracy | 6. Republic |
| 7. Sultanate | 8. Theocracy |
| 9. Parliamentary System | 10. Feudalism |
| 11. Fascism | 12. Oligarchy |
| 13. Military Government | 14. Aristocracy |
| 15. Plutocracy | 16. Communism |

1. Anarchism (Rule by no one)

The term *anarchism* derives from the Greek *anarchos*, meaning 'without rulers', from the prefix (*an-*, 'without') + (*archê*, 'sovereignty, realm, magistracy'). Anarchism has been differently defined in various sources. Usually, the term connotes the political philosophy that considers the state detrimental, redundant and damaging, and endorses the creation of a stateless society or anarchy. Another definition that has been proposed is that anarchy may be defined 'as opposing authority in the conduct of human relations'. In fact, anarchists are against the notion that the use of power and dominion is essential for the society, and in its place promote 'more co-operative, anti-hierarchical forms of social, political and economic organization'.

There are various kinds and traditions of anarchism. Anarchism is usually viewed as radical left-wing ideology, and most of anarchist economies and their legal philosophies reveal anti-statist analysis of collectivism, communism, syndicalism or participatory economics.

2. Democracy (Rule by the people)

The term 'democracy' derives from the Greek word '*dēmokratía*' which means 'rule of the people'. It has been derived from two words: 'dēmos' meaning 'people'

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and 'kratos' meaning 'power' during the middle of the fifth and fourth century BC. This system was adopted in Athens in the wake of the uprising of 508 BC.

Democracy signifies a category of government in which all individuals participate equally in the decisions which influences them and their lives. It pertains to an active participation and interest in legislations. It may also include social, economic and cultural circumstances which facilitate the practice of political self-determination.

3. Monarchy (Rule by one person)

A monarchy is a category of government in which the office of the head of state is generally held till death or resignation and is usually hereditary. In some instances, the monarch is elected. Commonly, the monarch bears the title 'King' or 'Queen'. Nonetheless, titles such as emperors/empresses, grand dukes/grand duchesses, princes/princesses, etc., have been used to designate monarchs. As mentioned above, the expression 'monarch' means 'single ruler'. However, cultural and historical considerations may seem to leave out presidents and other heads of state. On the historical basis, the idea of monarchy might arise under various circumstances. It evolved out of tribal kingship and royal priesthood. Later on the office of monarch (kings) became characteristically hereditary, resulting in consecutive dynasties or 'houses', particularly when the leader was wise and able enough to lead the masses.

4. Meritocracy (Rule by the best)

In the meritocracy system of government, the appointments and responsibilities are objectively allocated to individuals on the basis of their merits, i.e., intelligence, credentials and education. The latter are determined through examinations or evaluations. The most common definition of meritocracy views merit in terms of tested proficiency and ability, and is usually measured by IQ or standardized achievement tests. In fact, meritocracy by itself is not a type of government. Rather it is an ideology. In governmental spheres, individuals selected to a meritocracy are evaluated on the basis of certain merits. Even though meritocracy as a term is a comparatively new invention, the concept derives from the works of Confucius, along with other Legalist and Confucian philosophers. The term was initially coined by Michael Young in 1958. He defined it as a system wherein merit is equated with intelligence-plus-effort; its holders are identified at an early age and selected for suitable rigorous education; and there is a single-minded focus on quantifications and test-scoring.

5. Technocracy (Rule by scientist/intellectuals)

Technocracy is a type of government in which scientists, engineers, health professions and various other technical experts control the decision-making in their respective fields. The expression 'technocracy' takes roots from the Greek words 'tekhne' meaning skill and 'kratos' meaning power, as in government, or rule. Hence, the term technocracy stands for a system of government in which those having knowledge, expertise or skills comprise the governing body. In technocracy, the decision-makers are selected on the grounds of their knowledge. Technocrats are the persons having technical training and occupations dealing with solving various

important societal problems. Usually they propose technology-based solutions. The technical and leadership skills are chosen through bureaucratic processes on the grounds of specialized knowledge and performance, instead of democratic election by those not having such knowledge.

In fact, some types of technocracy are a variant of meritocracy, a system wherein the ‘most qualified’ and those deciding the soundness of qualifications are the same set of people. Other forms have been described as not being an oligarchic human group of controllers, but instead an administration by science without the influence of special interest groups.

6. Republic (Rule by law)

In the republic type of government, the people hold supreme control—at least in theory—over the government. Further, in this type of government, the offices of state are not allocated through heritage. The general modern definition of a republic is a government led by a head of state who is not a monarch. The expression ‘republic’ draws from the Latin phrase *res publica* meaning ‘public affair’. It is often used to connote a state using this type of government.

The first recorded republic was in India in the sixth century BC. However, both modern and ancient republics show a wide variation in their ideology and composition. In modern republics like the United States and India, the executive is legitimized by a constitution and electoral process. Usually, a republic is a sovereign country, but there are also sub-national constituents, which are referred to as republics, or which have governments that are accepted as ‘republican’ by nature.

7. Sultanate (Rule by one person and Allah)

This is an Islamic political structure mixing aspects of monarchy and theocracy. Sultan is a title possessing various historical meanings. It draws from the Arabic language meaning strength, authority and dictatorship. Basically, the expression is derived from the *sulmah*, meaning ‘authority’ or ‘power’. Later on, it was used as the title of certain rulers who proclaimed almost complete sovereignty in practical terms, without claiming the overall caliphate. Further, it was also used to refer to a strong governor of a province within the caliphate. The dynasty and lands ruled by a sultan are termed as a sultanate.

8. Theocracy (Rule by God and His representatives)

Theocracy stands for the rule by people holding positions of political authority all of whom share the same religious beliefs. It is a type of government in which the state is governed by the divine guidance bestowed to the ruling clergy or other ruling officials. So, from the viewpoint of the theocratic government, ‘God himself is recognized as the head’ of the state. A theocracy might have an administrative hierarchy of the government similar to the religious administrative hierarchy.

9. Parliamentary Democracy (Rule by the people through parliament)

In the parliamentary system of government, the ministers of the executive branch draw their democratic legality from the legislature and, in turn, are answerable to that body. It means that the executive and legislative branches are interlinked. A

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parliamentary system might comprise two styles of Chambers of Parliament, i.e., houses. These are an elected lower house, and an upper house or Senate that might be appointed or elected by a special mechanism from the lower house. This style of two houses is termed as bicameral system. Legislatures having just one house are called as unicameral system.

10. Feudalism (Rule by lord/king)

By feudalism, we mean a set of legal and military customs in medieval Europe between the 9th and 15th centuries. Broadly defined, it was a system for ordering society around relationships drawn from landholdings in exchange for labour or service. However, there is no generally accepted modern definition of feudalism. The expressions feudalism or feudal system started in the early modern period (17th century). These were generally used in a political and propaganda context. During the medieval times, the word feudalism and the system described by it were not viewed as a formal political system by the people. According to Francois-Louis Ganshof (1944), feudalism stands for a set of reciprocal legal and military obligations among the warrior nobility, focussed around the three major concepts of lords, vassals and fiefs. The expression feudalism has also been applied—usually unsuitably or pejoratively—to non-Western societies wherein institutions and attitudes like those of medieval Europe are still perceived to prevail. In the non-European framework, the concept of feudalism is usually used just by analogy (called semi-feudal), most often in discussions of Japan, Ethiopia, ancient Egypt and the Indian Subcontinent.

11. Fascism (Rule by a leader)

The term 'fascism' connotes a radical, authoritarian and nationalist political ideology. Fascists maintain that a nation needs powerful leadership, singular collective identity, and the will and ability to engage in violence and war in order to maintain the nation's strength. Fascist governments prohibit and repress any types of opposition to the state. Fascism regards violence and war as actions which are essential for national regeneration, spirit and vitality. It takes conflict to be a positive act that allows human development. It eulogizes militarism for bringing about positive changes in the society, in effectuating spiritual renovation, education, inculcating domination as a character trait in children, and generating national comradeship through military service. Commonly, fascists use paramilitary organizations to carry out violent attacks on opponents, or to overturn a political system.

Fascism comprises opposition and negation to various ideologies, groups and political systems—it is 'anti-anarchist, anti-conservative, anti-communist, anti-democratic, anti-individualist, anti-parliamentary, anti-liberal, anti-proletarian and anti-bourgeois'. It also entails a characteristic type of anti-capitalism. It further rejects 'materialism, egalitarianism and rationalism in favour of action, hierarchy, discipline, will and spirit'.

12. Oligarchy

Oligarchy is a kind of power structure wherein power effectively lies with a small number of people who may be distinguished by royalty, wealth, family ties, corporate or military control. In history, most of the oligarchies have been oppressive, depending

upon public servitude for their survival. After the Soviet Union disintegrated on 31 December 1991, privately held Russia-based MNCs, including producers of petroleum, natural gas and metal have turned into oligarchs. Privatization enabled executives to accumulate extraordinary wealth and power too soon.

13. Military Government (Rule by military)

In a 'military government' type of administration, the occupying power uses governmental authority over the occupied territory. The Hague Convention (1907) states 'that territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army'. It is the kind of administration under which the occupant uses government authority over the occupied territory. There may be no proclamation on behalf of the victorious commander essential to the lawful inauguration and enforcement of military government. The establishment of military government means in effect that the former sovereignty is ousted, and the opposing army now has full control.

14. Aristocracy (Rule by nobles)

Aristocracy draws from two Greek words *aristos* meaning excellent, and *ratos* meaning power. It is a type of government wherein a few elite citizens rule. Initially, in Ancient Greece, it was considered a rule by the best qualified citizens in opposition to monarchy. Later on, aristocracy was viewed as rule by a privileged group, i.e., the aristocratic class and contrasted with democracy. Modern definitions of aristocracy take it not as a lawful aristocracy (rule by the best) but instead as a plutocracy (rule by the wealthy). During Roman times, the republic comprised an aristocracy as well as consuls, a senate and a tribal assembly. In *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes represents aristocracy as a commonwealth in which the representative of the people is an assembly by part. Simply put, it is a government wherein just a specific part of the general public possesses the ability to represent the public.

15. Plutocracy (Rule by money)

Plutocracy implies the political control of the state by an oligarchy of the wealthy, e.g., Roman republics and some city-states in ancient Greece. Before the equal voting rights movement finished this system in the early 20th century, various countries used a system wherein rich persons possessed more votes than poor. For instance, a factory owner may have had 2,000 votes while a labourer had one or if they were very poor no right to vote at all.

16. Communism (Rule by peoples/workers)

Communism is a kind of socio-political movement, which aims for a classless and sometimes stateless society structured on common ownership of the production means, free access to consumption articles, and the end of wage labour and private property in production means and real estate. According to the Marxist theory, communism is a definite stage of historical development which inescapably results from the development of productive forces leading to a superabundance of material wealth, calling for distribution on the basis of need and social relations among freely associated individuals. There are different theories among those specific communists

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as to how to build the types of institutions which will replace the numerous economic engines (like food distribution, education and hospitals) existing under the capitalist systems—or even whether to do so at all. In the modern terminology of many sociologists and political commentators belonging to the ‘political mainstream’, communism is usually utilized to refer to the policies of states run by communist parties, despite the practical content of the actual economic system they might preside over.

2.5.1 Election Commission

After India gained independence on 15 August 1947, free and fair elections have been held at regular intervals. India is one of the largest democracies in the world and has made suitable provisions for the process of elections in accordance to electoral laws that have been mentioned in the Indian Constitution. The Election Commission in India is an autonomous constitutional body of the Indian government and is in charge of administering major electoral processes in India. Under the Election Commission, elections take place at regular intervals strictly based on the principles mentioned in the Indian Constitution. The Constitution also empowers the Election Commission of India the superintendence, direction and control of the entire process for conduct of elections to the following offices:

- **Parliament of every state:** Elections to the Lok Sabha are carried out using a first-past-the-post electoral system. The country is split up into separate geographical areas, known as constituencies, and the electors can cast one vote each for a candidate (although most candidates stand as independents, most successful candidates stand as members of political parties), the winner being the candidate who gets the maximum votes. The members of the Rajya Sabha are elected indirectly, rather than by the citizens at large. Rajya Sabha members are elected by each state Vidhan Sabha using the single transferable vote system.
- **Legislature of every state:** The Vidhan Sabhas (legislative assemblies) are directly elected bodies set up to carrying out the administration of the government in the 28 States of India. Elections to the Vidhan Sabhas are carried out in the same manner as for the Lok Sabha election, with the states and union territories divided into single-member constituencies, and the first-past-the-post electoral system used.
- **Office of President of India:** The President is elected by the elected members of the Vidhan Sabhas, Lok Sabha, and Rajya Sabha.
- **Office of Vice-President of India:** The Vice President is elected by a direct vote of all members elected and nominated, of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

It has been observed that the election of a new Lok Sabha (lower house of parliament) is a huge electoral process where the electorate exceeds 668 million votes in 800, 000 polling stations across India—irrespective of geographic and climatic zones. Due to its size and structure, the election process of Lok Sabha is considered one of the largest election events of the world.

The Election Commission of India is considered a permanent constitutional body. It was established on 25 January 1950, in accordance with the Indian Constitution. It celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 2001. The Election Commission of India initially started off with one Chief Election Commissioner. However, two election commissioners have been appointed by the President of India. The addition of two election commissioner was done in 1993 with a decision-making power by majority vote. Prior to 1993, the Election Commission consisted of one single Chief Election Commissioner. Presently, the Election Commission of India has one Chief Election Commissioner and two Election Commissioners. One interesting fact regarding the addition of two election commissioners is that when they were appointed for the first time, it was only for a short tenure which lasted from 16 October 1989 to 1 January 1990. It was on 1 October 1993 that two additional election commissioners were appointed.

The Election Commission holds free and fair elections at regular intervals and elections are conducted in accordance to the constitutional provisions supplemented by parliamentary laws. There are two major laws which deal with the election process in India and are as follows:

- Representation of the People Act, 1950
- Representation of the People Act, 1951

The Representation of the People Act, 1950 basically deals with the preparation and revision of electoral rolls, whereas the Representation of the People Act, 1951 deals with all matters pertaining to the conduct of elections and post-election disputes. The Election Commission of India has been given residuary powers under the Indian Constitution to act in an appropriate manner in situations where the enacted laws are insufficient to deal with under the conduct of elections. The Supreme Court of India specifically mentions that under circumstances where prevailing law is silent or insufficient, the Election Commission of India has been bestowed with residuary powers to act accordingly.

Chief Election Commissioner heads the Election Commission of India which has been appointed to conduct free and fair elections at the national and state legislatures according to the Indian Constitution. The Chief Election Commissioner of India is usually a member of the Indian Civil Service, most probably from the Indian Administrative Service or the Indian Revenue Service. The President of India is in charge of electing the Chief Election Commissioner and the two election commissioners which were initially added in 1989 for a short tenure and finally 1993 onwards, the Chief Election Commission made the appointment of two election commissioners permanent and mandatory. The Chief Election Commissioner and the two election commissioners have a tenure of six years or until they achieve the age of 65 years. Not only do they enjoy the same official status as the judges of Supreme Court, but their salaries and perks are similar to that of a Supreme Court judge. The Chief Election Commissioner can only be removed from office by parliamentary impeachment. Irrespective of recent changes in hierarchy, the system always had powers to impose unambiguous rules and guidelines applicable throughout the country. For instance, issues like how ballots would be cast and counted, what

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would be considered an 'unqualified' vote, etc. India is also one of the first countries to adopt electronic ballot as seen in the last elections. What is significant about this achievement is that the Election Commission of India was able to implement electronic ballot throughout the country, including regions with rural populations.

Electoral College

The Electoral College elects the President of India, who is the first citizen and represents the Indian nation and does not, therefore, belong to any particular political party. The representatives of the people who elect him are termed as the Electoral College.

Article 54 of the constitution says:

'The President shall be elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of-

- (a) The elected members of both Houses of Parliament and
- (b) The elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States (including National Capital Territory of Delhi and the Union Territory of Pondicherry vide the Constitution 70th amendment Act, 1992).'

Thus, in the election of the President the citizens play no direct part and he is elected indirectly by the representatives or the people, like the American President but no special electoral college is elected, as in the case of America.

The Electoral College is made up of the following:

- Elected members of the Rajya Sabha
- Elected members of the Lok Sabha (lower house of the Parliament of India);
- Elected members of each state Legislative Assembly
- Elected members of each union territory possessing an assembly (i.e. Delhi and Puducherry)

2.5.2 Comptroller and Auditor General of India

The Comptroller and Auditor General is a pivotal office in the Government of India who controls the entire financial system of the country [Art. 148]-at the Union as well as the State levels.

As observed by Ambedkar, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India shall be the most important officer under the Constitution of India. For, he is to be the guardian of the public purse and it is his duty to see that not a farthing is spent out of the Consolidated Fund of India or of a State without the authority of the appropriate Legislature. In short, he shall be the impartial head of the audit and account system of India. In order to discharge this duty properly, it is highly essential that this office should be independent of any control of the Executive.

The foundation of parliamentary system of Government, as has been already seen, is the responsibility of the executive to the legislature and the essence of such control lies in the system of financial control by the legislature. In order to enable the legislature to discharge this function properly, it is essential that this legislature should

be aided by an agency, fully independent of the executive, who would scrutinize the financial transactions of the Government and bring the results of such scrutiny before the Legislature. There was an Auditor-General of India even under the Government of India Act, 1935, and that Act secured the independence of the Auditor General by making him irremovable except 'in like manner and on the like grounds as a Judge of the Federal Court'. The office of the Comptroller and Auditor General, in the Constitution, is substantially modelled upon that of the Auditor General under the Government of India Act, 1935.

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Duties and Powers of the Comptroller and Auditor General

The material provisions of this Act relating to the duties of the Comptroller and Auditor General are:

- (a) To audit and report on all expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of India and of each State and each Union Territory having a Legislative Assembly as to whether such expenditure has been in accordance with the law
- (b) Similarly, to audit and report on all expenditures from the Contingency Funds and Public Accounts of the Union and of the States
- (c) To audit and report on all trading, manufacturing, profit and loss accounts, etc., kept by any Department of the Union or a State
- (d) To audit the receipts and expenditures of the Union and of each State to satisfy himself that the rules and procedure in that behalf are designed to secure an effective check on the assessment, collection and proper allocation of revenue
- (e) To audit and report on the receipts and expenditure of (i) all bodies and authorities 'substantially financed' from the Union or State revenues; (ii) Government companies; (iii) other corporations or bodies, when so required by the laws relating to such corporations or bodies

Functions of the Comptroller and Auditor General

The functions of the Comptroller and Auditor General have recently been the subject of controversy, in regard to two questions:

- (i) The first is, whether in exercising his function of audit, the Comptroller and Auditor General has the jurisdiction to comment on extravagance and suggest economy, apart from the legal authority for a particular expenditure. The orthodox view is that when a statute confers power or discretion upon an authority to sanction expenditure, the function of audit comprehends a scrutiny of the propriety of the exercise of such power in particular cases, having regard to the interests of economy, besides its legality. But the Government Departments resent this on the ground that such interference is incompatible with their responsibility for the administration. In this view, the Departments are supported by academicians such as Appleby, according to whom the question of economy is inseparably connected with the efficiency of the administration and that, having no responsibility for the administration the Comptroller and Auditor General or his staff had no competence on the question of economy:

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‘Auditors do not know and cannot be expected to know very much about good administration; their prestige is highest with others who do not know much about administration.... Auditing is a necessary but highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited usefulness.’

- (ii) Another question is whether the audit of the Comptroller and Auditor-General should be extended to industrial and commercial undertakings carried on by the Government through private limited companies, who are governed by the Articles of their Association, or to statutory public corporations or undertakings which are governed by statute. However, this extension of the function of the Comptroller and Auditor General has been resisted on the ground that the Comptroller and Auditor General lacks the business or industrial experience which is essential for examining the accounts of these enterprises and that the application of the conventional machinery of the Comptroller and Auditor General is likely to paralyze these enterprises which are indispensable for national development.

As has just been stated, this defect has been partially remedied by the Act of 1971 which enjoins the Comptroller and Auditor General to audit and report on the receipts and expenditure of ‘Government companies’ and other bodies which are ‘substantially financed’ from the Union or State revenues, irrespective of any specific legislation in this behalf.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. State the two categories of the political system environment.
9. What are the different dimensions of a political system?
10. What is plutocracy?

2.6 PARTIES AND PARTY-SYSTEMS

In the post-Independence era, the political parties came to be recognized as instruments of prime importance through which democracy could be operationalized, as India adopted a parliamentary democratic system of governance. Ideologically, in the pre-Independence era, the colonial state was marked by the presence of the Indian National Congress (INC) as a safety valve-cum-umbrella organization. The INC represented predominantly the voices of the upper and middle classes, and primarily waging the freedom struggle for achieving political independence in the country. The insistence was more on agitation politics and not on institutional politics.

After Independence, the role and importance of political parties have grown substantially and rather proportionately in accordance with the growing franchise. As political suffrage gradually became universal, parties became the means through

which politicians are seeking to acquire mass electoral support. Political parties can be defined as organizational groups that seek control of the personnel and policies of the government. They mobilize and compete for popular support. In doing so, they tend to represent products of historical roots, civic traditions, cultural orientations and economy.

Evolution of the Indian Party System in the Pre-Independence Period

The origin of the Indian party system can be traced to the formation of the INC in 1885. Various other parties emerged later. Party formation during the period 1885–1947 occurred in the context of British Raj, and its policy of divide and rule, pursued by encouraging separate electorates, led to the formation of the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and the Hindu Mahasabha. As a multi-class organization, Congress was able to draw the support of peasants, land-owners, businessmen and workers. At the time of Independence, Mahatma Gandhi asserted that Congress must transform itself into a Sewa Dal (a forum of public-workers), but instead, Congress changed into a distinct political party and remained the dominant ruling party for three decades.

Fundamental Features

To understand the Indian party system, it is essential to first understand the fundamental features that appear vital in determining the nature of the Indian party system. These are as follows:

- (i) The struggle for freedom and framework of parliamentary government along with politics of national reconstruction, modernization, integration and development has collectively contributed to the evolution of the Indian party system.
- (ii) The national heritage of national movement formed the dimensions of national interest, national unity, political integration and national defence.
- (iii) The ideological orientation with coexistence of radical 'left' to traditional 'right' during the national movement laid down a practice of toleration and accommodation of different points of view.
- (iv) Moreover, the continental size of the country, comprising well-defined and distinct socio-cultural regions; with linguistic, ethnic and religious diversities; and specific patterns of castes, communities and tribes provided conditions for the rise of regional parties and groups.
- (v) The task to ensure social equality to remove the inequalities perpetuated by centuries of caste oppression gave birth to political parties and groups who strove to use these castes as perpetual vote-banks.
- (vi) On economic fronts, it was a mixture of feudal but emerging developed agricultural and developing industrial economy. Economic development for raising standards of living in an under-developed and poverty-ridden society followed by the problems of Centre-state relations, allocation of resources and resulted imbalances paved the way for the emergence of such parties and groups whose approach was regional instead of national.

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- (vii) Lack of politically conscious middle class along with regional, sectarian and personal imbalances played a vital role in the evolution of the party system in India.

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2.6.1 Evolution of the Party System in India in the Post-Independence Era

The evolution of Indian party system has been from 'one-party dominance' to 'multi-party coalition system'. For the purposes of better understanding, it calls for analysis of various stages of growth.

Phase I (1947–1967): The Era of One-Party Dominance

India had a party system characterized by dominance of the Congress and the existence of smaller opposition parties, which could not provide an alternative either at the Central or state level. In other words, opposition parties had little hope of obtaining sizeable majorities in the legislatures, despite the fact that on most occasions, the Congress did not gain a majority of the valid votes cast. The Congress votes varied from 49.17 per cent to 40.7 per cent. The socialists and the communists, during this period, were able to score around 10 per cent votes each. During this period, groups within the Congress in conjunction with opposition parties, assumed the role of opposition often reflecting the ideologies and interests of the other parties.

An important feature of this era was that the Congress occupied not only the broad centre of the political spectrum, but also dominated the 'left' and 'right' tendencies.

Phase II (1967–1971): The Period of Transition to a Multi-Party System

The second phase extended from 1967 to the fifth general elections. In the 1967 Assembly elections, Congress lost majority in eight states and was reduced to 54 per cent of Lok Sabha seats. This brought a number of opposition parties to the forefront, which intensified inter-party conflict. Competition and conflict increased as opposition parties formed coalition governments in several states.

The 1967 elections had created a situation in which the dominance of the Congress was strikingly reduced. Parties to the 'right' and 'left' of the Congress, the Jana Sangh (now called the Bhartiya Janata Party) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), popularly known as CPI (M), grew stronger. The possibility that opposition parties might assume power quite substantially made the Centre–state relations an important feature of inter-party competition. The 1967 elections created conditions which led to serious Centre–state conflicts.

Phase III (1971–1975): The Period of Consensus vs. Inter-party Conflict

The fifth Lok Sabha elections marked the beginning of yet another stage in the evolution of the Indian party system, and the trend continued till the imposition of the Internal Emergency in 1975. The Congress controlled by Indira Gandhi faced a large united opposition party in the General Elections of 1971. Despite the strong opposition, Congress won with a thumping majority. It won 346 out of 510 seats with 43.5 per cent of the popular vote. A significant aspect of the election was the elimination

of Congress (O) and the defeat of other political parties. The mid-term polls, thus, pre-empted the development of a multi-party system. It also prevented the politics of coalition building at the national level. It was followed by a strategy to establish hegemony of the Congress at the Centre backed on populist and plebiscitary elections.

The major reason for victory was the de-linking of the Lok Sabha elections from the state assembly elections. The Parliamentary election campaign was de-linked from state-level politics and the state leaders could not exercise the same influence as they had done in the past. Indira Gandhi's campaign injected a powerful element of ideology by raising the slogan of social change and by calling upon the electorate to support her endeavour to initiate new government policies for the benefit of the poor, resulting in a new consensus in political arena. The dominant party model had given way to the differentiated structure of party competition. The process gained momentum as parties aligned to form coalition governments. For its part, the Congress accepted a confrontationist posture, both towards the opposition parties at the national and the opposition-controlled governments at the state level.

Indira Gandhi's conflict with state leadership of the Congress party as well as that of the opposition parties created a style of politics, which laid great stress on centralization in decision making. The new system entailed the abandonment of intra-party democracy. Positions in the Congress organization at all levels were invariably filled by nomination rather than election. Above all, institutional decline accompanied by decline of the state-based leaders and the replacements of regional structure of support by the central leadership adversely affected the federal scheme of Indian politics. After the 1969 split, the Congress followed a broad-based strategy consisting of re-distributive policies, such as nationalization of banks, abolition of privy purses and *Garibi Hatao*, all geared towards widening its support.

Phase IV (1975–1977): The Emergency Period

The imposition of an authoritarian Emergency in 1975 signalled the erosion of the popular support of the Congress party, the institutional decline and the weakening of the party system by suspending civil liberties, particularly freedom of the press and representative government. Opposition leaders and activists faced imprisonment, while concentration of power in the party, the government and in the office of the Prime Minister was the striking feature of the party system during this phase. Strict discipline was imposed on the Congress party. No criticism of the government was tolerated. Any attack on the Prime Minister's authority was considered to be an attack on the party's as well as the nation's unity.

The 1971–75 period, thus, marked the decline of the party system, making parties rely more on make-shift electoral arrangements, populist symbols and rhetoric for gaining support. Personality, charisma and image have acquired greater salience than party identification and party loyalties. But this trend withered away in the post-1977 period.

Phase V (1977-1980): The Janata Phase of Coalition Politics

The next phase in the evolution of India's party system may be considered from the defeat of the Congress in 1977 elections to the restoration of its rule in 1980. The

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1977 elections provided a major step towards party institutionalization and possibilities of the emergence of a two-party system. By and large, independent candidates were rejected and 75.8 per cent votes were cast in favour of only two parties, viz., the Janata party and the Congress.

The defeat of the Congress and the victory of the Janata Party, made up of a coalition of parties, is a significant change in the Indian politics. The Janata Party government attempted to redirect emphasis away from the industrially oriented strategy associated with the Congress rule to rural development and small-scale industries. In general, it made attempts to decentralize the state and the economy. The government invested in programmes that created employment and generated income by relying on labour-intensive technology and distribution of productive assets. Though the Janata government's ideology and programmes were not entirely new, it had taken certain ideological and programmatic themes of rural development from the Congress' broad-based strategy and made it more pronounced.

However, the Janata Party could not achieve its goals. Rural development did not benefit the rural poor because the policy was not specifically directed to this end. Most of the policies benefited the rural rich. Moreover, the Janata Government disintegrated in mid-1979, and many of the constituents that had formed it broke away from the party. Meanwhile, the Congress split for the second time in 1978. The result was an array of fragmented parties. In this context, the Indira Gandhi-led Congress, i.e., Congress (I), appeared to be the only coherent party. This image helped the party to take advantage of the strong popular reaction against frictions and disunity of the Janata government and win 1980 General Elections.

Phase VI (1980–1989): Era of Conflict between Congress and the Regional Parties

The 1980 Lok Sabha election was a verdict on the Janata Party's failure to consolidate the electoral alignments. Thus, in 1980s, the success of Congress (I) was mainly due to the failure of national-level non-Congress parties. The Communist parties and the Jana Sangh retained the support of important groups. They also possessed effective organizations and ideologies. Bhartiya Lok Dal had displayed its presence in the Hindi-speaking states. The 1980 elections reflected these trends. The Congress won 353 seats with almost 43 per cent of the popular vote. Janata Party was the second largest party in nine states. Lok Dal was second largest party in Haryana, UP and Orissa; CPI (M) was the largest party in West Bengal, Tripura and the second largest party in Kerala. Though support for the Congress (I) was still widespread as compared to other parties, class, community and region-wise support was on its decline. The Congress had begun to lose its base in the Hindi heartland, which makes 42 per cent of the Parliamentary seats, and its support in the Muslim-dominated constituencies was also reduced. These trends indicated an erosion of Congress' regional and minority support base.

The assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984 and the landslide victory of the Congress (I) due to the resultant sympathy wave made opposition in Lok Sabha irrelevant in 1984 elections. During Rajiv Gandhi's regime from 1984 to 1989, there

was complete absence of dialectical interaction between the government and the opposition. The new political situation that emerged from 1984 election was the one in which the Congress was dominant at the Centre, but not in most of the states.

Phase VII (1989–2004): Multi-Party System and Decline of the Congress Party

The 1989 elections transformed the scene at the Centre by establishing a non-Congress coalition government with a true multi-party character. People displayed a greater inclination to their caste-based parties which represented their interests. These elections recorded the decline of the Congress vote share, and the rise of BJP and the 'third front' of marginalized social group. The United Front, the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD), the BSP and the Samajwadi Party (SP) became key players.

The 1996 elections marked a decline in the position of national parties and growth of regional parties, which started playing significant role in the Central politics. This era marked increasing political awareness of people living in remote areas; assessment of national policies in terms of their local impact; mass preference for local politicians and greater demand for state autonomy within the limits of the existing federal structure. In social terms, the election results suggested a greater and more polarized role of caste in politics. Success of BSP among Dalits, consolidation of other backward classes (OBCs) in Bihar and UP, post-mandalization resulting in politics of reservation on caste basis and mushroom growth of various types of caste associations mostly in North India, indicated a positive correlation with election outcome.

Phase VIII (2004 onwards): Coalition System and Revival of the Congress

End of single-party coalition dominance was the message of 2004 elections. The elections rejected all the claims of the ruling NDA coalition and provided an opportunity to all non-NDA political parties led by Congress, named as UPA (United Progressive Alliance), to evolve an alternative political coalition. These elections also reflected significant increase in the weight of Left parties in national politics, with sixty seats in their favour.

Signifying the role of regional political parties, the outcome at the national level, to a great extent, became the sum total of the state-level verdicts. It appeared that any party wishing to win a national mandate has to weave its way through the different states and secure a verdict in each of these. The Congress' key alliances that clicked in the election were with regional parties of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra.

This, however, gave yet another message that the Congress party is not dead and if it could successfully lead the country and meticulously manage 'the rainbow coalition' in the coming years, it could well return to power circles. Comprehensive common agendas (Minimum Common Programme in case of UPA and National Agenda in case of NDA) became the guidelines of these alliances. The experiment was repeated in 2009.

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Coalition Government at the Centre and States

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In India, the subject of coalition governments has acquired great relevance in the context of current political trends and developments. The days of politics as a grand narrative dominated by a single party seems to be over in India. The General Elections in 2009 confirmed this trend that first became visible on the Indian political scene in 1989. The old system which was earlier called the 'Congress System' by Rajni Kothari, and 'a one-party dominant system' by W.H. Morris Jones is no longer in existence. The intensification of competitive politics has changed the party system from being a rivalry between national parties into the one between alliances and coalitions of national and state parties.

Meaning of Coalition

1. The term 'coalition' has been derived from the Latin word *coalition* which is the verbal substantive of *coalescere* - 'Co', which means together and 'alescere', which means to go or to grow together. According to the dictionary meaning, coalition means an act of coalescing, or uniting into one body, union of persons, states or an alliance. It is a combination of a body or parts into one whole. In the strict political sense, the term coalition stands for an alliance or temporary union for joint action of various distinct political parties at the state or the Union level to form a single government by members of distinct parties.

Prof. Ogg defines coalition in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, as 'a cooperative arrangement under which distinct political parties, or at all events, members of such parties unite to form a government or a ministry'. Thus, coalitions signify a parliamentary or political grouping of different parties, interest groups or factions formed for making or influencing policy decisions or securing power.

The system of coalition has certain characteristics. First, coalitions are formed for the sake of some reward, material or psychic. Second, the underlying principle of a coalition system is temporary conjunction of specific interest. Third, coalition politics is not a static but a dynamic affair as coalition players and groups dissolve, and form new one. The parties to the coalition do not lose their identity and can withdraw from the coalition as and when they find it difficult to continue as partners. As a result of such a withdrawal, the coalition may break up or some other group may join the coalition or lend support to another party, it then ceases to be a coalition. Fourth, the keynote of coalition politics is compromise and a rigid dogma has no place in it. While entering into coalition, the partners are expected to give up their rigid stand and make compromises in the spirit of give and take. Fifth, a coalition government works on the basis of a minimum programme, which may not be ideal for each partner of the coalition. Sixth, pragmatism and not ideology is the hallmark of coalition politics. In making political adjustments, principles may have to be set aside and in this process ideology is the first casualty. Seventh, the purpose of a coalition adjustment is to seize power; it may seek to stake its claim for the formation of a ministry or for pulling a ministry down.

In a vast and diverse country like India, coalitions may be a necessary stage in the evolution of democracy. A vast country like India, with people of various

levels of culture and social traditions, is naturally inclined to be pluralistic and to be under a multiparty system. Generally speaking, coalition and alliances in government are an essential feature of a multi-party system where there is absence of a majority or potential majority party and where no single opposition party is regarded as an alternative government. Thus, it can be inferred that coalition government is the effect of which multi-partyism is the cause.

In multi-party countries, coalition governments often serve as stop-gaps. Sometimes, such arrangements take place between parties owing allegiance to similar ideologies. However, if parties follow different ideologies, there may be political compromises and mutual concessions. Although these do not conduce to stability, such arrangements have been observed to ‘tend to curb radicalism and likewise to liberalize conservatism’.

Types of Coalition

Coalitions have been categorized in different ways. For instance,

1. **Executive coalition:** They are definitionally coterminus with the parties formally joining the cabinet, and with their members becoming ministers at various levels of the Council of Ministers.
2. **Legislative coalition:** They are wider than cabinet coalitions, including parties that extend support to the government from the parliamentary floor without formally joining the cabinet.
3. **Federal coalition:** They are defined as a group of parties that are part of the cabinet or legislative coalitions at the centre as well as in some states.

The Indian Experience

By now there is growing realization that coalition governments are perhaps an inevitable outcome in a multi-cultural and federal polity like India, where the homogenizing effects of political institution may often be insufficient to organize social pluralities into two major parties in electoral and legislative arenas like those in Anglo-American democracies and Australia (except for Canada since 1993).

Coalition Politics at the Centre

In its initial years, with an exception or two, India has enjoyed a single-party government at the centre. The Ninth Lok Sabha elections (1989) proved to be a decisive turning point, thus initiating an era of coalition and minority governments in New Delhi.

1. National Front/United Front Coalition Experiment

The National Front experiment, which was a federation of national and regional parties formed under the leadership of the Janata Party in 1988, provides the best example of the fragmentation and re-alignment within the party system along regional lines. Even though the Congress emerged as the largest single party, it did not have a clear majority in the Parliament. As a result, the National Front was invited to form the government with the Leftist Parties and BJP agreeing to support the government

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from outside. The National Front consisted of the Janata Dal (JD), Telegu Desam Party (TDP), DMK, Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and other small groupings. The objective of keeping the Congress at bay brought two diametrically opposite political forces: the BJP and the Left under a broad coalition. The National Front (NF) government lasted barely 11 months in power, from December 1989 to November 1990. Weak coordination and fragmented collective responsibility of the Cabinet marked the end of the National Front Coalition.

The Chandra Shekhar government which succeeded National Front Government was virtually a government of splinter groups of Janata Party, which remained in office with the support of Congress (I) for barely four months. Chandra Shekhar belonged to Janata Dal (Secular), a splinter group of Janata Dal.

The mid-term elections of 1991 once again saw a hung Parliament. The Congress was invited to form a minority government. The government depended for its existence on the support of BJP and Leftist Parties. P. V. Narsimha Rao became the Prime Minister of India. This minority government of Congress (I) was converted into a majority government in December when Ajit Singh with ten members of Janata Dal (A) merged with the Congress.

Meanwhile, from September 1995 onwards, efforts were made to revive the National Front by the TDP, Janata Dal and the ruling Left Front in West Bengal, encouraged by the poor performance of the Congress party in the 1994–95 State Assembly elections. By including many regional groups, an idea of a ‘Third Front’ was mooted.

The Lok Sabha elections of 1996 produced a hung parliament again, with none of the political party or political groups able to secure majority. As the leader of the largest single party in the Lok Sabha, Atal Bihari Vajpayee was invited to form the government. But after 13 days, the Vajpayee government fell as it could not garner enough support.

Thereafter, the ‘Third Front’ got the opportunity to form the government. On 1 June 1996, H. D. Deve Gowda, leader of the United Front, in coalition of thirteen parties, was sworn in as the Prime Minister. Congress and CPI (M), two bitter rivals, agreed to support the United Front from outside. The coalition government which thus came to power at the Centre was not the result of an alliance forged before the elections but the result of compromises and bargains entered into after the elections to capture power and keep BJP out of power. The other important features of this coalition were preponderance of the regional political parties and the entry of CPI for the first time in a coalition at the centre.

This experiment of coalition government at the centre suffered a setback following the withdrawal of support by the Congress. Thereafter, United Front elected I.K. Gujral as its new leader. He was sworn in as the Prime Minister of India on 21 April 1997. The Congress supported this government from outside. However, the Gujral government also proved short-lived because on 28 November 1997 the Congress (I) withdrew its support. The basic constraint of the United Front was its dependence on the Congress support to remain in power. It had to look over its

shoulders all the time to ensure that this support was not withdrawn. Ultimately, it collapsed because of the withdrawal of Congress support.

Despite its eclipse as a substantial political force in Parliament, especially after the 1997 national elections, the Third Front as a model continues to remain viable simply because the political space structured around the opposition to the BJP and the Congress exists. Despite its short tenure at the national level, its achievement cannot be undermined. In fact, it was the acceptance of the Mandal Commission's suggestions under the V.P. Singh-led National Front government that brought about radical changes in India's social fabric.

2. BJP and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA)

In 1999, elections were held for the Lok Sabha. NDA led by BJP, formed before the elections, secured a comfortable majority. The Alliance, comprising twenty-four parties, elected Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its leader who became the Prime Minister on 19 March 1998. NDA government remained in power for five years.

3. United Progressive Alliance (UPA)

The NDA's 'India Shining' Campaign did not go down too well with the masses and the NDA got defeated in both 2004 and 2009 Lok Sabha elections. The UPA led by Congress (I) and consisting of Lok Jantantrik Party, and RJD defeated NDA. Both times, Manmohan Singh became the Prime Minister of India.

Also, now the Congress seems to have finally jettisoned its dearly held belief that it could defeat the BJP-led alliance on its own. This is evident from the game-plan that features topmost in its election strategy, which is 'to dislodge the NDA at all costs even if the party's interest has to take a back seat in the coalition politics in various states'.

Coalition Politics in States

Here, we are taking the example of the state of Bihar. Bihar is one of the States in India, which has experienced coalition politics for some time. In Bihar, the coalition politics made its beginning after the fourth General Election. Till 1972, the state of Bihar saw the coming and going of a number of coalition governments. In 1972, the Congress won a clear-cut majority and formed the government.

After having majority governments for a few years, Bihar again witnessed an era of coalition governments. In February 1990, no single party was able to get clear majority. The Rashtriya Janata Party (RJD), which emerged as the largest party in the Assembly, formed the government with the support of its allies, particularly the Leftist parties, under Lalu Prasad Yadav.

In the Assembly elections of February 2000, the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) leader Laloo Prasad Yadav could manage to capture only 124 of the 324 seats. He tried to form the government in Bihar by securing support of the Congress and other groups but could not muster the necessary majority. On the other hand, Nitish Kumar, of Janata Dal (U), with the support of BJP and Samta Party, staked his claim to form the government. He was sworn in as the Chief Minister on 3 March, 2000.

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However, he could not prove his majority and therefore he resigned. Thereupon, Rabri Devi was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Bihar for the third time. Later on, Congress decided to join the government and all its members were sworn in as ministers in Bihar. At present, Nitish Kumar is the Chief Minister of Bihar and is representing the NDA at the state level.

Politics of Coalition (post-1989): An Overview

In a rather short span of over a decade, India has witnessed coalition governments of four major types:

- (a) The centrist Congress minority government of P.V. Narsimha Rao initiated new-liberal economic reforms in 1991
- (b) Three Left-supported governments formed by the Janata Dal-led National/United Front
- (c) Two right-led coalition governments formed by the BJP-led NDA under Vajpayee, a votary of secular version of Hindu nationalism
- (d) Centrist Congress again coming to power in the form of UPA

With the decline of Congress as a dominant party, the national party system seems more fragmented and mushrooming of regional level parties which have the appearance of chequered chessboard of rival and allied parties. The past and the present trends of coalition governments in New Delhi suggest three possible models of power-sharing:

- (a) Coalition of more or less equal partners, e.g., the National front and the United Front
- (b) Coalition of relatively smaller parties led by a major party, e.g., NDA
- (c) Coalition of relatively smaller parties facilitated but not necessarily led by a Prime Minister from the major party, e.g. the coalition of parties formed in 2004 and 2009 around the Congress avowing secular Indian nationalism

It is important to note that in the era of coalition, governance at the centre is not possible without the active participation of important regional parties. The main thrust of the argument is that a faceless and shapeless conglomerate of disparate coalitional partners is not able to provide leadership in a federal system and the political capacity of the Central government to arbitrate in inter-state disputes has gradually weakened. For example, the central government's Ministry of Food and Civil Supplies made a proposal that the power of the centre to procure food should be 'transferred' to the state governments, but this suggestion for 'decentralization' was not accepted by the chief ministers of the states that were producing surplus food grains. The critics of centralization such as Akali Dal and Indian National Lok Dal of Haryana (INLD) vetoed the attempt of the Central government (NDA government). Incidentally, both these parties were partners in the coalition government of Vajpayee.

If the centralized federal system of the Congress party dominance phase was criticized for 'pushing policies' on unwilling states, extremely weak coalition governments at the Centre have not been able to even 'persuade' state governments

to amend out-of-date and obsolete public policies. Further, many a times, regional parties as partners of the Central coalitional government have ‘particularistic interests’. Inter-water disputes have also not been dealt with properly.

Thus, coalition governments in India at the centre do not have the ability to provide leadership to the whole country in dealing with federal constitutional and political issues because coalitions at the Centre are themselves dependent on the fragile and shifting support of the regional parties and leaders. The Centre should have a pre-eminent position in the Centre–state relations, otherwise it cannot act as a referee or an umpire between Centre–state disputes.

Problems of Coalition Politics in India

Apart from lack of cohesiveness and stability of the coalition governments and the inability of Centre to take decision on time, a number of other problems beset the coalition politics in India.

1. Collective responsibility requires that ministers should be able to express their views frankly in the expectation that they can argue freely in private while maintaining a united front when decisions have been reached. This, in turn, requires that the privacy of opinions expressed in Cabinet and ministerial committees should be maintained. It is precisely this frank expression of views and free private argument which are often not obtainable in coalition settings.
2. Ideally, the confluence of interests for coalitions must be dictated by coherent and principled political beliefs and not opportunism alone. However, the purpose of coalition governments in India so far has merely represented a translation of anti-Congressism or anti-BJP–ism into a tactic for power sharing.
3. The experience of coordination committees has also not been very impressive. The culture of coalitions is in its essence the culture of compromise. It is based, to a large extent, on the sharing of elective and non-elective offices. A coalition government, in a system like ours, cannot be effectively managed by the cabinet alone. To keep the coalition united, the Prime Minister and his colleagues must learn to promote reconciliation of conflicting policies and ambitions in two forums, one outside Parliament and the other inside.

Given the multi-layered nature of Indian coalitions, with some parties joining the cabinet while others extending support only from the parliamentary floor, the Parliamentary Committees may be used as additional foci of sharing power. The Coordination Committee also needs to be strengthened by imparting greater seriousness and regularity as a sounding board for policies in broad terms to be worked out in detail by the cabinet. This will avoid the embarrassment of the rolling back of the cabinet/ministerial decisions, notorious for its frequency during the BJP-led coalition government.

Prospects of Coalition Politics in India

Coalition governments in India, in spite of problems, have been successful in retaining democratic legitimacy and national unity. Major policy shifts like liberalization, economic reforms, grassroots decentralization, federal decentralization, in theory or

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practice can be largely attributed to the onset of coalition governance. Coalition governments in states and at the Centre are compelled to depart from the rigid Congress-centred and the Hindu-right orientations and accommodate people with other orientations. This led to the integration of the party system as well as the nation. The national parties which once rejected the idea of coalition politics, have today accepted coalition politics as an indispensable exercise.

To conclude, coalition politics in India is now inevitable. It is unavoidable because the social, economic and political order in the country has changed beyond recognition since Independence. Coalitions will remain because the Indian polity does not hesitate any more to exercise its franchise. Coalitions will thrive because India now knows that extracting good governance is important for the self-interest of all sections of its society.

Pressure Groups in Indian Politics

Pressure groups operate actively especially in a representative government committed to the realization of the ideal of social service state. The state also makes itself increasingly dependent on them while handling its sphere of planning and social service. However, the number of groups and the intensity with which they are able to pursue their objectives depend upon the social legitimization of group activity and the prospects of fulfilling group demands in a given political system.

The genesis of the pressure groups may be traced back to the pre-independence days when a large number of pressure groups existed to put forth their reasoning and argument before the British government in order to pressurize it and to seek concessions and privileges for the members of the pressure groups. In fact, the Indian National Congress in 1885 was more like a pressure group to plead for reforms and to articulate the interests of the educated middle class. As the Congress donned the mantle of a political party gradually, various pressure groups began to mushroom to safeguard the interests of other sections. Most remarkable was the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1920 and the All India Kisan Sabha in 1936 that opened new chapters in the book of pressure groups.

In the post-independence scenario, the processes of democracy and development provided a fertile ground for a huge number of pressure groups to come into existence. Various sections of society began to create their own interest groups to make their voices heard in policy formulation and the ever-increasing state activities. In the wake of planned economic development, even the polity inspires the creation of pressure groups for their contribution to developmental activities. Moreover, the consolidation of the party system has also contributed to the expansion in the base and scope of activities of pressure groups in certain defined sectors of economy, society and polity. For example, with an eye on inculcating the voters for their parties on a long-term basis, almost all major political parties in the country have floated various frontal organizations in the areas of trade union activities, farmers' fronts, women morchas and students' wings. There also exist politically neutral pressure groups like the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce (FICCI) and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). All these pressure groups ensure safeguards from adverse policy initiatives of the government.

2.6.2 Regional Political Parties

Let us discuss the various regional political parties.

1. Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)

Asom Gana Parishad (Assam Peoples Association) is a political party in Assam, India that came into existence after the historic Assam Accord of 1985 when Prafulla Kumar Mahanta was elected as the youngest chief minister in the country. The AGP formed government twice from 1985 to 1989 and from 1996 to 2001. The party came apart, with former Chief Minister, Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, forming the Asom Gana Parishad (Progressive) but regrouped on 14th October 2008 at Golaghat.

The party comprises two MPs in the Lok Sabha and two MPs in the Rajya Sabha. AGP came into being after the six-year-long Assam Agitation against Illegal Infiltration of Foreigners from Bangladesh into Assam, led by All Assam Students Union (AASU). For a long time, the Assamese have been complaining against infiltration of illegal migrants from Bangladesh. They feared that it is changing the demographic, social and economic constitution of the state.

In 1979, AASU began peaceful democratic movement that demanded that all illegal migrants in the state should be identified, followed by removing their names from the country's electoral rolls and deporting them on grounds of illegal occupation of land. This movement lasted for long, amidst which the Assembly Election was held in 1983, which the people protested again. AASU then constituted the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) comprising representatives of different organizations including the Asom Sahitya Sabha, two regional political parties – Asom Jatiyabadi Dal and Purbanchaliya Loka Parishad, the Sadau Asom Karmachari Parishad, Asom Jatiyabadi Yuva-Chatra Parishad, Asom Yuvak Samaj, All Assam Central and semi-Central Employees' Association and others.

Successive discussions with consecutive governments in New Delhi resulted in signing of the Assam Accord on August 15, 1985 between the AASU and the government, with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi being a witness. The movement, referred to as Assam Agitation, is remembered as the one of the longest peaceful movements that the world had seen following the freedom movement of India. Thereafter, the State Assembly was dissolved and the Congress government headed by Hiteswar Saikia, which gained power in February 1983, was dismissed.

According to a national convention of the people of Assam, organized at Golaghat on October 13-14, 1985 a regional political party under the name and style of Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) was to be established, and the Asom Gana Parishad was eventually launched at Golaghat on October 14, 1985. By then, the earlier central executive committee of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) was dissolved at a convention in Lakhimpur in September, and Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, the president of the AASU during the period of the peaceful democratic movement, was elected the president of the presidium of the new political party. Asom Jatiyabadi Dal and the Purbanchaliya Loka Parishad amalgamated with AGP as well. Members from other organizations also joined. The AGP contested the State Assembly elections held in December 1985 and swept the polls by winning 67 of the 126 seats apart

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from capturing seven of the 14 Lok Sabha (Parliament) seats, and formed the Government of Assam.

2. Shiromani Akali Dal

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At the national level, while remaining in the forefront of national mainstream, the Shiromani Akali Dal has consistently maintained its commitment to a grand privilege for Punjabis in general and particularly the Sikhs, constantly striving to protect their political, economic, social and cultural rights. The Shiromani Akali Dal party is committed to the highest ideals of peace, communal harmony, universal brotherhood and welfare of humanity (Sarbat Da Bhala).

Federal Structure

The need for cooperative federalism based on political and fiscal autonomy was for the first time advocated by Shiromani Akali Dal, a concept that was opposed initially but later accepted and adopted by almost every regional and national political party. According to SAD, setting up a real federal structure is the only way to strengthen the objectives of national unity and prosperity. Obstacles in the path of such a national system by the Congress party caused considerable harm to the interests of development and prosperity in the States and deferred India's emergence as a global leader for more than six decades.

Opposes Unitarian Mindset

The Shiromani Akali Dal is strongly against the unitarian mindset. The latest indicator of the Congress' anti-federal mindset is provided by a statement by the present Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in which he has described regional parties as an obstacle in the way of national development. This mindset is causes political rage in a country which holds pride in giving predominance to the will of the people, and is also insulting to the combined wisdom of the people who have on a repeated basis expressed complete confidence in the ability of regional parties to manage affairs at the national level.

Chandigarh and the Punjabi-Speaking Areas

The Shiromani Akali Dal has battled for including Chandigarh and other Punjabi-Speaking areas in Punjab. However, unfortunately, Congress governments, one after the other, at the Centre have always tried ignoring this demand. However, the peaceful and democratic struggle of Shiromani Akali Dal will continue in order to fulfil Punjab's genuine claim for making Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking areas a part of Punjab.

River Waters Issue

As far as the river waters issue is concerned, the SAD has always demanded implementation of the Riparian Principle, nationally and internationally accepted by the Supreme Court and applied by it in every river water dispute, such as the Narmada River Water Dispute. The Constitution holds that river water is a state subject and non-Riparian states cannot be a part of any dispute arising out of sharing of the river waters.

Besides the question of the constitutional authority of Punjab's demand, Punjab's river waters must be protected because the state is already gripped by severe crisis and could be reduced to a desert in a few more years on account of the shocking decline in the level of sub-soil water due to substantial diminution by means of tube well irrigation. Unfortunately, consecutive Congress governments at the Centre and in the states have violated the Riparian Principle.

Minorities Issue

The Shiromani Akali Dal has always respected and looked up to India's rich linguistic, cultural and religious miscellany. The Congress has, however, steadily functioned in undermining the interests of the minorities in the country. It advocates cultural and political consistency, as opposed to emotional and cultural amalgamation.

The Shiromani Akali Dal aims at protecting and promoting the interests of the minorities in the country so as to enable them to play a significantly constructive role in the progress of the people of our country. The party symbolizes a powerful India that is capable of being a global leader. The party also believes that intensifying its constituents ascertains achieving its objective. The blend of strong, prosperous and confident minorities on the one hand and politically and economically strong states on the contrary ensures a prosperous future for India.

Vision

Our goal: Changing the way the world conceives of Punjab and the way Punjabis consider themselves. The aim lies in ensuring self-esteem and self-respect of every Punjabi whether urban or rural. We are completely aware of the large expectations that people have of us and consider it our obligation to fulfil these expectations.

Other components of our vision include:

- Bridging the gap between the people and their government through extensive reforms concerned with governance by transforming the approach to administration.
- Improving education and health, with more teachers and more doctors, supported by state-of-the-art amenities in schools and hospitals. Also completely changing higher education by establishing centres of excellence, such as world-class university and ISB.
- Increasing agricultural and industrial growth by developing world class infrastructure, road network and air connectivity apart from making Punjab a power-surplus state and ensuring 24-hour power supply to the commercial, industrial and farm sectors as well as to the domestic consumers.

Political Mission

The political mission of the party lies in strengthening Shiromani Akali Dal at the grass root level and result in complete internal democracy within the party, so that the party is able to sustain the confidence of the people of the state on a long-term basis and make sure that the tasks initiated reach their hilt.

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The party has its objective in establishing a link between the youth force with the Taksali cadre within the party. The youth would provide the necessary enthusiasm, whereas the Taksali Akalis would carry on providing guidance and ideological strength and transparency to the party. The SAD gains inspiration from the righteous ideals put forward by our great Gurus, saints and seers which focuses on respecting every religion, human brotherhood and Sarbat da Bhala are the means to our approach to life. The party's commitment lies in maintaining peace and communal harmony.

With our political ally Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), we are on a mission for the overall welfare and development of the state. As a part of this mission Punjab, the SAD-BJP government has already emerged as a pioneer in the country by launching reforms in governance.

3. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai was popularly called *anna* or elder brother. He was also known as Arignar Anna meaning Anna, the scholar. He rose to fame for his literary and cultural achievements and successfully introduced Tamil Cinema for Political propaganda. Annadurai's journalistic past helped him to establish his political acumen and later to become the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. His untimely death after two years in power brought an end to an illustrious career. He was a member of the Dravidar Kazhagam and also editor of several political journals. He rose to prominence in the party under the guidance of Periyar.

Annadurai's Childhood

Annadurai was born to Natarajan and Bangaru Ammal of the dominant Sengunta Mudaliar caste in Kancheepuram on 15 September 1909. His sister Rajamani Ammal raised him. Rani became his wife while he was still a student at the age of 21. As they did not have children of their own, they later adopted and raised Rajamani's grandchildren. Anna studied in Pachaiyappa's High School, but left school to work as a clerk in the town's municipal office to assist with the family finances.

He completed his graduation and post-graduation from Pachaiyappa's college in Chennai. He worked for a short while as an English teacher in Pachaiyappa High School. He began involving himself in journalism and politics after leaving his teaching job.

Annadurai's Hindu faith made him affirm his belief in 'Onrae Kulam, Oruvane Thevan' or, one God and one humanity. Those who followed used his slogan, 'One race, One god'. He was against superstitions and oppressive practices of religion, but never did he disregard the spiritual values of society and religion.

Beginning of Annadurai's Political Journey

As he was interested in politics, Annadurai joined the Justice Party in 1935. The Justice Party originated when non-Brahmins organized a work group that later transformed into a political party under the guidance of Dr T. M. Nair and Sir Pitti Theagaroya Chetty. The official name of the Party was South Indian Liberal Federation; however, it was generally known as the Justice Party. Periyar was the

President of the Party when Annadurai became a member of the Party. Due to his literary prowess, he was promoted to the position of an editor of the magazine *Vidhuthalai* and the Justice Party. He later became a part of the editorial in *Kudi Arasu*. Periyar renamed the Party in 1944 as Dravidar Kazhagam and decided not to contest political elections anymore.

Birth of DMK

The Indian National Congress was dominated by Brahmin members though it had an agenda of fighting the British for Indian independence. Periyar decided not to celebrate 15 August 1947 as the Independence Day as he felt that this independence would bring the non-Brahmins under Brahmin domination throughout the country. Annadurai disagreed with Periyar as he felt that the Indian independence was too precious to be mourned. He saw this as the sole victory not only for the Congress, but also for all people throughout the country. He was also disgruntled with Periyar when he married Maniammai.

Annadurai opposed the idea of Periyar to stay away from politics.

He strongly believed that political power certainly helps to bring about change in the society and it is only when leaders are armed with political power that they can introduce and implement policies of social reforms as it gives them a legal edge. As a reaction to Periyar's move to remain apolitical he moved out. Periyar believed strongly that through education and canvassing the masses, social reformation can be achieved better and outside politics, rather than staying within the government.

After becoming disgruntled with Periyar, Annadurai decided to launch his own party. He teamed with E.V.K. Sampath (Periyar's nephew and until then considered his political heir) and took those who too wanted to drift. The newly formed party was named Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. Though Annadurai belonged to the upper Mudaliar caste, he fought for social justice for the lower castes and thus rapidly gained popular support. As a member of Dravidar Kazhagam, Annadurai had supported Periyar when he had called for a separate Tamil land. However, once the DMK was formed, Sampath started feeling that the demand for a separate land for the Tamils was not justified. He left DMK and formed the Tamil Nationalist Party in 1961.

In 1962, Annadurai advocated the right of self-determination by the Dravidians in the Rajya Sabha. He also asserted that Dravidians should have a right to establish their own state. However, when states were formed based on the linguistic preference of the people, wherein Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam-speaking areas were removed from the Madras Presidency, DMK realized that the call for Dravida Nadu needs to be changed to a call for Tamil Nadu, land of the Tamils.

The Indian Constitution was amended due to the Chinese aggression in 1953. The Anti-Secessionist Amendment Act or the 16th Amendment Act banned parties with sectarian interests from participating in elections. Annadurai tried to stop this Bill in the Parliament as an MP. However, he had to drop his demands for a separate state for the Dravidians once the Bill became an Act. The Party later aimed at better cooperation between the southern states.

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In 1953, Annadurai called for three protests. The first was against Jawaharlal Nehru who had used derogatory language against the leaders of the South. The second was directed against the Chief Minister of Madras, C. Rajagopalachari, opposing the introduction of vocational education. The third protest challenged renaming Kallakkudi as Dalmiyapuram as the latter symbolized domination of North India. These protests ended with Annadurai being imprisoned for three months.

Annadurai's Role in Anti-Hindi Agitations

In 1928, Motilal Nehru proposed that Hindi be used as the official language of the nation. However, Tamil leaders felt that this would always make non-Hindi-speaking population second-grade citizens. They thus started anti-Hindi agitations. Since the state government in Tamil Nadu was headed by the Congress, C. Rajagopalachari, the then Chief Minister accepted Motilal's proposal. These further intensified the protests. Annadurai took the help of some famous poets like Bharathidasan in protesting against the Chief Minister on this account. In 1938, he participated in the first Anti-Hindi conference held in Kanchipuram. The government withdrew Hindi as the official language in 1940 after a few years of intense protests by Tamil intelligentsia and the resultant self-immolation by young students.

Hindi was provided a special status by the Constitution and gained undue importance in 1965 where it was again declared as an official language throughout the country. Annadurai strongly opposed this move as Hindi was not the language spoken by majority of people in south India. In 1960, the DMK held an open-air conference against this move in Madras. Annadurai presided over this meeting and distributed black flags to other leaders to be shown to the President of India during his visit to the state. However, sensing an unpleasant scenario, Nehru mentioned in the Parliament that English would remain the official language till the time the southern states accepted the new proposition. DMK thus gave up its plan to show the President its black flags. The Party also appealed to the Centre to bring about a constitutional amendment in this regard. However, the Central government did not really undertake any constitutional amendment in favour of English. On the other hand, it actually went ahead and declared Hindi as the official language. When the state saw massive riots, the state government blamed the DMK of instigating people. However, modern political researchers are of the opinion that these riots were not masterminded by the DMK. They portrayed the genuine frustrations and disgust of the common man over such shameless act. Annadurai requested all students to cease protests of any kinds with immediate effect and was arrested on charges of anti-state activities. In 1967, Annadurai became the Chief Minister of the state.

As a Statesman

When Nedunchezhiyan was elected as the general Secretary of DMK, Annadurai stepped down from the post at the Tiruchirappalli conference in May 1956. In this conference the Party also decided to contest the next election to be held in 1957. DMK became the opposition party after winning fifteen Assembly and two

parliamentary seats. In 1962, DMK emerged as a major political party, next only to the Congress by winning fifty Assembly seats though Annadurai had lost the election. He was nominated as a Member of Parliament this year.

Chief Minister Annadurai

The elections of 1967 saw the Congress emerge as a winner in Madras. They had lost the election in nine other states. For the first time in India's political history, the non-Congress parties formed a coalition to form the opposition. Though Annadurai served as the Chief Minister of Madras for a short tenure of 1967–1969, he was the change that people wished to see. He introduced a number of welfare schemes for the uplift of the poor and the needy. He renamed Madras state as Tamil Nadu, the abode of the Tamils. He gained more power from the Centre and championed the cause of autonomy for states.

Death and Legacy

Annadurai passed away on 3 February 1969 from cancer. His funeral saw the highest number of people gathering to get a glimpse of their leader. About 15 million people gathered to attend his last rites held on the northern end of the Marina beach in Madras which has since been named Anna Square. Annadurai's government was the first non-Congress government to have achieved power of the state since independence. When MGR named his new party once DMK split, he used the name Anna DMK (ADMK) as a mark of respect for the political leader who emerged as a great social reformer and a friend of the poor and needy.

Anti-Hindi Agitation

The term 'Anti-Hindi Agitation' is used in short for 'Anti-Hindi Imposition Agitation'. Tamil Nadu did not have anything against the Hindi language. However, popular sentiment in the state has been against this forcible imposition right from the beginning and perhaps it still lurks beneath the calm in many pockets of Tamil Nadu. Tamils feel that Hindi is alien to them as they cannot identify with it and most importantly Hindi carries the burden of being pro-Brahmin and pro-Sanskrit which the Dravidians vociferously opposed.

The anti-Hindi agitation leaders maintained:

...let that language live and flourish where it belongs; in Hindi lands and wherever else people want it as official language or link language or national language or lingua franca. People of Tamil Nadu do not want it that way and are opposed to its imposition on them. Forcing Indian Government employees from Tamil Nadu to learn and work in Hindi (in non-Hindi areas) is Hindi imposition...

According to prominent historians, the reasons for the south to have resisted the acceptance of Hindi as a compulsory language at the school level and as the official language for the state administration are many. Ethnic communities like the Tamils have preserved their traditions and heredity for ages. Language had been a vital part of this tradition and accepting Hindi would defeat the preservation of

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traditions. In fact, all aspects of their socio-cultural life, like literature, religion, archaeology and were all language dependent. In case Hindi was accepted as a major language by the region, it would prove to be catastrophic for these aspects of their socio-political life.

Anti-Hindi Agitation in the Pre-Independence Period (1938–1947)

Anti-Hindi agitations started even before the British rule ended in India. In 1937, the Congress Party won the general elections in the Madras Presidency and C. Rajagopalachari became the Chief Minister. He was the first to introduce Hindi as a compulsory language in schools and colleges. Tamil inhabitants of the Madras Presidency immediately started protesting against the imposition. Protestors gathered outside Rajaji's house as the news of making Hindi compulsory started spreading. About a thousand people including seventy-three women were arrested during these protests. The first Anti-Hindi Conference was held at Kanchipuram under the leadership of Periyar, and Annadurai.

However, despite these protests, Hindi was made a compulsory language in schools in 1938. An Anti-Hindi Command was formed by Tamil patriots and Viswanatham was elected the Secretary while Somasundara was made the President of the society. Periyar joined the group and turned it into a political agenda of the Self-Respect Movement. Due to mass protests that would often turn violent and the cognizable frustration of common people, the state government decided to remove Hindi from being a compulsory language.

However, when Hindi was made compulsory in 1942 and 1946, again the anti-Hindi movement gained momentum. Periyar made this his primary agenda again and entrusted Annadurai, his top lieutenant, to carry on the protests.

Anti-Hindi Agitations in the Post-Independence Period

After gaining independence, the Congress Party came to power at the Centre as well as in the Madras Presidency in 1947. It immediately introduced Hindi as the national language and as a compulsory language at the school level. On 17 July, 1947, Periyar convened an anti-Hindi conference in Madras with Adigalar as the President. Anti-Hindi demonstrations were carried out by dravidar Kazhagam where thousands courted arrest.

Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) organized many anti-Hindi demonstrations in front of schools and thousand of demonstrators were arrested and jailed. All these acts were however not sporadic, but didn't have the strength to sustain and Hindi was still taught as a compulsory subject in schools. When the Indian Constitution came into effect in 1950, Hindi was made the official language of India despite intense protests from the southern states. After thirteen long years of anti-Hindi struggle, Annadurai expressed his concern with the following words: 'Making a language (Hindi) that is the mother tongue of a region of India the official language for all the people of India is tyranny. We believe that it will give benefits and superiority to one region (the Hindi-speaking region). If Hindi were to become the official language of

India, Hindi-speaking people will govern us. We will be treated like third rate citizens. Hindi would become the sole official language on January 26, 1965. English would also be used as an official language during the interim 15 year period.'

The Madras government made Hindi compulsory for sixth to eleventh grades. The Dravidar Kazhagam and the newly formed Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam protested against this order and gathered common people for demonstrations and meetings. The government was once again forced to remove the order.

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Students' Involvement in Anti-Hindi Agitations

Tamil Nadu's students organized an Anti-Hindi conference in Thiruchirapalli (Thiruchi or Trichy). Such a gathering happened for the first time where students were to play a major role. DMK too organized Anti-Hindi Protest Conference that was held On 13 October 1963 in Madras, where the students were asked to burn the 17th Part of the Indian Constitution as a mark of protest. Later, DMK leaders and cadres burnt the Constitution all over Tamil Nadu as a mark of protest, and were arrested and jailed.

People volunteered to burn themselves as a mark of ultimate sacrifice. It was a situation straight out of any emotional drama but it was real. People actually poured gasoline and lit their bodies for the cause of Tamil identity and their language. Self-immolation anywhere as a mark of protest in the world had never been seen other than in Vietnam that witnessed similar immolation bids by Buddhist monks as protests against the dictatorial rule. Veerappan, Chinnaswami, Muthu, Sivalingam, Sarangapani are the names people take with reverence, because they laid down their lives for the cause of Tamil language. Students from University of Madras went on a one-day strike on 25 January, because 26 January was a holiday. It was a mark of protest. During these protests, schools, colleges, shops and stores were kept closed with the help of university students. There was a tremendous change in mass psyche—from complacency to active support. The scale of the protests was unprecedented and massive. In India nothing of this intensity had happened in the post-independence period. More than 50,000 people participated in the protest marches that were organized in most towns and cities in Tamil Nadu. The protestors included students and common man who joined the march. People initially protested peacefully with colourful placards and banners consisting of anti-Hindi slogans. In some cities, students were seen beating drums and playing bugles while they marched in protests. Pall bearers in Coimbatore carried the dead body of the Hindi demon as they marched down the main streets of the city. It was a symbolic gesture but sent out a clear message for the state authorities that Hindi cannot be forced.

However, when the pro-government trade unionists beat up students and protestors in Madurai between 27 January and 3 February, the protestors also retaliated with violence. The protestors were arrested by the state police that angered anti-Hindi demonstrators all over the state. This resulted in massive rallies on 27 January in different parts of Tamil Nadu. These rallies were laced with a sentiment of fight for right to freedom. The public supported the students

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and as a mark of support many stores remained closed. When students were marching through the streets, people stood in silence and supported them. Indefinite strike was announced by Tamil Nadu Students Anti-Hindi Agitation Committee.

The unprecedented extent of public support to the students in the Anti-Hindi Imposition Protests sent a message of alert to the Indian Parliament and Indian Government. Congress leaders like Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda and the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Bhaktavatsalam decided to stop the anti-Hindi protests with brute force but that badly hurt sentiments and the hatred created by the use of force widened the gulf.

With government orders, Indian Army soldiers, Central Reserve Police and out-of-state police were moved into Tamil Nadu to put down the protest. The result was indiscriminate firing into crowds, manhandling of protestors who were beaten and even maimed and killed. But the spirit was too high to be put under duress. However, even brute force could not stop the demonstrators. Central minister Subramaniam promised that the Parliament would impose laws so that imposition of Hindi could be prevented. The students called off their strike when assured with such a promise and called off the agitations on 12 February. On 1 August 1968, a Language Act was passed which failed to meet the expectations of the Tamils.

General Elections 1967

The 1967 general elections saw defeat for the Congress Party, which may be directly linked with the imposition of Hindi due to protests by Tamil people. The Party President, the Chief Minister and every minister lost the election. As people identified the DMK with anti-Hindi agitations, they emerged the winners. However, despite a landslide victory, the DMK at the state level could not stop the Centre from imposition of Hindi by the Centre. In 1968, Tamil students agitated for a day against the imposition of Hindi. However, this protest could not be compared in scale and nature with the previous protests that the state underwent in 1965.

Now, public enthusiasm even though not very strong in Tamil Nadu, but that should not be construed as Tamil people have accepted Hindi. It was not a possible way of keeping the issue afloat through demonstrations and protests, but the discontentment certainly continues. When one talks to the Tamil people, one will learn their resentment against Hindi. The government officials detested it when they had to take Hindi classes and clear examinations in order to retain their government jobs.

The resentment of Tamil people continued and a seething grudge against Hindi imposition in their hearts and minds had been maintained in a subtle form. Whether it will one day burst or will die down, no one knows, but certainly an indication of its presence in certain groups who do not agree to accept domination is marked. Several occasions witness people rise with secessionist demands. In 1968, representatives of the Tamil Nadu Students Anti-Hindi Agitation Committee met the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the Madras airport and handed her a letter that said, 'if Hindi imposition continued, they would have to fight for independence

(freedom) for Tamil Nadu'. In Coimbatore, in the same year, students hoisted the 'Independent Tamil Nadu Flag' maintaining that the only way to end Hindi imposition was to gain independence from India. The 1980s saw the rise of the Tamil Nadu Liberation Army which brought as its agenda, an armed struggle for a free Tamil land. The founders cited the imposition of Hindi and economic discrimination as the two basic reasons for launching the Party. Though the common man might not have supported the Party in achieving its aims, they are still fighting for a free Tamil land.

Annadurai as Chief Minister

Annadurai's inherent interest in politics attracted him towards the Justice Party which he joined in 1935. He became the editor of *Vidhuthalai*. The Justice Party was formed by elite non-Brahmins. The Party grew into a political party of repute under leaders like Sir Pitti Theagaroya Chetty and Dr T.M. Nair. Periyar was the President of the Party when Anna had joined. Periyar renamed the Justice party to Dravidar Kazhagam in 1944. Annadurai had already proved his mettle and had become a leader to reckon with under the able guidance of EVR Naicker. Annadurai's proactive role in organizing anti-Hindi protests gave him fame and he had become popular among the mass but it was also caused by his being a person of literature, culture, and cinema. Annadurai served as the Chief Minister briefly from 1967–69. He was a visionary leader who wished to bring about holistic change in the lives of the underprivileged. He brought regional parties like the DMK to limelight, removing all traces of the Congress government at the state level. He even legalized self-respect weddings in Madras with the youngest cabinet in the country. These marriages denounced the presence of Brahmin priests for performing the rites. Periyar had instituted these marriages to free non-Brahmins from the rituals of dowry and Brahministic dominance. Self-respect weddings encouraged youngsters from different castes to marry. Annadurai also subsidized the price of rice for winning the election; he promised that rice will be made available at ₹ 1 per measure. He also introduced a two-language policy instead of the usual three-language formula was also cited by historians as a winning policy. Under his encouragement, the Second World Tamil Conference was conducted with élam on 3 January, 1968. He also ordered the removal of all photographs of gods and religious symbols from government offices. This, however, was not completely appreciated by all. Annadurai remains the only leader of the time who had not participated in the Indian struggle for Independence. He rose through the ranks only due to his sheer charisma and his empathy for the underprivileged.

Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi

Muthuvel Karunanidhi had been an eminent political figure in Tamil politics for about five decades. He was born to Muthuvelar and Anjugam Ammaiyar in Thirukkuvalai. Inspired by a speech by Alagiriswami of the Justice Party, he entered politics at the tender age of fourteen. He participated in anti-Hindi agitations wholeheartedly. He started a handwritten newspaper named *Manavar Nesan* along with some local youth. He was the founder of a student organization named Tamil Nadu Tamil Manavar

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Mandram. It was the first student body within Dravidan Movement. Karunanidhi's own involvement and his efforts to involve the student community in social work helped in his popularity. *Murasoli* that became DMK party's official newspaper was his brainchild. Karunanidhi's active participation in the anti-Hindi protest helped him in gaining ground in Tamil politics. The main event was at Kallakudi an industrial town which was named Dalmiapuram after the name of a North Indian businessman. Karunanidhi along with protestors erased the Hindi name, blocked railway tracks and was arrested. Karunanidhi had close connections with the Tamil film industry like Annadurai and MGR. He started his career there as a scriptwriter and primarily wrote for the stage and later for films. Some of his screenplays include *Manthiri Kumari* with MGR as the hero and *Parasakthi* with Sivaji Ganesan in the lead.

His journey started as a scriptwriter, first for the stage and later for films. Some of Karunanidhi's important screenplays include *Parasakthi* (starring Sivaji Ganesan) and *Manthiri Kumari* (starring MGR). He has to his credit over 70 screenplays.

Both Annadurai as well as Karunanidhi were responsible for the rise of DMK as a national party. When Annadurai left the Davidar Kazhagam, Karunanidhi joined Annadurai. As he was proficient in handling media, he was asked to take responsibility for the propaganda of the party. He won the 1957 elections from the Kulithalai constituency. When Annadurai became the Chief Minister, he made Karunanidhi the minister for Public Works in 1967. He became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on 10 February 1969 after Annadurai's untimely death. He remained in power till 4 January 1971. He became Chief Minister for a second term in 1971 when DMK won the elections. He remained in office till 1976. In 1974, MGR and Karunanidhi parted ways with MGR forming the ADMK. In the same year, MGR told the *New York Times* that the top leaders of DMK, 'have corrupted a party that was once incorruptible.'

Karunanidhi's popularity as a leader declined when MGR rose with the ADMK. In 1977, ADMK won the Legislative Assembly elections and MGR became the Chief Minister. MGR's personality held the Tamil population in absolute awe. So, till the time of MGR's death, Karunanidhi had to remain satisfied with heading the opposition. Karunanidhi came back as the Chief Minister in 1987 after MGR's death. In 1991, he lost the elections to Jayalalitha, MGR's protégé. Though the rise of Jayalalitha in the Tamil political scenario spelled doom for Karunanidhi, he came back again as the Chief Minister in 1996. This was primarily possible as the people were skeptical of Jayalalitha. However, she did manage to come back to power in 2001.

In 2006, Karunanidhi managed to come back to power for the fifth time as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu by defeating AIADMK in a landslide victory. In order to win people over, he had promised to provide rice at ₹ 2/kg and distribute free colour television to all households.

However, he had reached the zenith of his political career in 1971 when he had allied with Indira Gandhi's rebel Congress Party and won 184 seats against

Kamaraj led traditional Congress Party that managed to win only thirteen seats. After his entry as the most bankable politician, he crossed swords with MGR which ultimately brought about his political demise. It was difficult, at one point, for the Tamils to choose between Jayalalitha and Karunanidhi, as both had been in power almost alternately and had spent their time consolidating their positions with the common people rather than implement developmental programmes for the masses.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

11. What are the three types of coalition?
12. When was the national front experiment formed?
13. State the objectives of Shiromani Akali Dal?

2.7 POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND GROUPS IN POLITICS

Political parties of a country are the key organisations in any contemporary democracy. The political scientist E. E. Schattschneider famously asserted more than half a century ago, 'Modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties.' With the introduction of universal suffrage and the advent of mass democracy, direct links between the state and individual citizens is increasingly becoming unrealistic and thus the existence of political parties as intermediary institutions has become a global phenomenon. Today, political parties are the main vehicles for organizing political representation, political competition and democratic accountability. They link the state and civil society, can influence the executive, formulate public policy, engage in political recruitment, structure electoral choices and facilitate coalitions. Parties participate in electoral campaigns and educational outreach or protest actions. Parties often espouse an expressed ideology or vision bolstered by a written platform with specific stands on political economy and developmental ambitions.

Since the freedom of thought and expression is guaranteed by the Constitution, it has provided the opportunity for various voices to flourish within ambit of democratic norms. This has resulted in the emergence of various political parties with distinct policies and programmes for the socio-economic development of the nation, as per their ideological stand and support base. Some of these political parties have national appeal, while others have appeal only at a regional level. Over a period of time, a bewildering variety of political parties have emerged in India – secular, nationalist, socialist, communist, conservative, radical, regional, religious, tribal, caste-based, etc. At present, according to the Election Commission there are about 750 registered parties in India, out of which six have been recognized as national parties and 44 have been recognized as state parties.

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Pressure Groups in Indian Politics

Pressure groups are 'interest groups' as well as 'influence groups'. They are not solely political organizations, and unlike political parties, they do not put up candidates for elections. We may also call such groups as 'private associations formed to influence public policy'. They are a medium through which people with common interests may endeavour to affect the course of public affairs. In this sense, any social group which seeks to influence the behaviours of administrator and parliamentarians, without attempting to gain formal control of government, can be said to be a pressure group. They are called pressure groups because they attempt to get their demands accepted through pressure. There are several pressure groups in India. Some of these pressure groups are as follows:

- Farmer's organizations
- Trade unions
- Business and interest groups

The development of pressure groups in India's political system is generally regarded as a vital element in the process of political modernization, so far as it represents a response to increasing functional differentiation and to the breakdown of traditional types of authority. Since Independence, after the adoption of modern political system, many of the dominant interest articulators in India have not been the social and economic interests but the still pervasive caste, community, regional, religious and language antecedents. Many observers, however, feel that the Indian political system is moving towards a period in which the aggregation of political demands of all sectors, modern and traditional, will come to play a much more significant role than in the past.

Kinds of Pressure Groups in India

According to Almond and Powel, in India pressure groups can be divided in four groups:

- Institutional pressure groups
- Associational pressure groups
- Non associational pressure groups
- Anomic pressure group

Meaning of Pressure Group

Phrases such as 'interest groups', 'private organization', 'lobbies' and 'interest articulators' are often used interchangeably for pressure groups. Pressure groups are free associations and they serve important political ends. They are interest groups that are organized for political action. These interest groups have direct political significance.

Significance and Role of Pressure Groups

The study of pressure groups occupies a very important place in modern political system, whether Western or not. There was a time when these pressure groups

were viewed with alarm and moral indignation. It was held that they lead to a distortion of the democratic process. However, pressure groups came to be gradually recognized by the society as indispensable and today, they are regarded not only as a necessary evil but a healthy factor in political dynamics. Their significance is so vital in a democratic order that H.R. Mahood has remarked: 'Organized groups may be regarded as systems of private government while the organs of state represent a system of public government'. Indian political parties are weak in principles and organization. Therefore, pressure groups are supposed to be very significant in the functioning of the Indian political system. In a parliamentary system of government, pressure groups exert pressure mainly on the executive with the assumption that legislature is under the control of executive. Here the executive includes both the political and permanent executives. A number of factors have led to the increasing importance of the pressure groups.

First, pressure groups are inevitable in a democratic order as they balance the national and particular interests of the people. They constitute links of communication between the citizen and the government. Rodee observes that 'The elected official in turn can evaluate the desires of his constituents more effectively through the unofficial channel of interest group activity'.

Second, groups render a necessary service in a democracy by making much valuable data available to governmental agencies and to the public in general. They supply necessary information and accurate statistics to policy-makers. With the help of the data supplied by pressure groups, the legislators can support the necessary arguments. Thus, from a mass of conflicting information and views, the truth can always be discerned.

Third, those who defend interest groups also point out that a democracy which permits its citizens to express their varying interests and desires, thereby gain a sort of 'built in' protection against the emergence of a single, dominant social force. Businessmen, workers, farmers, social groups, women and religious groups – all seek to advance their own interests, but they are forced to compete with one another. The inevitable result is that they balance each other's demands and this countervailing tendency protects the society against the threat that an individual group will come to wield total power.

Fourth, pressure groups keep democracy alive during the interval between the elections and constitute a barrier against interregnum. They supplement the party system and the formal instruments of government by serving as spokesmen of special interest within society.

Fifth, pressure groups have become a legislature behind a legislature. By their zeal and enthusiasm, their expertise knowledge and specialized skill, they influence law-making on the floor of the legislatures and in the committee rooms. Pressure groups attempt to have their candidates elected. They resort to the help of a party by contributing to its electoral funds and thereby winning tickets for their favourite parliamentary nominees.

Sixth, the powers and functions of the government are increasing day-by-day. The theory of the welfare state and the method of planned development are the

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new phenomenon which have led to the growth of government power. Socialism and positivism have increased them considerably and today we need 'groups' as a shield against the sword wielded by the government.

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In short, pressure groups are the very name of democracy. They are not absolutely absent in autocracies. In various countries, different factors are responsible for their growing importance. In India, the ever-widening activities of government have stimulated the creation and consolidation of groups. In a more general sense, the doctrine of welfare state, globalization of economy and the growth of governmental interference in the economic life of state today have accelerated the activities of pressure groups.

Pressure Group Techniques

Pressure groups make use of different techniques and methods to achieve their objectives. The main techniques of pressure groups are to manipulate public opinion, persuading legislators and administrators, etc. Some of the most common techniques are as follows:

First, lobbying is a favourite technique of pressure groups operating in every political system. This is a political technique, which means influencing the government. In fact, lobbying is the key intermediary between pressure groups and the government. The lobbyist actually performs at least three functions vitally important to legislators and executives. He or she communicates information, defends the interest of his or her employers and defines the political implications of legislative matters. Pressure groups have friends and allies in the legislatures as in the case of American Congress and the Indian Parliament. Influence of pressure groups is through the legislators for making specific provisions or deleting some provisions in legislation. This involves lobbying and it is particularly influential in the US.

Second, pressure groups endeavour to secure the nomination and election of sympathetic legislators, who may later be used in the enactment of favourable laws. In modern democracies, legislators often find themselves virtually in the pockets of pressure groups. The legislators, above all, want to maximize the possibilities of their elections, and the election campaign needs money. So, the member is always on the lookout for money, which is available with private association thus he or she goes to the associations. In return, he or she has to support the demands of the association.

Third, pressure groups influence policy-makers by supplying accurate data and information to them. Most of the modern pressure groups now maintain a research cell and come out with effective measures and cures. Thus, policies are framed with the help of the information supplied by pressure groups.

Fourth, sometimes draft of bills are framed by pressure groups themselves and submitted to the legislatures. They possess skill and expert knowledge in the domain of their own field and have links with civil servants. They are conversant with the administrative process and they know how the work can be done.

Fifth, pressure groups create a favourable climate for their particular cause by appealing to public opinion through speeches, books, pamphlets, special articles, news releases, radios and motion pictures.

Sixth, pressure groups propagate their viewpoints through the press. They usually try to get the support of the newspapers and even publish their own newspaper. This method helps them to attain a wider area through publicity and publicize their own views and contrary views which are not expressed in a way that they dislike.

Seventh, pressure groups align themselves with one or the other political party and act as a powerful clique in the party. If the party is the ruling party, their objectives are achieved without much difficulty.

Eighth, the mass media constitutes one of the effective channels of access used by pressure groups. In an open society, the use of the mass media to convey political demands is a major means of appealing to the political decision makers.

Tenth, elite representation on behalf of an interest group constitutes a channel of access, which can be utilized with great effect by some pressure groups. It may take the form of the presence of a group member in the rule making structure. The agents of interest groups are usually given ample representation on legislative committees in various countries.

Finally, sometimes pressure groups thrive on bribery and corruption. They utilize, effectively, the entire paraphernalia, which democracy and science have given to modern age. It is also alleged that pressure groups are using wine and women vehemently. Thus, there is a degree of outright corruption or back-stage intrigue.

An interest group resorts to three different techniques in trying to secure its purpose.

First, it can try to place in public office persons who are favourably disposed towards the interest it seeks to promote. This technique may be labelled as electioneering. Second, it can try to persuade public officers, whether they are initially favourably disposed toward it or not, to adopt and enforce the policies that it thinks will prove most beneficial to its interests. This technique may be labelled as lobbying. Third, it can try to influence public opinion and thereby gain an indirect influence over government, since the government in a democracy is substantially affected by public opinion. This technique may be labelled as propagandizing.

The techniques and functions of pressure groups vary from country to country and system to system. It must be stated that the actual influence of pressure groups in a political system will depend upon the range of activities entrusted to the government. If a government keeps off the economic arena, pressure groups will have little to do, in spite of their skilful techniques. But if the range of activities is wide and the state is a welfare state, committed to socialism and planning, pressure groups will be very active. Pressure groups contribute to democratize the public policy-making and law-making.

Salient Features of the Indian Model of Pressure Groups

After a critical analysis of the nature and role of pressure groups in Indian politics, one easily comes to the conclusion that politics in India is pre-eminently the politics of pressure groups rather than the politics of parties. A new type of pressure group model with its own distinctive features is in the process of making and that, too, is

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somewhat unique and different from the western model of pressure groups. The specific features of the Indian model of pressure group can be summed up as follows:

First, the traditional pressure groups such as caste, community, religion and regional are the determinants of politics in India. Evidence has been cited from the behaviour of political parties, all of which invoke primordial sentiments and organize their support on the basis of caste and communal identities. The caste groups in India may still be called 'sovereigns without crowns'.

Second, most of the associational groups such as trade unions, student organizations, peasant organizations, etc., are dominated and controlled by political parties. They may be called 'parties behind the parties'. It is a noteworthy feature that major business associations are free from party control.

Third, in the beginning, organized pressure groups had little impact on the formation of public policy. In other words, their influence was almost negative. The reasons were mainly two: (1) charismatic leadership at the Centre and the states; and (2) monopoly of the Congress Party in the governmental structure. As the influence of the leadership declined and the Congress monopoly was broken, the role of pressure groups greatly increased. In the early years of Independence, their influence had been directed towards preventing the government from pursuing some course of action. For example, organized lobbies prevented nationalization of rice trade and opposed nationalization of other food grains, including wheat. At the state level, the farmer lobby within the ruling party prevented an increase in land taxes. Now it is assisting the government in framing the rules and regulations for their concern. For instance, the wheat policy of the government framed in March 1974 was chalked out with the positive support and consent of the All India Food Grain Dealers Association.

Fourth, the Constitution under Articles 262 and 263 makes provision for the Central Parliament to settle border disputes and inter-state water disputes wherein the members of interested states get an opportunity of playing the role of pressure groups effectively. It must also be remembered in this connection that almost all the states maintain liaison officers in Delhi to maintain contacts with the representatives in Parliament for the purpose of intensive lobbying whenever such questions come up for discussion.

Fifth, in the period of coalition and non-Congress governments in the Indian states in the late 1960, a few state governments encouraged organized groups to enlist their support against the Centre. Demands such as establishment of more universities, greater investment by the Centre in the states, location of steel plants and refineries are always supported by these groups whenever such a situation arises.

Sixth, institutional pressure groups in the political parties have created a chaos in the Indian party system as a whole. The existing groups in the ruling party, as well as those in the opposition parties have threatened the very stability of the existing majority governments. The groups in the parties are struggling for power for their narrow interests.

Seventh, India heavily depends on foreign aid and technical skill. Consequently, foreign lobbies are in a position to influence the nation's domestic and foreign policies.

Eighth, mass movements, rallies, strikes and sometimes even violence are the instruments used by atomic or associational groups to press their demands in India.

Ninth, organized groups largely influence the administrators at the level of policy implementation. Administrators at the state and national levels respond easily to such kinds of pressures. They have, however, often been unresponsive to other types of pressures. The local officials often ignore the demands made by people whose position in the local power structure is weak. They tend to respond more favourably to those who have greater wealth and status. Sometimes local organized groups bribe local officials to seek favourable access on a caste basis.

Tenth, the general outlook in India towards pressure groups is a critical one. It is considered improper that interests should guide policy formulation because it is felt that once the government succumbs to the pressure of such organized groups, then no decision will be taken in the public interest.

Finally, after the Fourth General Elections of 1967, most groups, however, adopted a neutral attitude towards the political parties. They realized that if they identify themselves more with the Congress Party, they may lose their influence on the government if some other party comes to power. Even among the committed groups, the tendency now is to rely less on party connection and more on governmental consultations, no matter which party is in power in order to safeguard their interests. Thus, the trade unions and business groups rely more on confidential consultations with the government now, than in their connections with the Congress and other political parties.

Both India and western countries are democracies. But in western countries, there are differences between Presidential and Parliamentary forms of government. India, though a parliamentary democracy, differs from such countries of the West in terms of developmental levels. Therefore, there are some differences in the role of pressure groups.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

13. Define pressure groups.
14. Name some of the pressure groups in India.

2.8 SUMMARY

- Accountability is at the heart of every government regardless of the precise form pattern in which it is organized. What varies is its focus, structure or mode of its formulation.

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- Parliament in most democracies not only controls the purse but also keeps a check on the political Executive via tools like adjournment motions, parliamentary questions, vote of no confidence, etc.
- The Council of Ministers is accountable to the lower house of Parliament, and the former is bound by the concept of collective or joint responsibility, which is that all Ministers would have to resign if any important issue proposed by any one Minister gets rejected by the Lok Sabha.
- Span of control, unity of command, inspection, supervision, etc., are other well-known accountability-facilitating devices.
- The misuse or abuse of authority on the part of Public Administration India may assume various forms; overriding law and constitution, violation of established procedures, lack of integrity, favouritism or nepotism, unethical or improper conduct, gross inefficiency, misuse of discretion and above all, encroachment on fundamental rights and freedom of citizens.
- The Parliament, Judiciary and the Executive all work to exercise control and minimize or eliminate this abuse of power.
- Military is an establishment that has been authorized by the State to use lethal force, inclusive of weapons, for the defence of its country by waging an offensive against actual or perceived threats.
- A bureaucracy is a faction of particularly non-elected officials within a government or other institution that makes and enforces rules, regulations, concepts and functions of their establishment.
- Judiciary, also known as the rule-adjudication department of the government, in quite simple terms is the third organ of government concerned with the job of doing justice. It interprets law and give punishments for the violation of laws.
- According to the systemic approach, the political system—like all open systems—is a product of their interactions with the environment. In a more precise way, it can be said that the environment may be decomposed.
- The environment in which a political system operates may be put into two categories—(i) intra-societal, i.e., one consisting of system in a given society and other than the political and (ii) extra-societal or the one including the systems existing externally in relation to the society.
- In the post-Independence era, the political parties came to be recognized as instruments of prime importance through which democracy could be operationalized, as India adopted a parliamentary democratic system of governance.
- Coalition governments in India, in spite of problems, have been successful in retaining democratic legitimacy and national unity. Major policy shifts like liberalization, economic reforms, grassroots decentralization, federal decentralization, in theory or practice can be largely attributed to the onset of coalition governance.

2.9 KEY TERMS

- **Constitutionalism:** Constitutionalism is the idea, often associated with the political theories of John Locke and the founders of the American republic, that government can and should be legally limited in its powers, and that its authority or legitimacy depends on its observing these limitations.
- **Military alliance:** A military alliance is an international agreement concerning national security, when the contracting parties promise to support each other in case of a crisis that has not been identified in advance.
- **Protectorate:** Protectorate is another word for ‘protected state.’ Protectorates are weak territories protected and partly controlled by stronger ones.
- **Fascism:** An authoritarian and nationalistic right-wing system of government and social organization.

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2.10 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Some limitations of ministerial accountability are:
 - It is just a convention without any legal sanction behind it. It is essentially a matter of conscience, a moral principle.
 - It is limited by sheer common sense. If a railway station master has misbehaved with the public, there will be no demand for the Railway Minister’s resignation. Similarly, if there is a drought, the Minister of Agriculture is not asked to resign.
 - A Minister continues in office so long as he/she enjoys the confidence of Prime Minister.
2. The Executive control is not adequate and has the following limitations:
 - The Executive is too busy and hardly finds time to review administrative actions.
 - It has been seen that most of the Executives spend time in attending meetings rather than concentrating on their work.
 - Outdated administrative machinery of the Government does not permit easy review and action.
 - Ministers are laymen and the administrative process is complex and technical.
3. The three methods of judicial control of administrative action are:
 - Constitutional
 - Statutory
 - Ordinary or equitable

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4. Seven modern concepts of bureaucracy are:
 - Bureaucracy as rational organization
 - Bureaucracy as organizational inefficiency
 - Bureaucracy as rule by officials
 - Bureaucracy as public administration
 - Bureaucracy as administration by officials
 - Bureaucracy as organization
 - Bureaucracy as modern society
5. Democratic government is defined as a system of government under which those ruled are in a position to determine, directly or indirectly by election, the exercise of the legislative and executive power and the selection of the supreme executives.
6. Judicial review has two main functions:
 - Legitimizing government action
 - To protect the Constitution against any undue encroachment by the government.
7. The constitutional validity of a law can be challenged in India on the ground that the subject-matter of the legislation:
 - Is not within the competence of the legislature which has passed it
 - Is repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution or
 - It infringes one of the Fundamental Rights
8. The environment in which a political system operates may be put into two categories—(i) intra-societal, i.e., one consisting of system in a given society and other than the political and (ii) extra-societal or the one including the systems existing externally in relation to the society.
9. The different dimensions of a political system are:
 - Homogeneity of political information
 - Mobility of information
 - Volume of information
 - Direction of the flow of information
10. Plutocracy implies the political control of the state by an oligarchy of the wealthy, e.g., Roman republics and some city-states in ancient Greece. Before the equal voting rights movement finished this system in the early 20th century, various countries used a system wherein rich persons possessed more votes than poor.
11. Coalitions have been categorized in different ways. For instance,
 - Executive coalition
 - Legislative coalition
 - Federal coalition

12. The National Front experiment was a federation of national and regional parties formed under the leadership of the Janata Party in 1988.
13. The Shiromani Akali Dal aims at protecting and promoting the interests of the minorities in the country so as to enable them to play a significantly constructive role in the progress of the people of our country. The party symbolizes a powerful India that is capable of being a global leader. The party also believes that intensifying its constituents ascertains achieving its objective.
14. Pressure groups are 'interest groups' as well as 'influence groups'. They are not solely political organizations, and unlike political parties, they do not put up candidates for elections. We may also call such groups as 'private associations formed to influence public policy'.
15. Some pressure groups in India are:
 - Farmer's organizations
 - Trade unions
 - Business and interest groups

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2.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on bureaucratic and commercial management.
2. State in brief the prospects of coalition politics in India.
3. Write a short note on Anti-Hindi agitation.
4. What are the various pressure group techniques?
5. What are the tools and mechanics of accountability?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the parliamentary, legislative and judicial control systems in India.
2. Analyse the different factors that lead to military coup.
3. Describe the role and principles of judiciary in India.
4. Discuss the different forms of political systems.
5. Analyse the different phases of the party system in India.
6. Describe the various regional political parties in India.

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UNIT 3 POLITICAL REGIMES: DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY

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Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Concept of Democracy
 - 3.2.1 Types of Democracy
 - 3.2.2 Miscellaneous Features of Democracy
- 3.3 Types of Dictatorship
- 3.4 Institutions: Constitutions
 - 3.4.1 Salient Features of the Indian Constitution
 - 3.4.2 Sources of Constitution of India
- 3.5 Institutions: Federalism and Decentralization
 - 3.5.1 Debate on Federalism and Decentralization
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 Key Terms
- 3.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.9 Questions and Exercises
- 3.10 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Autocratic or authoritarian leaders create a strict divide between the one giving the orders and those expected to follow them. As such, autocrats tend to make decisions independently, which can result in abuse of power and make their followers feel excluded. Kurt Lewin found that creativity decreased under autocratic leadership.

A democratic government is one which is based on the accountability of the people; a democratic state is one which is based on popular sovereignty. Democracy, in its wider meaning, is a form of society. A democratic government implies a democratic state, although a democratic state may not imply a democratic government.

In this unit, the different types and forms of democracy and dictatorship have been discussed in detail. The salient features of the Indian Constitution along with that of federalism and decentralization have also been discussed here.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the concept of democracy and discuss the types of democracy
- Discuss the characteristics of democracy

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- Describe the various models of dictatorship and provide relevant case studies
- Discuss the features of the Indian Constitution
- Analyse the concept of federalism and decentralization
- Discuss the features of the British, US, France and German Constitution
- Provide case studies on the dictatorship styles of South Africa, Nigeria and Iran

3.2 CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

In the terminology of political science, no word is more controversial than democracy. The suitability of democracy is related to the question of the form of government and not to that of principle. Many scholars object to the application of democracy to particular circumstances but they are not opposed to democratic principle. Today many people ask whether the circumstances or environment will be moulded to make them suitable for democracy or democracy will be changed to mould the environment for its own development.

As to the proper meaning of the word, there is also a controversy. As G. C. Field observes, 'In recent years, controversy has arisen about the proper meaning of the word democracy...' In spite of differences of opinion, democracy is regarded as a useful form of government. Where it does not exist, men are fighting for it and where it already exists, men are striving to make it perfect. Sukarno's Indonesia called itself guided democracy and Ayub's Pakistan called itself basic democracy. The communist and socialist countries call themselves socialist democracies.

Etymologically, democracy is derived from two Greek words *demos* and *kratia*. *Demos* means people and *kratia* means power or rule. Therefore, democracy means the power or rule of the people. Here are some more definitions of democracy. C. D. Burns says, 'Few words have been more loosely and variously defined than democracy. It has literally meant all things to all men.' Laski observes, 'Democracy has a context in every sphere of life; and in each of these spheres it raises its special problems which do not admit of satisfactory or universal generalization. Burns also remarks, 'Democracy may be found both in social and political organization; and indeed it is possible to speak of democracy in every form of social life, in religion, in industry as well as in politics.' Abraham Lincoln defines democracy as 'the government of the people, by the people and for the people.' Seeley says that 'democracy is a government in which everyone has a share.' Mac Iver defines democracy as 'not a way of governing whether by majority or otherwise, but primarily a way of determining who shall govern and broadly to what ends'.

According to Maxey, 'Democracy is a search for a way of life in which the voluntary free intelligence and activity of man can be harmonized and coordinated with the least possible coercion.' In the words of Giovanni Sartori, 'Democracy denotes a political system characterized by the absence of personal power and more particularly, a system that hinges on the principle that no one can proclaim

himself as a ruler, that no one can hold power irrevocably in his own name.' Ivor Brown is right when he says that 'the word has come to mean anything; or rather so much that it means nothing at all.' UNESCO questionnaire speaks of the vagueness of democracy. Robert Dahl says that a responsible democracy can exist only if the following institutional guarantees are present:

- Freedom to form and join associations
- Freedom of expression
- Right to vote
- Right to be elected and hold public offices
- Right of political leaders to compete for support and vote
- Alternative sources of information
- Free and fair election
- Institutions for making government policies depend on votes and other expression of preferences

3.2.1 Types of Democracy

Democracy is not merely a form of government. Some claim it to be a form of state and some regard it as a form of society. A democratic government is one which is based on the accountability of the people; a democratic state is one which is based on popular sovereignty. Democracy, in its wider meaning, is a form of society. A democratic government implies a democratic state, although a democratic state may not imply a democratic government. Example, the United States is a democratic state but does not have daily accountability to the Congress. For a democratic government, there must be a democratic state and democratic society.

Besides, democracy is an order of society and a way of life. It has political, social and economic implications. It has faith in the equality of all men and the recognition of individuality of human beings. A democratic way of life is characterized by tolerance, mutual respect and fraternity. It implies equitable distribution of wealth. If the majority government suppresses the minority opinion, it is contrary to the democratic ideal.

Democracy is of two types, viz., direct democracy and indirect democracy or representative democracy.

1. Direct Democracy

Direct democracy prevailed in the city states (polis) of ancient Greece. There, the people directly participated in the affairs of the government. All citizens would gather at a particular place and decide matters relating to legislation, taxation and policy making. It was possible because of the small size of the city states. Modern states are quite big in size and population. Hence, direct democracy as was prevalent in Greek city states is not possible in any modern state. But direct democracy can be found in Switzerland. There direct democracy operates through the instruments of referendum, initiative and recall.

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Referendum: It means 'to refer to the people'. It means that no law passed by the legislature can be effective unless it is referred to the people in a referendum and receives their approval. Similarly, constitutional amendment can be valid when it is approved by a majority of people and the majority of the Cantons in a referendum. It is a remedy against legislative commission.

Initiative: It is a remedy against legislative omission. If the legislature does not pass an act, people can propose legislation through initiative. That law will come into force when approved by the people in a referendum. It may bring the legislators in touch with the people, but it gives the people a power, which they cannot properly utilize.

Landsgemeinde: In some Cantons of Switzerland, the institution of landsgemeinde or open assembly prevails. There, like the city state of Greece, people gather at a particular place and decide their own affairs. In this sense, it is similar to direct democracy, which prevailed in the Greek city states.

Recall: It means withdrawing the representatives from the Assembly or legislature if they do not work for the betterment of the people. Recall is advocated in modern democracy to withdraw representatives who do not perform their duties properly.

These devices are weapons in the hands of the people to check legislators and to enable them to take part directly in the government.

Merits of Direct Democracy

The following are the merits of direct democracy:

- It enables the people to get experience of government and administration
- It makes the government responsible
- It creates a sense of responsibility and patriotism among people
- It enhances political consciousness of people
- It keeps voters in touch with the government.

Demerits of Direct Democracy

Direct democracy has the following demerits:

- It is not suitable for large states
- It misleads the people because opportunists take advantage of it
- All the people are not suitable to give their opinion under this system. They simply say 'yes' or 'no'
- It cannot take secret decisions on war and emergencies
- It requires a high sense of responsibility, which the people lack.

2. Indirect Democracy

In almost all countries of the modern world, except Switzerland, indirect democracy prevails. Switzerland presents a blend of direct and indirect democracy. Due to the large size of the modern state, it is not possible for all people to gather at a particular

place and take decisions. Hence, people elect their representatives who sit in the parliament and make laws. This is called indirect democracy.

Features of Indirect Democracy

Indirect democracy has the following features:

- It is a representative form of government in which people's representatives take decisions
- Sovereignty is vested in the people
- Government works on behalf of the people
- People do not get a chance to participate in the affairs of the state.

Merits of Indirect Democracy

Indirect democracy has the following merits:

- It is suitable for big countries only.
- Here, political demagogues play an important role. They can mobilize the voters in their favour.
- The government runs on behalf of the people.
- Secrecy can be maintained where it is required.

Demerits of Indirect Democracy

- The voters are ignorant. Hence, it is not possible to vest power in their hands.
- Direct contact between the voters and representatives cannot be established under this system.
- After their election, the representatives seldom work for their constituencies.
- It gives rise to corruption. Political parties vitiate the atmosphere of the country.
- It is very expensive. For example, the holding of an election in a country of India's size entails heavy expenditure.

3.2.2 Miscellaneous Features of Democracy

Characteristics of Democracy

Democracy has certain characteristics. R. M. MacIver says that democracy is not a way of governing, whether, by majority or otherwise, but primarily, a way of determining who shall govern and broadly to what ends. Democracy is not a one way traffic. It implies responsibilities both on the part of the ruler and ruled. It is based on the cooperation of both. The main characteristics of democracy are as follows:

- **Popular sovereignty:** Democracy is based on the sovereignty of the people. That is to say people exercise supreme power in a democracy. They have the right to elect the government and the government remains responsible to them. If the government does not fulfill the wishes of the people, people have a right to overthrow it and institute a new government.

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- **Political, social and economic equality:** In a democracy, there is political, social and economic equality. As far as political equality is concerned, all rich or poor, educated or uneducated, have one vote only. In the social sphere, there shall not be any discrimination against any one on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste or place of birth. In the economic sphere, there shall not be great gulf between the rich and the poor or haves and the have nots.
- **Majority rule:** Democracy is rule of the majority. It is the majority that governs in a democracy. No party can govern unless it has acquired majority of seats in the legislature.
- **Respect for the opinion of the minority:** In democracy no doubt, the majority rules, but it cannot ride rough shod over the minority. The opinion of the minority should be given due consideration.
- **Rights:** Democracy provides various kinds of rights to individuals. Example: The right to freedom of speech and expression, right to form unions or associations, religious freedom, right to free movement and educational and cultural rights are some of the rights that the people enjoy in a democracy. It upholds individual dignity.
- **Government by adjustment and compromise:** Democracy is a government by adjustment and compromise. Different opinions are likely to arise in a democracy within the ruling party itself. Therefore, it has to function with adjustment and compromise with a variety of opinions. Therefore, it allows plurality of ideas.
- **Value system:** It is a form of government in which people can realize their best ideals and highest qualities. Therefore, it is a system of values. Three things are important in a democracy, efficiency, realization of best ideals and qualities and self-rule. If democracy lacks efficiency, it will be the worst form of government.
- **Democracy is a welfare-oriented concept:** America, which is one of the best democracies used, realized during the great Depression and afterwards highlights that democracy should be used to promote the needs and welfare of the people. Most of the democratic countries today are welfare countries. They aim at promoting the welfare of the people without destroying individual freedom.
- **Rule of law:** In democracy, there is rule of law. It means the supremacy of law as against that of man. It also stands for equality of law. A.V. Dicey is an exponent of the rule of law in Britain.
- **Independence of judiciary:** Democracy is characterized by independent judiciary with the exception of England. The judiciary acts without fear or favour, affection or ill will. It can declare a law as ultravires, if it violates the constitution.
- **Opposed to coercive methods:** It is based on persuasion not coercion.

- **Democracy is a theory of society as well as government:** A.D. Lindsay has explored this concept of democracy. The purpose of every democratic government is to serve the community. For this purpose, it has to remove disharmonies from the society and provide a congenial atmosphere for democratic values and principles to thrive.
- **Leadership:** Democracy provides scope for producing leaders starting from the village level to the national level. Those who have the qualities of leadership can get scope to prove their talents. For example, Jawaharlal Nehru was the chairman of the Allahabad Municipality however, he rose to the position of the prime minister. There are many such examples in which leaders have started their career from lower levels and proved to be efficient as national leaders.
Therefore, democracy is not only a form of government, but also a way of life.

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Political, Social and Economic Democracy

Democracy has political, social and economic dimensions.

- **Political democracy:** In the political sphere, it stands for liberty, freedom of speech and expression, majority rule and tolerance of the views of the minorities.
- **Social democracy:** Operates in the social sphere; it means that there shall be equality and no discrimination against any one on grounds of religion, race, sex and place of birth.
- **Economic democracy:** It means that in the economic sphere, there shall be equitable distribution of wealth. There shall not be a great gulf between the rich and poor.

Merits and Demerits of Democracy

Democracy has both merits and demerits. In a democracy, you agree upon certain common principles. You respect one another's point of view. Democracy provides the framework within which the moral life of the individual is possible. Thus, democracy is an ideal, a means and a way of life.

Merits of democracy: The merits of democracy are as follows:

- **A rational form of government:** It is based upon the premise that no man is infallible. Every man is liable to commit mistakes. As no man is infallible, democracy adopts a process of discussion and criticism in which every man is allowed to take part. The continuous process of discussion and scrutiny acts as a necessary corrective of abuse of power.
- **It provides rights to the individual:** Democracy provides political, social and economic rights to the individuals. The right to vote, the right to life, the right to religion, the right to education, the right of minorities, the right to work, the right to a reasonable way of life and the right to rest and leisure are some

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of the rights, which democracy provides. There have been some movements for rights, such as the American War of Independence (1776), the French Revolution (1789) and the Russian Revolution (1917). Without these rights, life will be meaningless.

- **Equality:** Democracy not only provides rights but also provides equality. All are equal in the political, social and economic spheres. All enjoy equal rights. There is no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, sex, caste and place of birth.
- **Democracy is an efficient and responsible form of government:** The method of free election at certain intervals and the method of popular control at every stage of administration, either through criticism inside the legislature or outside through public opinion, make it extremely efficient and responsible.
- **Democracy promotes the welfare of the people:** It is clear from its definition that democracy is the government of the people. It also provides security to the individuals. Welfare is the yardstick of the security of the government.
- **It is government by the majority:** In democracy, the majority rules. In other forms of government, it is one man or a few who form the government. Hence, in democracy, majority opinion counts.
- **Tolerance:** Though the majority rules, the opinion of the minority is tolerated. There are different shades of opinion in the society. Every shade of opinion is given due consideration.
- **Checks in democracy:** Maciver justifies democracy because it is less dependent on the psychology of power. There are many checks on democracy. Hence, it cannot create a consciousness of superiority in the governing class.
- **Liberty:** Mills classic defence of democracy is based on the argument that the rights of the individual are secured in democracy because he is able to stand up for them. Democracy offers every individual the liberty to vindicate his privileges.
- **Character-building:** Democracy has an ennobling influence on the character of the people. It is an active school for character building. Bryce says that manhood of the individual is dignified by his political enfranchisement and he is raised to a higher level by the sense of duty, which it shows upon him.

Demerits of democracy: Democracy has the following demerits or weaknesses:

1. **Critical nature:** Plato criticized democracy because it put his master Socrates to death. Aristotle regarded it as a preventive form of government. It is the government of average men and women. The average men, in the words of Maxey, are sheep-minded, ape-minded and wolf-minded.
2. **It is said that democracy is based on numbers:** It counts the heads but not the contents in the heads. So, it is based on quantity instead of quality.
3. **Cult of incompetence:** The French writer Fagot describes democracy as the cult of incompetence. Bryce says that it is government by the incompetent.

It is the ignorant and inefficient men who come to power. Such men are unintelligent, uninformed, prejudiced, emotional and resentful of the superiority of others. They are the most numerous in society.

4. **Tyranny of the majority:** The majority may impose their will on the minority. The minority view is either suppressed or ignored. The majority in the legislature walk like a colossus. Hence, it may ignore the view of the minority.
5. **Expensive:** Democracy is very expensive. There are frequent elections in democracy. Besides, much money is spent on propaganda and mobilizing public opinion. There is wastage not only of money, but also of time and opportunity. It is the most extravagant and indifferent system.
6. **Democracy is an unscientific dogma:** The psychological study of democracy is based on the study of mass psychology. As Graham Wallas says, 'Politics is only in a slight degree the product of unconscious reason.' In a democracy, where masses are supposed to take part in a government, the operation of crowd psychology and, hence, the play of the irrational are much in evidence.
7. **It is characterized by indecision and instability:** In the words of Maxey, democratic government is 'prone to indecision, feebleness, instability.' Government changes so often that administrative stability is seldom possible. Discussion also results in delay.
8. **Corruption:** Corruption is another demerit of democracy. It is said that power corrupts and absolute power, corrupts absolutely. When power remains in the hands of the people, it leads to corruption. Votes are bought and sold.
9. **Unsuitable for emergency:** It cannot take quick action. Hence, it is unsuitable for emergencies like flood, famine, cyclone, war, etc.
10. The present system of democracy, based on geographical representation, is faulty. A representative cannot represent the varied interests of the individuals. So G. D. H. Cole advocates functional representation.
11. Lord Bryce sums up the weaknesses of democracy as follows:
 - (i) The power of money to prevent administration and legislation.
 - (ii) The tendency to make politics a gainful profession.
 - (iii) Extravagance in administration.
 - (iv) The abuse of the doctrine of equality and failure to appreciate the value of administrative skill.
 - (v) The undue power of party organization.
 - (vi) The tendency of legislators and political officials to play for votes in the passing of laws and in tolerating breaches of order.
12. Faguet attacks democracy and says that it is a biological misfit or a biological monstrosity. Democracy is not in line with the process of evolution. He argues that the higher we descend the scale of evolution, the greater is the tendency towards centralization.

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Safeguards of Democracy

Certain conditions are necessary for democracy to be successful. Aristotle pointed out to the economic basis of politics. Politics cannot succeed unless people are economically sound and there is no great gulf between the rich and poor. Sometimes, it tends towards dictatorship. Hence, it is necessary to discuss at length the safeguards of democracy, which are as follows:

- **Faith in democracy:** This is the most important condition for the success of democracy. People must have faith in democracy and should be read to be governed democratically. Then they can develop qualities like majority rule, tolerance, responsibility, independent voting power, etc.
- **Universal education:** Universal education is another condition for the success of democracy. Without education, people cannot distinguish the right from wrong. Therefore, J.S. Mill said that ‘Universal education should precede universal franchise.’
- **Removal of poverty:** Removal of poverty is another safeguard of democracy. If half of the population remains below the poverty line, they cannot take any interest in the democratic process. Their time will be spent in earning two square meals a day. Instead of exercising their conscience, they will vote for money.
- **Spirit of law-abidingness:** In a democracy, people should develop a spirit of law abidingness. It enhances discipline and builds the national character. It established and maintained political morality. In its absence, there will be anarchy and corruption.
- **Rule of law:** Rule of law is another safeguard of democracy. It means supremacy of law as opposed to supremacy of rulers. There should be equality before law and equal-protection of law. Then only democracy can be real.
- **Bi-party system:** Bi-party system is the best safeguard of democracy. In England and America, democracy has been successful because of bi-party system. In a bi-party system, one or the other party must secure a majority. The party that does not secure a majority sits in the opposition. In Britain, the opposition is known as his majesty’s opposition and the leader of the opposition is the shadow prime minister. There is also a shadow cabinet. It is the opposition corresponding to every minister in the government.
- **Independent media:** The media, like the press, radio, T.V. etc., should be independent and impartial. They should report news and views independently. They should not indulge in yellow or sensational journalism. If the media is free and impartial the government will function with caution.
- **Strong opposition:** The opposition should be strong. What is necessary in a parliamentary democracy is that the opposition should be equally strong. It should not oppose for the sake of opposition but offer constructive criticism.
- **Patriotism:** People should have loyalty towards their nation. They should be willing to sacrifice themselves for their country.

- **Agreement on fundamentals:** People should have faith in the basic and fundamental principles of democracy. They should have some common programmes for the development of the country. Whichever party comes to power it should strive to implement these principles. There should be change of government through constitutional means.
- **Wise constitution:** The constitution should ensure social, economic and political justice to the people. It will build a strong foundation for democracy. If the aim of the constitution is to create merely a police state, democracy cannot survive for long. For example, Pakistan's constitution led to the overthrow of democracy because of weak constitution.
- **Eternal vigilance:** It is said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It can also be equally applied to democracy. There may be enemies from outside the state. People should be vigilant against them. There may be danger of antisocial elements from within the state. People should keep a watchful eye on them.
- **Decentralization of power:** It is another safeguard of democracy. It gives power to the people at the grassroot level. If the above safeguards are observed, democracy can work successfully in a country.

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Classical Theory of Democracy

Democracy is a very old form of government and so its theory dates back to the days of the Greeks who identified it with 'people's power' (Pericles), or a system in which 'rulers are accountable to the people for what they do therein' (Herodotus). Such a view saw its reaffirmation in modern times when Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysberg oration of 1863 called it 'a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' Great liberals like John Locke and Edmund Burke developed the same theory of democracy in the direction of a 'limited government' bound by the laws of the land. Later on, the utilitarians like Bentham and John Stuart Mill justified the case of democratic government in the name of their formula of the 'greatest good of the greatest number' and Mill gives the same tone to the force of his moral or ethical argument. This trend continued in the present century and saw its powerful reiteration at the hands of Dickey, Bryce and Laski. Apart from this, the idealistic argument of democracy prevailed side by side that had its brilliant manifestation at the hands of Rousseau, Green and Lindsay. All such affirmations constitute, what is now called, the classical theory of democracy.

The classical theory of democracy as espoused by the liberals and the idealists of the modern age has the following salient features:

1. Power is vested in the people and its exercise is given to them or to their chosen representatives accountable to them for their acts of commission and omission. All decision must be based on the consent of the people, whether express or majority. Thus, it stands on the premise that 'people are always right' (in theory), or the decision of the majority is always correct' (in practice). We may take note of the fact that, though a great idealist, Rousseau also went to the extent of laying down that, for all practical purposes, the general

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will should be taken as the will of the majority. So James Bryce defined democracy as ‘a government in which the will of the majority of qualified citizens rules, taking the qualified citizen to constitute the great bulk of the inhabitants, say, roughly, at least three-fourth so that the physical force of the citizens coincides (broadly speaking) with their voting power.’

2. The people have certain natural and inalienable rights, which the government cannot abrogate or diminish. The doctrine of ‘natural rights’, as it came to be known, emerged as the most powerful instrument at the hands of the democrats who struggled for the rights of the people against arbitrary power of the kings. Notably in England in the mid-17th century, the ‘independents’, the ‘levellers’ and other protagonists of the ‘Commoner’s set forth the ground of their resistance to the autocratic claims of the Crown, the established Church, and the entrenched hereditary nobility. During the days of the Puritan Revolution pamphlet issued by the Levellers, *inter alia*, said. ‘We, the people, derive from Adam and right reason certain natural rights of liberty, property, freedom of conscience, and equality in political privileges.’ Reacting against the arbitrary powers of thinking, John Milton asserted that ‘all men are naturally born free’ and from this principle he derived ‘the liberty and right of freeborn men to be governed as seems them best.’ Most powerful was the argument of John Locke coined to justify the Glorious revolution of 1688–89 that to understand political power right, we must begin with the recognition of natural and original freedom of all men to order their actions and dispose of their possessions as they think fit, within the bound of the laws of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man.
3. The doctrine of ‘natural rights’ lost its significance with the growth of the idea of positive liberalism that sought to reinterpret the relationship between individual liberty and state activity. Thus, Bentham offered his principle of utility that sought to give a new interpretation to the justification of democracy. The doctrine of natural rights was rejected rather replaced by the doctrine of the happiness of man measured in terms of material pleasures. He gave the formula of ‘one person, one vote.’ It implied that although all persons are not naturally the same in intelligence, energy, thrift, inventiveness and prescience, yet all normal men—just as they have equal rights to life, freedom and access to the courts of law—have equal rights to a voice in government because they have equal stakes in the justice and efficiency of governmental action.’ This argument implies that since political government has no other end than the well-being of the individual men and women that make up society and since each individual’s well-being ought to count for as much as that of any other individual, a society is properly organized politically to the extent that its constitution and policy tend to promote the interests, conserve the rights and extend the capacities and opportunities for happiness of the greatest number of individuals in the community. Democratic government satisfies these requirements, since it is least likely to subordinate welfare of the majority of the community to that of any part. Democracy means government by those who have the greatest concern and the greatest awareness of the interest and rights of the people generally. The natural self-interest of human being is

the best security against political action that is oppressive or tolerant of oppression.’

4. If Benthamite utilitarianism displaced the line of ‘natural rights’, a revisionist of the utilitarian creed like Mill replaced the materialistic content of Bentham by the force of his ethical argument in favour of democracy. The argument of Bentham was based on the self-interest of the individual that ought to be harmonized with the interest of the society in the framework of the greatest good of the greatest number.’ The defenders of Bentham called it enlightenment of benevolent hedonism. But Mill defended the case of democracy as the best form of government on moral grounds. As he says:

‘The most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves. The first question in respect to any political institution is how far they tend to foster in the members of the community the various qualities... moral, intellectual and active.

Highlighting this point of difference between the views of Bentham and Mill, it is well commented; ‘Bentham’s principle of utility in a society of wolves would exact wolfishness; in a society of saints it would exalt saintliness. Mill was determined that saintliness should be the criterion of utility in any society whatsoever.’

5. The classical theory of democracy has a peculiar dimension when we examine the view of the idealists like Rousseau and Green. To Rousseau, democracy alone ensures prevalence of the ‘general will.’ In every community, there is a section of really selfless and enlightened people who think in terms of public interest and it is the inherent force of their selfless argument that ultimately prevails in any matter under discussion before a body of people. Through the process of cancellation good would set aside the bad; all contradictions would be resolved and in the end only ‘dominant good’ would emerge. This good, which would be what was left at the will would emerge. This good, which would be what was left at the will becomes integrated, would be in effect the same as the ‘general will’. Influenced by the idealistic interpretations of Rousseau, Green says that ‘will, not force, is the basis of the state’. As he observes;

The sovereign should be regarded not as any abstraction as the wielder of coercive force, but in connection with the complex of institutions of political society. If it is to command habitual obedience and obedience will scarcely be habitual unless it is loyal and forced.

6. Most importantly, from a practical point of view, there are no substitutes in a democracy for excellence. While each kind of governmental system has its own merits and demerits, the merits of a democratic system far outweigh its demerits. It is thus substitute of less form of government. However, if one analyzes, the demerits of democracy appear few in number than other ‘non-democratic’ or anti-democratic systems. It is argued by the liberal democrats in present times that there is no form of governmental system that can

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revolutionize or perfect human nature because all such systems have some characteristic defects. However, even while forwarding these arguments, the liberals have adopted the view of democracy as propagated in the West. This is based on the principles of universal adult franchise, free and fair periodic polls, a multi-party system, independence of press and judiciary, basic rights to the people, freedom of dissent, tolerance of opposition. Bryce asks that if 'democracy has not brought all the blessings that were expected, it has in some countries destroyed, in other materially diminished, many of the cruelties and terrors, injustices and oppressions of former times.' Even though it has its critics and theorists offer grave indictments against the system, its supports have always reacted with the same counter-question, 'what alternative do you have?'

It is from the certain ideas of rights of man that the classical or traditional doctrine of democracy emerges in part. This is a view that believes that a government is formed to keep the rights of the man and it must conform to them. It further believes that all men have the right to participate equally in political power because they have the right to be free from enslavement or to appeal equally to judicial tribunals for protection of their lives and property against assaults, trespass or encroachment of any kind. It is part of the democratic methods which refer to those institutional arrangements where political decision are arrived at through election of individuals who are expected to carry out common good. They are elected by the people and are their representatives. Common good is part of all political policies; such policies are formulated on the needs of the people, these are simple to define and can be seen by a layman through rational judgment. Therefore, in a democratic setup, it is believed that each citizen is conscious of the goal of common good, can discern what is good and what is bad and participates actively and responsibly in furthering this good and fighting the bad. People are therefore active players and thus control their public affairs.

The classical theory of democracy has been criticized on many counts. First, it is thoroughly normative. It is flooded with high ideals and bombastic propositions like 'general will', 'people's rule', 'people's power', 'common good', and the like that cannot be subjected to an empirical verification. All these terms are quite elusive. Second, it attaches no importance to the role of numerous interest groups and organization that play their part in the struggle for power, or which compete among themselves and that all constitute the stuff of a democratic-system in practice. The utilitarian talk about 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' without taking into consideration the powerful role of groups, functions and elites that ever strive to protect and promote their specific interests. Third, the socialists and the Marxists have their own version of democracy that stretches the system of political democracy to social and economic spheres. To the Marxists, it is all like a defence of the discredited bourgeois system.

Yet the classical theory of democracy has its own salient merits, which are thus summed up by Schumpeter:

1. Though the classical doctrine of collective action may not be supported by the results of an empirical analysis, it is powerfully supported by its association

with religious beliefs. The very meaning of a term like 'equality' may be in doubt, there is hardly any rational warrant for exalting it into a postulate, as long as we move in the sphere of empirical analysis. Christianity harbours a strong equalitarian element. Any celebrated word like 'equality' or 'freedom' may become a flag, a symbol of all a man holds dear, of everything that he loves about his nation whether rationally contingent to it or not.

2. There is no one version of democracy. Different nations identify with the forms and phrases of classical democracy with the episodes and developments that are significant part of their history. Their citizens identify with such events and approve of them; even the opposition to such a regime uses the same forms and phrases never mind what its social roots and meanings may be. Under difficult historical circumstances, the advent or adoption of democracy meant freedom and self-respect and the democratic creed meant a gospel of reason and betterment. However, even these advantages soon found themselves enmeshed between democratic principles and practice and the affair with it soon hit rough patches. Yet, its merits mean the affair continues.
3. One should remember that with a sufficient degree of approximation, there will emerge patterns wherein the classical doctrine will fit facts. This will provide an effective framework to make and implement decisions. It is true to small countries like Switzerland and also large and industrialized society of the United States. It has been held true in many small and primitive societies which actually served as examples for political scientists to develop the theory of classical liberalism. It can be the case with those societies also which are not primitive; however, they should have lesser degree of differentiation and should not harbor serious internal conflicts.
4. Of course, the politicians appreciate a phraseology that flatters the masses and offers an excellent opportunity not only for evading responsibility but also for crushing opponents in the name of the people.

The intrinsic merits of the democratic system cannot be defined. At the same time, some other points should be taken into account that have been stressed by the empirical theorists like role of numerous groups, factions, elites, leadership, etc., so as to present a theory of democracy approximating the world of reality. However, before passing over to the study of empirical theory of democracy, this point must be stressed with any amount of force that the new interpretation is a revision, not a rejection, of the classical theory of democracy. The spirit of liberalism informs both. As political scientist, C. B. Macpherson, the author of *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* says:

What the addition of democracy to the liberal state did was simply to provide constitutional channels for popular pressure to which governments would have had to yield in about the same measures anyway, merely to maintain public order and avoid revolution. By admitting the mass of people into the competitive party system, the liberal state did not abandon its fundamental nature; it simply opened the competitive political system to all the individuals who had been created by the competitive market society. The liberal state fulfilled its own logic. In so doing, it neither destroyed nor weakened itself; it strengthened both itself and the market society. It liberalized democracy, while democratizing liberalism.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. State the merits of direct democracy.
2. State some of the features of indirect democracy.
3. What does the concept of Landsgemeinde mean?

3.3 TYPES OF DICTATORSHIP

Dictatorship is a political regime under which the power of government is not limited by law. There are several terms that are used to refer to a dictatorship. A list based on Roget's *21st Century Thesaurus* is provided below:

- Tyrannystar
- Authoritarianismstar
- Totalitarianismstar
- Autocracystar
- Fascismstar
- Despotismstar
- Coercionstar
- Nazismstar
- Reign of terrorstar
- Garrison statestar
- Unlimited rule

In the present times, the word 'dictatorship' implies the 'unrestricted domination of the state by an individual, a clique, or a small group'. As a term 'dictatorship' is not just a political system's governing principle but is even an ideology which is at the crux of the way of life and a normative expression of political behaviour.

Based on the differences of origin, legitimation, organization of rule, and goals, as well as in political style, scholars have isolated and differentiated various types of dictatorship.

Aristotle (*Politics* Book iii) as well as Plato (*Republic* vii and ix) mainly looked at the methods and structure of tyranny, giving some insight of dictatorial rule's nature. It was the work of Machiavelli which brought out the distinction between dictatorship as a despotic form of government and as a constitutional institution of the republic. According to him the former was ideal for the ruler to use it to bring back political order. Generally, an absolute monarchy is not considered to be a dictatorship, as traditional legitimacy shrouds the exercise of power. Nevertheless, if the rule of an absolute sovereign is despotic and goes against monarchical authority's customary standards, the rule is dictatorship. This was the case with several kings such as Philip II, Henry VIII, Richard III and Louis IX.

Franz L. Neumann (1957, p. 256 ff.) came up with three ideal types of dictatorships. The criteria employed are the instruments of rule used by dictators or needed by them. The dictatorships specified by Neumann are:

- **Simple dictatorship:** Absolute control over the traditional instruments of state power is exercised by the ruler
- **Caesaristic dictatorship:** For acquiring and consolidating power, the ruler needs support from the broad masses of the people and the execution of socio-economic reforms
- **Totalitarian dictatorship:** The exercise of rule is via some differentiated power apparatus which is in the control of the governing party and a 'social movement'.

Let us look at some ideal types of dictatorships in some detail.

1. One-Man Despotic Rule

Historically, the one-man despotic rule is found in the various forms of tyranny, in Oriental monarchic despotism, and in some cases it is seen in the one-man rule in the developing countries. In this dictatorship, the political power is seized, generally through a coup d'état or a palace revolution, at the time of the society or state being in a situation of crisis. Generally, such a dictatorship is exercised for just a short period by a despot who can take bold decisions but lacks moral scruples. This rule is distinctly arbitrary as well as an especially unstable one as it lacks any support from a strong organization. Such a dictatorship is always supported by military cliques, camarillas; political factions or bands, small coterie or conspiratorial groups. Generally, the objective behind power seizure is personal gain, suppressing opponents, or conquering a foreign territory. Such power wielders are aristocratic conspirators, plebeian demagogues and tribunes of the people or war leaders (condottieri). At times such leaders have the usurped political regime confirmed by plebiscites or attempt its consolidation through victorious military campaigns.

In this form of dictatorship, state power's traditional instruments get played off against each other instead being used meaningfully. Such a rule has social-revolutionary traits, yet will generally try consolidating ad hoc a vanishing or existing social status quo.

2. Elite-Related Rule

For elite-related rule, be it of a single person or a group, the key factor is to create a power pyramid in an authoritarian state. The key decisive positions are in the control of the dictator at the head of a combination of social elites as well as aggregates of power comprising elements like the dominant groups in a parliament, propertied class, nobility, bureaucracy, police and/or the army. The dictator tries to manage a power balance amongst the elites or tries to pitch groups supporting him against those who are not. The dictator is less arbitrary in rule as he understands that the less shaky the rule's foundation, the greater probability of continuous exercise of power. Such dictators go ahead and put forth constitutional guarantees for their regimes.

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Such a rule at all times fears the probability of its terroristic nature being intensified due to rivalries of the leading elites with each other or by threats of foreign military powers. When the dictatorship is elite-related, as though by definition itself there is division of political functions.

There are cases in which such systems of governmental systems help in maintaining socio-political status quo, such as for surmounting a crisis, preventing a revolution, etc. Nevertheless, the rule remains that what measures dictators and their advisory committees take during a specific socio-economic situation will be derived from a specific socio-political planning concept.

Such dictatorships display the basics of authoritarian rule's ideological justification and the early stages of such social movements that are ideologically oriented. The various means used to enforce social control target the elites coming from the ruling class or the centre of the power organization. The leader's personality is to be admired and revered by the masses. In these dictatorships, the political and social activities will be restorative as well as revolutionary and more so in a situation where there is a balance in the powers of the various social classes.

3. Oriental Despotism

The Asiatic society or oriental society concept to which civilizations like those in India and China belonged, was one which was known to the early political economists, and even to Max Weber and Karl Marx.

According to K. A. Wittfogel (1957), there are several features that differentiate Oriental despotism from dictatorships of modern Europe, Middle Ages and antiquity. He also considers it to be, in several manners, much like the elite-related and the totalitarian despotism.

When a 'hydraulic' society came up which was dependent upon an extensive systems of waterworks, it gave rise to a wide network of a bureaucracy (comprising officers, land managers, landowners and an influential priesthood) which would organize and direct how the *corvée* or the forced labour would be used for the various irrigation projects. It was opined by Wittfogel that from this the absolutist 'managerial state' would emerge. Under this, the ruler was vested the highest secular authority in totality and religious authority in part. The regime of the despot had its basis in the army and the bureaucracy of the state, yet remained non-totalitarian. While the servants were to be obedient and completely submissive to the ruler, the ruler has respect for human rights of social groups lying beyond his state's purview. Majority of the political conflicts were caused in the ruling class itself. Any insubordination or social conflicts that lifted its head outside the ruling stratum would be put down with terror's customary techniques.

4. Totalitarian Rule

There are two types of totalitarian rule. One is in which there exists a socio-political system such as was found in Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and in the semifascist dictatorships of Franco in Spain. The other form of totalitarian rule is the communist system and all of its variations, especially the ones in China and the Soviet Union as well as in developing nations with similar political structures.

Western fascist style of dictatorships came up as 'crisis products' of the social and economic systems of the capitalist type. Fundamentally, they were counterrevolutionary and came with an activist, militant social movement that took recourse in the Führer methods and principle pertaining to control and social discipline for organizing and mobilizing political and social forces, specifically the supposedly socially threatened middle-classes. Conversely, the communist system of the Soviet arose due to class antagonisms of bourgeois society, helped by the mass movement which was originally democratic and based on a revolutionary theory of society. The movement itself was not dictatorship even if looked at in the light of the concept 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'

Stark difference exists between the systems of the fascists and the communists. National Socialism and Fascism both arose from society's counterrevolutionary concepts. On the other hand, a revolutionary model of evolved rational and social development is attached to Communism. There are bureaucratic forms of policy making in Communism which have kept the system alive over generations and aided in the consolidation of the political structure through external and domestic troubles. Certain difference are caused by the climate in which the development of the movement occurred, as well as the structure and the special functions of the political ideologies and values that determine the actions of the leadership and mass behaviour.

Any and all totalitarian rules that are developed fully involve the political structure, the monopoly party's function and position as well as that of its organizational satellites, and the relations among the society, social movement and state. The totalitarian concept includes the complete social structure and all means employed for its transformation, the legal system and the political ideology set up for providing justification to and for maintaining the rule.

It is opined by some scholars that no significant differences can be seen in modern mass despotisms and dictatorships, other than possibly the art associated with mass domination (Hallgarten 1954; 1957, p. 176 ff.). Some scholars do not consider totalitarianism to be just a result of industrial society. There are a number of younger scholars who are of the opinion that 'general concepts of ideal types and static, classificatory methods are of little use in the historical-empirical analysis of the various totalitarian power structures.'

5. Constitutional Dictatorship

In a constitutional dictatorship there exists proper respect for the limits that the constitution has fixed. The main purpose and function of a constitutional dictatorship is restoring and protecting the traditional legal order in situations of crisis or during periods of emergency. We can define this type of emergency as 'a serious disturbance or endangering of public safety and order, which cannot be overcome in normal, constitutional ways but can only be eliminated by the use of exceptional means'.

We can consider that there is a Constitutional dictatorship in existence, in case a state of siege or martial law is proclaimed, with the executive, i.e. military commanders, having the power to curb civil liberties and rights. Nevertheless, even in so-called emergency decree legislation such a tendency is visible. There are constitutions even of nations that are democratic which provide the executive complete

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power in an emergency situation to carry out temporary measures for law and order restoration.

There are no revolutionary goals attached with a constitutional dictatorship as far as socio-political change is concerned, yet it could carry out the counter-revolutionary functions in case of widespread class conflicts/disputes between political and social elites. Bringing back constitutional conditions, the key purpose of emergency legislation, generally implies that there has been a hardening of a socioeconomic status quo and may encourage revolutionary forces within a country to intensify their attacks upon the existing political and social order.

6. Autocracy

In the case of an autocracy, overriding and completely unchecked political power rests in the hands of one single individual who occupies a single high office. Government has absolute or unlimited powers which completely is in the autocrat's hands who holds the right to make the final governmental decisions, and regarding policy and the implementation of all policies.

In case the autocrat who is all powerful happens to be a hereditary monarch (king or queen, emperor or empress), this system of government is referred to as absolute monarchy and this autocrat wields political power which is not limited by law and does not have to share authority, be it with a legislative assembly or any other independent governmental power centre.

The oldest and most traditional autocracy is absolute monarchy. There are other later forms of autocracy in which unlimited power is concentrated in a single individual who has attained the status of being the top political leader and ruler of the country with possibly winning in a popular election or with armed takeover.

7. Authoritarian Oligarchy

In 'authoritarian oligarchy', or 'collective dictatorship', there exists the 'absolute rule of the few'. Overriding and unchecked political power rests with a small group of people that together form a single cohesive elite. The power to govern rests with one small group that is extremely close-knit and functions like a single unit that exercises unlimited powers. It is like an autocrat that the ruling elite governs, like a single absolute ruler. The powers could have been attained by the elite via winning an election, forceful seizing of power or in inheritance.

A specific type of authoritarian oligarchy of the modern times is of one-party state. In such a system, overriding and unchecked political power rests with small and extremely cohesive party elite which is a very well-knit elite group comprising the high ranking leaders of one and the only existing official political party which has been allowed to exist and operate legally and recognized legally. Since this party is the only one whose members occupy the public offices, it has complete dominance over the government and every aspect of political life in the society. This is a typical form of government adopted in societies that are under communist rule.

8. Absolute Democracy

A political regime could be democratic without being constitutional and such a government will be referred to as ‘absolute democracy’. Some other ways that such governments are referred to are: ‘majoritarian dictatorship,’ ‘popular despotism,’ ‘tyranny of the majority,’ and ‘unchecked democracy.’

In an absolute democracy, there is unlimited and absolute rule of the simple majority (holding 50.1% majority) with unchecked, overriding political power. The simple majority is of the adult citizens/democratically elected representatives. In a governmental system of this type, no constitutional or legal restraints exist on the majority’s power to take decisions or take action.

In modern times, there is no stability in absolute democracies and they do not last long. Their collapse could cause a situation of widespread violence, lawlessness and even civil war. This is generally followed with autocracy or oligarchy being forced ruthlessly through military force and even maintained ruthlessly with methods that are brutal and tyrannical, as in a police-state.

Case Studies: South Africa, Nigeria, Iran

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Case Study 1: Political Regime in South Africa

The Republic of South Africa is a parliamentary representative democratic republic. Its President is the head of state as well as the head of government. The President gets elected by the National Assembly which is the lower house in South Africa’s Parliament. The president has to enjoy the continued support and confidence of the Assembly to continue in office. Provincial legislatures are also elected and these govern the nine provinces of the county.

From 1990s onwards, post the removal of apartheid, the politics of South Africa has been dominated by the African National Congress (ANC). It is also the ANC party that is in power in the national legislature, and in eight provinces as during the 2014 general elections, it attained 62.15% of the vote. In the 2011 municipal elections, it attained 62.9% of the popular vote. In the 2014 elections, the Democratic Alliance attained 22.23% vote. Other major political parties represented in Parliament are: Economic Freedom Fighters and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

South African Government

South Africa has a multi-party system. The Government exercises the executive power. Legislative power rests with the government as well as the two chambers of Parliament (Council of Provinces and the National Assembly). Judiciary stands independent of the legislature and the executive. There is a three tiered government whose representatives are elected at the local, provincial and national level.

Constitution

Post the elections of 1994, an elections, an interim constitution was used to govern South Africa. Under the constitution, a permanent constitution had to be drafted and approved by the Constituent Assembly (CA) on or before 9 May 1996.

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The Government of National Unity (GNU), which had been created under the interim constitution stayed effective till the national elections of 1999. Parties which were part of the GNU to begin with were: African National Congress (ANC), the National Party (NP), and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). It was these three parties that also shared the executive power. The NP, on 30 June 1996, left the GNU and joined the opposition.

In South Africa, the general elections are conducted once in five years. In 1994, its very first fully multi-racial democratic election was conducted, followed by elections in 1999, 2004 and 2009. The last one to be held was in 2014.

Case Study 2: Political Regime in Nigeria

Nigeria is a federal republic which has been created on the basis of the federal republic of the United States. It displays a fair amount of influence of Britain whose colony it was. The country's executive power is vested in a president. The government of Nigeria is also influenced by The Westminster System model which has had a great influence on the Nigerian government, as is visible in the management as well as the composition of the upper and lower houses of its bicameral legislature.

In Nigeria, the president is head of state, head of government, and head of a multi-party system. Nigerian politics is conducted in a climate that is federal, presidential, representative democratic republic. The government holds the executive power. The real government and the legislature's two chambers hold the Legislative power. The two chambers are: the Senate and the House of Representatives. These chambers together form Nigeria's law-making body which is known as the National Assembly. The National Assembly plays the role of keeping the government's executive arm in check. The highest judiciary arm of government in Nigeria is The Supreme Court of Nigeria. It is the government's highest judicial arm. It was set up after independence. It practices Baron de Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers influenced by the system followed in the United States. It even practices checks and balances.

Legal System

In Nigeria, law is based on the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, and British common law. The legal system's constitutional framework comes from the Constitution of Nigeria.

- English Law (derived from the colonial past)
- Common law, (case law development post-colonial independence)
- Customary law derived from indigenous traditional norms and practices
- Sharia law, followed in Nigeria's northern

Nigeria has a judicial branch, with the Supreme Court being the land's highest court.

Executive Branch

The executive branch is headed by the president who is elected via universal suffrage. The President is the head of government and the chief of state. The government is headed by the Federal Executive Council, or cabinet.

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The executive branch is made up of Federal Ministries, each with a president appointed minister at its head. It is essential for the president to have in his cabinet a minimum of one member from every one of the 36 states. The Senate of Nigeria confirms the appointments to be made by the president. There are cases in which a single minister holds two or more ministries. It is also possible that a minister receives assistance from one or more ministers of State. Every one of the ministries has a senior civil servant as a Permanent Secretary.

The ministries are responsible for various parastatals which are government-owned corporations, like universities, the National Broadcasting Commission, and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. On the other hand, there are parastatals for whom the Office of the Presidency is responsible. Some examples of these are: Independent National Electoral Commission, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and Federal Civil Service Commission.

Legislative Branch

The National Assembly of Nigeria comprises the Senate and the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives is made up of 360 members and is presided over by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Its members get elected for a term of four years in single-seat constituencies. There are 109 members in the Senate. It is presided over by the President of the Senate. While 108 members get elected for a term of 4 years in 36 three-seat constituencies, corresponding with the 36 states, one member gets selected from the federal capital's single-seat constituency.

Judicial Branch

Nigeria's judicial branch comprises the Supreme Court of Nigeria, the Court of Appeals, the High Courts, and other trial courts like the Magistrates', Customary, Sharia and other specialised courts.

The National Judicial Council plays the role of an independent executive body, and it protects the judiciary from the government's executive arm. The Supreme Court is presided over by the Chief Justice of Nigeria and thirteen associate justices, who are appointed by the President of Nigeria on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council. These justices are subject to confirmation by the Senate.

Administrative Divisions

Nigeria had 1 union territory and 36 states. States are sub-divided into Local Government Areas (LGAs). The total number of LGAs in Nigeria are 774. The LGAs have taken the place of Districts which served as the third-tier administrative unit during British rule.

Military

Nigeria's military has majorly shaped its history, and has on several occasions taken the country over and ruled for extended time periods. The most recent time this happened was in 1999, post the demise of the leader of the previous military junta Sani Abacha in 1998.

There are approximately 76,000 active duty personnel in the three Nigerian armed services.

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Foreign Relations

With democracy in Nigeria, at present its foreign relations with the neighbours have improved. Nigeria, in 1960 became part of the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations. Between 1995 and 1999 it was suspended from both.

Case Study 3: Political Regimes in Iran

In Iran, guided by Islamic ideology, politics is conducted within a framework of a theocracy in a format of syncretic politics. The constitution of December 1979 with its amendment of 1989 are the basis of defining the social, economic and political order Islamic Republic of Iran. It declares that Iran's official religion is the Shi'a Islam of the Twelver school of thought.

There is an elected President in Iran as well as an elected parliament (or Majlis), an 'Assembly of Experts' (one that elects the Supreme Leader), and local councils. The constitution specifies that each candidate contesting these positions has to be vetted by the Guardian Council prior to being elected. Further, representatives are elected from appointed organizations (usually under the Supreme Leader's control) for the purpose of protecting the Islamic character of the state.

Supreme Leader

The office of the Supreme Leader is the office of the highest power in Iran. There have been two Supreme Leaders: the Republic's founder Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and his successor, Ali Khamenei.

The Assembly of Experts appoints and supervises the Supreme Leader. This Assembly is a publicly elected body. The right to stand as candidate is provided by Guardian Council made up of six clerics who are appointed by the Supreme Leader and six lawyers who are nominated by the head of the judicial system of Iran who is chosen by the Supreme Leader. While the Supreme leader is the Head of State, he also has some Executive powers associated with Guardian Council, religious affairs and defence.

The Supreme Leader makes the appointments of heads to some powerful posts – the commanders of the armed forces, the director of the national radio and television network, the heads of the major religious foundations, the prayer leaders in city mosques, and the members of national security council dealing with defence and foreign affairs, the chief judge, the chief prosecutor, special tribunals and, with the help of the chief judge, half of the twelve jurists of the Guardian Council (Constitutional Council)– the body that decides both what bills may become law and who may run for president or parliament.

Under the Constitution of Iran, the Supreme Leader holds the authority of the president, holds the power to veto laws made by parliament and legally he permits for presidential candidates to proclaim their candidacy. It is in the hands of the Supreme Leader to declare war/peace along with Parliament's two third majority.

Executive Branch

According to the constitution, the state's highest authority rests with the President, next only to the Supreme Leader. The election for president is based

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on universal suffrage, of person 18 years and above. The president is elected for a four year term. The candidate standing for Presidency needs to have the approval of the Council of Guardians for standing for elections. Once elected, the president has to be appointed by the Supreme Leader. It is the responsibility of the president to implement the Constitution and to exercise executive powers, other than in matters related directly with the Supreme Leader. The Council of Ministers is appointed and supervised by the President. The President also coordinates the decisions of the government, and selects the government policies which will be put to the legislature. At present, there are ten Vice Presidents and a cabinet of twenty-one ministers under the President. All of them need to have approval of the legislature. The armed forces are not under the control of the executive branch. Despite the President making the appointment of the Ministers of Intelligence and Defense, he needs to take the Supreme Leader's explicit approval for their appointment prior to putting it before the legislature for a vote of confidence.

Legislative Branch

Iran's legislature is unicameral. Under the new constitution, there is no senate.

Parliament

The Parliament of Iran, or Majlis, comprises 290 members elected for four-year terms. The Parliament drafts legislation, ratifies international treaties, and approves the national budget. All Parliament candidates and all legislation from the assembly must be approved by the Council of Guardians.

Guardian Council

The constitutional council, known as the Guardian Council comprises 12 jurists, of which six are clerics who are appointed by the Supreme Leader, and six are jurists who have been elected by the Parliament Majles from among the Muslim jurists nominated by the Head of the Judicial System. The constitution is interpreted by the Council and it can reject bills from parliament if they are considered to not align with the constitution or Sharia.

Expediency Council

The Expediency Council mediates disputes that arise between the Guardian Council and the Parliament. It is possibly the most powerful governing body of Iran as it acts as an advisory body to the Supreme Leader.

Expediency Council from heads of the three government branches, the clerical members of the Guardian Council and various other members appointed by the supreme leader. These members are all appointed for a three-year term. Parliamentary leaders and members of the Cabinet are temporary members of the Council for the period when such issues are under review which fall in their jurisdiction.

Judicial Branch

The head of the judiciary is appointed by the Supreme Leader and the head appoints supreme court's head as well as the chief public prosecutor. Various types of courts are present, such as the public courts, which hear criminal and civil cases, and 'revolutionary courts' that handle specific types of offenses

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such as crimes against the nation's security. There is no appeal on the decision of a revolutionary court. The task of the Special Clerical Court is to hear crimes that have been allegedly committed by clerics, but at times it takes cases involving lay persons. This court is accountable to the Supreme Leader and works independent of the regular judicial framework. Its rulings are beyond appeal.

Assembly of Experts

The Assembly of Experts is supposed to meet at least twice a year for two days each. It is made up of 86 'virtuous and learned' clerics elected by adult suffrage for a term of eight years. Based on the laws approved by the first Assembly, the Council of Guardians is responsible for determining the eligibility of candidates with the help of a written examination. The Assembly elects the Supreme Leader and has the constitutional authority to remove the Supreme Leader from power at any time. All of their meetings and notes are strictly confidential.

Military

The military and the Corps of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution have the task of defending the borders of Iran. The Bases militia have the task of maintaining internal and external security.

Administrative Divisions

There are 31 provinces in Iran each with a Governor General at its head. Each province is sub-divided into counties, districts, and villages.

Local Government

The local councils are elected for a term of four years by public vote. They are appointed in every city and village. The Constitution's article 7 states that the local councils together with the Parliament are 'decision-making and administrative organs of the State'. It was in 1999 that this part of the constitution got implemented, at the time of holding of the first local council elections throughout the country. The responsibilities of the Councils include: electing mayors, supervising the activities of municipalities; studying the social, cultural, educational, health, economic, and welfare requirements of their constituencies; planning and coordinating national participation in the implementation of social, economic, constructive, cultural, educational and other welfare affairs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What are the different forms of dictatorship as specified by Franz L. Neumann?
5. What do you mean by oriental despotism?
6. What is constitutional dictatorship?

3.4 INSTITUTIONS: CONSTITUTIONS

The Indian Constitution represents the vision and values of its founding fathers and is the basis of the faith and aspiration of Indian people. When the Indian Constitution was formally ratified on 26 November 1949, it concluded a process that resulted in a remarkably forward-looking document that enshrined individual liberty, equality of opportunity, social justice and secularism. As per this Constitution, the Republic of India was inaugurated on 26 January 1950.

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3.4.1 Salient Features of the Indian Constitution

Salient features of the Constitution of the Republic of India are as follows:

1. Living Document

The Constitution is a living document, an instrument which makes the governmental system work. Unlike many other developing countries that became Independent after the World War II, it has survived as a living document with necessary amendments.

2. Written Constitution

The Constitution of the Republic of India is documented. As originally passed, it had 395 Articles and 8 Schedules. The written Constitution is very essential for a federal state so that whenever there is any dispute between the federal government and the federating units, it becomes the basis to resolve these disputes. In sheer physical terms, Indian Constitution is definitely the largest and most detailed Constitution in the world. The Constitution of USA contains only 7 Articles, Canada's 147 Articles and Australia's 128 Articles.

The framers of the Constitution tried to provide the solution of all the possible problems of administration and governance of the country. Even those matters which are taken as conventions in other countries have been put to writing in the Indian Constitution.

3. Sovereign Democratic Republic

The Indian Independence Act, 1947 declared India a dominion with the Queen of England as the Head of the State. The Governor-General was appointed by the Queen and acted as her representative in India. The authors of the Constitution decided that Dominion status was not in conformity with the dignity of the Indian nation. The preamble of the Constitution, therefore, declared India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It means that India as a nation does not owe allegiance to any foreign power, is independent in her dealings with foreign countries and enjoys equal status in the world community with other independent sovereign states.

India is a democracy. It means that sovereignty rests with the people of India. They govern themselves through their representatives elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. Besides, the Constitution confers on Indian citizens some fundamental rights which are considered to be the essence of a democratic system.

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4. Parliamentary Form of Government

The Constitution provides for a Parliamentary form of government which is federal in structure with certain unitary features. The constitutional head of the Executive of the Union is the President. As per Article 79 of the Constitution of India, the council of the Parliament of the Union consists of the President and two Houses known as the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and the House of the People (Lok Sabha). Article 74(1) of the Constitution provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as its head to aid and advise the President, who shall exercise his functions in accordance with the Prime Minister's advice. The real executive power is thus vested in the Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as its head.

The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the House of the People (Lok Sabha). Every State has a Legislative Assembly. Certain States have an upper House also called State Legislative Council. There is a Governor for each State who is appointed by the President. Governor is the head of the State and the executive power of the State is vested in him. The Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as its head advises the Governor in the discharge of executive functions. The Council of Ministers of a State is collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

The Constitution distributes legislative powers between Parliament and State legislatures as per the lists of entries in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution. The residuary powers are vested in the Parliament. The centrally administered territories are called Union Territories.

5. Federal System with Unitary Bias

The Constitution is federal in nature but the term 'Federation' has not been used in our Constitution. India has been described as a Union of States according to Article 1 of the Constitution. There are twenty-eight states in the union, each one with a separate Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. Powers have been divided between the Union Government on the one hand and the States on the other by the Constitution itself. The Constitution is sovereign and there is provision for judicial review.

The most remarkable feature of the Indian Constitution is to confer upon a federal system the strength of a unitary government. Though normally the system of government is federal, during an emergency the Constitution enables the federation to transform into a unitary State.

6. Adult Franchise

At the time when the Constitution was made, the vast majority of Indian people were illiterate. The framers of the Constitution took the bold step of conferring the right to vote on every adult citizen of India irrespective of the differences of education, property or sex. Every citizen who was 21 years of age was given the right to vote. It has been reduced to 18 years now. This makes the Constitution democratic in the real sense of the term.

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7. Rigid and Flexible

The Constitution is rigid in the sense that most of its parts cannot be amended by the ordinary law-making process. However, it provided for amendments and therefore it is flexible. The Indian Constituent Assembly has not only refrained from putting a seal of finality and infallibility upon this Constitution as in Canada or by making the amendment of the Constitution subject to the fulfillment of extraordinary terms and conditions as in America or Australia. In its place, it has provided a most facile procedure for amending the Constitution.

It is only the amendment of few of the provisions of the Constitution that requires ratification by the State legislatures and even then ratification by only half of them is sufficient.

The rest of the Constitution can be amended by the special majority of the union Parliament, i.e., a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of each House present and voting, which again must be a majority of the total membership of the House.

Within a period of less than 60 years, the Constitution has been amended 94 times. It proves that the Constitution is flexible. The procedure laid down by the Constitution for its amendment is neither very easy, as in England, nor very rigid as in the United States.

8. Independence of Judiciary

The framers of the Constitution were aware that democratic freedoms were meaningless in the absence of an independent machinery to safeguard them. No subordinate or agent of the government could be trusted to be just and impartial in judging the merits of a conflict in which the Government itself was a party. Similarly, a judiciary subordinates either to the Centre or the States could not be trusted as an impartial arbiter of conflicts and controversies between the Centre and the States.

These were the compelling reasons for the creation of an independent judiciary as an integral part of the Constitution and for the adoption of judicial independence as a basic principle of the Constitution.

9. Supreme Court and Judicial Review

Supreme Court is a necessary element in a federal polity. Accordingly, the Indian Constitution has established a Supreme Court of India. The Court has both original and appellate jurisdiction. It has the power of judicial review. It can declare any Legislative enactment or administrative act as unconstitutional if it is deemed to be in conflict with the provisions of the Constitution. Besides, the Supreme Court is a court of record.

10. Single Citizenship

The Constitution of India grants only one citizenship to all the citizens. In a federation sometimes a citizen gets double citizenship, one of the Union and the other of State in which that person lives.

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11. Detailed Administrative Provisions

As Dr B.R. Ambedkar observed, it is perfectly possible to pervert the Constitution without changing the form of administration. To prevent such subversion of the Constitution, detailed administrative provisions were included in it.

We have in the Indian Constitution detailed provisions about the organization of the judiciary, the services, the Public Service Commission, Election and about the division of powers between the Union and the States.

12. Constitution of the Units

The Constitution of a federal State usually deals only with the federal Government and leaves the federating units to draw their own constitutions. This practice was followed in the framing of the constitutions of the USA, USSR, Canada and other Federal States. However, the Indian Constitution provides the Constitutions of both the Union and the States. This has contributed to the bulk of the Indian Constitution.

13. Secular State

India is a secular State. It means that the State does not recognize, establish or endow any church or religious organization. It is not guided in the discharge of its functions by the considerations of secular or the worldly welfare of the people. It does not seek to promote the spiritual or religious welfare of the people. It allows freedom of religion. The Constitution guarantees freedom of worship, faith and conscience. It does not discriminate in matters of government employment on the basis of religion. The term 'Secular' did not occur in any part of the original Constitution. It was incorporated in the preamble by the Forty-second Constitutional Amendment in 1976.

14. Welfare State

The Preamble of the Constitution describes India as a socialist state. The term was added to the preamble of the Constitution by the Forty-second Constitutional Amendment Act of 1976 by the Indira Gandhi led Congress government. However, it is to be noted that 'Socialism' envisaged by the Constitution is not the usual State socialism seen in Russia or China which entailed the nationalization of all the means of production, distribution, communication, etc. Indira Gandhi explained the nature of Indian Socialism by stating, 'We have always said that we have our own brand of socialism. We will nationalize the sectors where we feel the necessity. Just nationalization is not our type of socialism.' Socialism in the Indian context means that the government endeavors to make the distribution of wealth more equal, provides a decent standard of living for all and is committed towards the formation of a welfare state.

15. Liberal Constitution

Liberalism is a political philosophy that is centered on the freedom of an individual. The Indian Constitution contains many features that make it liberal in nature, the most important being the section on fundamental rights.

The constitution of India recognizes six fundamental rights. These are:

1. Right to equality, including equality before law, prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, and equality of opportunity in matters of employment, abolition of untouchability and abolition of titles.
2. Right to freedom which includes speech and expression, assembly, association or union or cooperatives, movement, residence, and right to practice any profession or occupation, right to life and liberty, right to education, protection in respect to conviction in offences and protection against arrest and detention in certain cases.
3. Right against exploitation, prohibiting all forms of forced labour, child labour and traffic in human beings.
4. Right to freedom of religion, including freedom of conscience and free profession, practice, and propagation of religion, freedom to manage religious affairs, freedom from certain taxes and freedom from religious instructions in certain educational institutes.
5. Cultural and Educational rights preserving Right of any section of citizens to conserve their culture, language or script, and right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.
6. Right to constitutional remedies for enforcement of Fundamental Rights.

These six fundamental rights guaranteed in the Indian constitution is comparable to features seen in liberal constitutions around the world including the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution. Along with the fundamental rights, the remedies for enforcing the rights, namely, the writs of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, *prohibition* and *certiorari* are also guaranteed by the Constitution under Article 32. However, unlike other liberal constitutions around the world, the Indian Constitution today does not recognize the right to property as a fundamental right. Although originally a part of the Indian Constitution, the right to property was deleted from the list of fundamental rights after the 44th Amendment to the Constitution in 1978. However at the same time, in another part of the Constitution, Article 300 (A) was inserted to affirm that no person shall be deprived of his or her property save by authority of law. Thus, today the right to property in India is a legal and not a fundamental right.

16. Fundamental Duties

Part IVA on fundamental duties was incorporated in the Constitution by the Forty-second Amendment Act. Article 51A of the Constitution enumerates ten fundamental duties of the citizens of India: to respect and abide by the Constitution and the laws; to uphold the sovereignty of the nation; to respect the democratic institutions enshrined in the Constitution; to abjure communalism and violence, etc. However, unlike the fundamental rights, the fundamental duties are not enforceable in the courts.

17. Directive Principles of State Policy

A distinctive feature of the Constitution is that it contains Chapter IV on the Directive Principles of State Policy. These Directives relate mostly to social and economic

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justice, such as adequate means of livelihood for all, distribution of wealth so as to serve the common good, equal pay for equal work, protection of adult and child labour, free and compulsory primary education, etc. These are the guiding principles of State policy. The authors of the Constitution did not make the Directive Principles justiciable.

The Directive Principles are not enforceable by the courts, i.e., if the government of the day fails to carry out these objects no court can make the government ensure them. Still the principles have been declared to be fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws.

18. Drawn from Different Sources

A distinguishing feature of the Indian Constitution is that it was prepared after carefully looking at all the known constitutions of the world at that time. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly of India took place in the Constitution Hall, New Delhi. On 9 December 1946, it was chaired by Dr Sachchidananda Sinha. In his address Dr Sinha referred to several constitutions that were in existence at that time and said:

As a matter of fact, the French constitution-makers, who met in 1789 at the first Constituent Assembly of their country, were themselves largely influenced by the work done but a couple of years earlier in 1787, by the historic Constitutional Convention held at Philadelphia by the American constitution-makers, for their country. Having thrown off their allegiance to the British King in Parliament, they met and drew up what had been regarded, and justly so, as the soundest, and most practical and workable republican constitution in existence. It is this great constitution, which had been naturally taken as the model for all subsequent constitutions not only of France, but also of the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth, like Canada, Australia, and South Africa; and I have no doubt that you will also, in the nature of things, pay in the course of your work, greater attention to the provisions of the American Constitution than to those of any other.

The parliamentary system has been borrowed from England, the concept of independent judiciary and judicial review and fundamental rights from the US Constitution, the federal features from Canada and the Directive Principles from Ireland. Many provisions related to administration have been taken from the Government of India Act, 1935.

These borrowings were not blind as the framers of the Constitution modified them with a view to avoid the faults that have emerged in practice and adapted to the existing conditions and needs of the country. India's religious and ethnic diversity, caste inequalities and widespread illiteracy and poverty demanded these unique provisions. The Constituent Assembly members were equal to this task, debating and discussing the clauses of the Draft Constitution threadbare.

19. Reservation in Legislatures and Services for Backward Classes

A distinctive feature of the Indian Constitution is that there is reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and in the State Assemblies. The Constitution also lays down that the claims of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration in making appointments to services in connection with the affairs of the Union or a State.

There is also reservation of the seats for Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People and in some State Assemblies.

20. Official Language of India

A provision was made in the Constitution to declare Hindi in the Devanagiri script as the official language of India. Till that time English was to continue as the official language.

21. Basic Structure

Article 368 of the Constitution gives the impression that Parliament's amending powers are absolute and encompass all parts of the document. However, the Supreme Court has acted as an arbiter to the legislative enthusiasm of Parliament ever since Independence. With the intention of preserving the original ideals envisioned by the constitution-makers, the apex court pronounced that Parliament could not distort, damage or alter the basic features of the Constitution under the pretext of amending it.

Though the phrase 'basic structure' itself is not found in the Constitution, the Supreme Court recognized this concept for the first time in the historic *Kesavananda Bharati* case in 1973. Since then the Supreme Court has been the interpreter of the Constitution and the arbiter of all amendments made by the Parliament. However, the final word on the issue of the basic structure of the Constitution has not been pronounced by the Supreme Court yet. The sovereign, democratic and secular character of the polity, rule of law, independence of the judiciary, fundamental rights of citizens are some of the essential features of the Constitution that have appeared time and again in the apex court's pronouncements.

3.4.2 Sources of Constitution of India

Our Indian constitution is unique one because it was made by drawing from many sources. These sources were as follows:

1. **Russian Revolution of 1917:** The Ideal of Justice in the Social, Education, Economic and Political realm
2. **French Revolution of 1789:** Ideal of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity
3. **Government of India Act, 1935:**
 - Federal scheme
 - Office of Governor
 - Judiciary
 - Public service commission

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- Emergency
- Administrative details

4. **British Constitution**

- Parliamentary form of government
- Rule of law
- Legislation
- Single citizenship
- Cabinet form of government
- Prerogative writs
- Bicameralism

5. **US Constitution**

- Fundamental rights
- Independent judiciary
- Judicial review
- Impeachment of President
- Removal of supreme court judges
- Vice presidential ship

6. **Irish Constitution**

- Directive Principles of State Policy
- Nomination of members to Rajya Sabha
- Electoral office and method of president election

7. **Canada**

- Federation with strong center
- Residuary power with center
- Appointment of state governors by center
- Advisory/review of supreme court

8. **Australian Constitution**

- Concurrent list
- Freedom of trade
- Commerce and interstate trade
- Joint sitting in the parliament

9. **USSR Constitution**

- Fundamental duties
- Preamble

10. South Africa

- Procedure for amendment of the constitution
- Election to the Rajya Sabha members

11. Japan

- Procedures established by law

12. Weimer Constitution of Germany

- Suspension of fundamental rights during emergency

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. Define liberalism.
8. How can we say that the Indian Constitution is borrowed from different sources?

**3.5 INSTITUTIONS: FEDERALISM AND
DECENTRALIZATION**

The ancient kind of federalism does not exist anymore and the same can be said about constitutional government, which is gradually diminishing. In contemporary terms, centralization and decentralization gained momentum in the year 1984. But to understand and gain perspective of its fundamental importance, it is also important to gain knowledge about earlier debates of the 1780s and 1880s.

Debate of 1780s

The debate in the 1780s was essentially not termed a ‘Debate’ over the topic of centralization vs decentralization. Rather it was ‘whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.’ The issue which was addressed here implied failures of the confederation and also the promises that were proposed by federalist principles. The approach which was being taken was called the ‘the general theory of a limited Constitution’, according to which a synchronized structure of government emerged in order to deal with the communities which had similar interest. Multiple jurisdictions would exist concurrently in a ‘compound republic.’ Each jurisdiction was bound to transfer its activities to the citizens and would not require the enactment of a law, midway. The ultimate authority for the constitution of each government in this system of concurrent governments was presumed to reside in the people alone. It was ‘the right of the people to alter and abolish’ governments that were destructive of their inalienable rights and to institute a new government which shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. The tools which were used in the realization of the purposes were the constitutions which were formed with astonishing political

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procedures of constitutional management. The basis of the blueprints of the constitutions was ‘the general theory of a limited constitution’. If some particular stipulations could be fulfilled, only then could it be probable to work out a structure of government, where terms of the constitutional law could be implemented against persons who put the privileges of government into effect.

Constitution has always had a problem; a fundamental contradiction. Law should be implemented if it has to be effective. The dissimilar privileges of governments affect the creation and implementation of the law. How could the officials be considered answerable to laws which they have made themselves? Thomas Hobbes’ responded to the question by saying ‘to reason that those who exercise governmental prerogatives are the source of law, are above the law and cannot be held accountable to law.’ To try and limit the government through a rule of the law was ridiculous, according to Hobbes, ‘Law is what governmental officials determine it to be.’

Based on ‘the general theory of a limited constitution’, the 1780s debate rotated upon subjects of limiting the privileges of governments. An appropriately represented system of the government could be one in which all governments will be limited; limited through a structure to constitutional law to make it obligatory or constructive. Rulers would then focus on the regulation of law. This is a government of law in which men are lined in harmony with the perimeters of the laws of the constitution. Some of the circumstances which are vital to the blueprint of one such scheme of government are as follows:

- In a structure of enforceable rules of the constitution, the procedures of constitutional supervision ought to subsist at least partly outside the capability of governmental establishments that are focused to its stipulations. Therefore, if the constitution seeks to be positive or enforceable, it should be unalterable and the governmental authorities should act on their own respective motions.
- Such a system (a constitutional law which is both positive and enforceable) would be dependent on the ‘separation of powers’ because of the fact that every set of the governmental decision making bodies will then act only up to the limit of the authority given to them through other officials. As far as ‘the system of checks and balances’ goes, it gets constituted through the limits placed upon the veto and reciprocal veto position.
- The system of enforceable constitutional rule further depends on a clear formulation of the constitutional power of the people. An authority of unchallengeable rights, a kind of power which cannot get transferred, cannot be given or taken away or even seized by any of the governmental authorities. This constitutional authority forms correlative limits on people who execute the privileges of the government. It is done for the reason that they can make use of the constitutional authority to assert claims against governmental officials.

- The system of constitutional law will be positive only if there is an existence of alternative governments. In a way they depend upon such governments. The purpose of these governments is that they have their own constitution and thus people can have access to diverse units of the government. As a result they can participate in different communities of interest and can also seek alternative remedies to their problems.
- Lastly, the system of constitutional law surely depends on the people, the citizens for whom the rules and laws are made in the first place. The system is dependent upon the citizens who refuse to comply with unconstitutional usurpation of the authority by the officials.

The debate of 1780s was thus concerned with limited government, majority tyranny and usurpation of the authority, separation of powers, rights of the people, human frailty, federal principles, suitable structures and compound republic along with general theory of limited constitution. Hence, a fresh structure of government got fashioned, one which had a perspective for self-governance through the capacities and will of mankind. The question that this debate brought up was: Is this experiment going to demonstrate whether the societies of people are capable enough to structure good governments through their reflections and choices?

Debate of 1880s

The debate of the 1880s was conducted by political thinkers with different perspectives and views. These thinkers completely broke up with constitutional traditions which were existent in the 1780s. Arguments for these debates were developed by Woodrow Wilson. This was an early effort by him for productive scholarship. These arguments went on to become a prevailing exemplar for 'effective' government in the political discourses and scholarships of the 20th century.

Woodrow Wilson started his argument with the rejection of the 'literary theories', also known as the 'paper pictures', on which the constitutional system of America was based. The most important and prominent aspect of 'paper pictures' was 'the system of checks and balances' that existed in the federal system. In the words of Wilson, a vital defect of this system was, 'the way it parcels out power and confuses responsibility'. The purpose of the division of power was to make it completely irresponsible. Therefore, Wilson established a major source for the institutional failure of the American government. It arises through 'the system of checks and balances'. He states, 'Those checks and balances have proved mischievous just to the extent to which they have succeeded in establishing themselves in practice.'

Wilson stated that the political authority was basically unitary in its nature. His assertion of political science begins with, 'There is always a centre of power.' Any inquiry which is done to determine the conditions of the government is done to get to the centre of the system and to inquire about power holders who hold the command of authority. His inquiry and answers to these inquiries states that,

The predominant and controlling force, the centre and source of all motive and all regulatory power is Congress. All niceties of

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constitutional restriction and even many broad principles of constitutional limitations have been overridden and a thoroughly organized system of congressional control set up which gives a very rude negative to some theories of balance and some schemes for distributed powers.

Thus, congressional supremacy was established as the reality of politics in America. This however, was in dark contrast to the 'paper pictures' and literary theories that had described the deception of power. Wilson had laid stress on the centralization of all authorities to a singular centre of power. This argument was based on the concepts of the British parliamentary system, which he considered as the ideal model. In Wilson's words, 'The natural, the inevitable tendency in any system of self government like our own and the British, is to exalt the people's parliament, to a position of absolute supremacy.'

By the beginning of 1900, Wilson projected that the exercise of control for foreign affairs may well offer a lot of opportunities for the foundation of a new leadership from the President, who works as the chief executive. He says that it would have 'a very far-reaching effect on our whole method of government' and that this development will bring about 'an integration which will substitute statesmanship for government by mass meeting.' He warned the reader of the congressional government by stating that the developments 'may put this whole volume hopelessly out of date.' Woodrow Wilson also sighted the Prussian and the French bureaucracies of having the required framework of administration as one who could complement in providing unitary sovereignty in executing the public policies.

The modern-day debate regarding centralization vs. decentralization still continues and is practised inside the framework which was structured by Woodrow Wilson, along with his contemporaries. But broadly speaking there still is a quest for a singular centre of authority that would become the principal controlling power of the American society till today. But in America, it is not the Congress to whom the people look upon as their representative, it is the American President. The President represents their choices and commands the post of utmost supremacy. The people elect the president, who is the only one to represent and speak for the people of America. The Congress members are bound by provincial interests of their constituencies and therefore, cannot speak for the larger communal interest. Even the mass meetings that are arranged in Congress halls by the government, act too slowly and inefficiently and this cannot provide rational solutions for multifaceted problems.

The Moral of Debates

Human reasoning is dependent on words and languages. The words which we use and the associations that we take for granted, along with the allusions that we draw, in addition to the conclusions we arrive at, settle on the kind of thinking we have,. The words that are used and the thoughts that are formed establish and rule our actions. Once we discarded the language of 1780s and replaced it with the language of 1880s, we explored for and eventually established one supreme authority. Also,

simultaneously, we discarded constitutional government. The debate that was filled with the expressions, 'centralization' and 'decentralization', saw the end of an epoch of constitutional government and marked the beginning of the period of presidential government. This provides an answer or at least a part of the answer to Alexander Hamilton's question, 'whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or . . . are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force rests upon the words used to organize the reflections of the citizens, inform their choices, and guide their actions.'¹²

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3.5.1 Debate on Federalism and Decentralization

At times, simplicity can be both, a virtue and a curse. It is self-evident that each mode of the social structure has some contradictions and problems and none could be satisfactory in all circumstances. On the paths of Aristotle, the great ancient Greek, there has always been an ongoing search for united regimes, with a hope of combining together the centralization and decentralization with an amalgamation of opposing principles and thoughts. Yet, there could be diverse ways of organizing life and one could find that we get more than one or two composite regimes, if we mix them up.

In effect, all contemporary studies of organization and organizational behavior are concerned with hierarchy or bureaucracy. This hierarchy that is influenced by the Chinese structure, specializes in the division of labour. It stresses that the parts could and should be sacrificed to save the complete structure. Nevertheless, this view has been seriously considered by many.

Decentralization, which is based upon spontaneous rearrangements amid independent entities, only exists because of the virtue of dissimilarity. Therefore, the political regimes have been either hierarchical and centralized or competitive and decentralized as shown in Figure 3.1.



Fig. 3.1 Political Regimes

The question arises whether there exists anything between these two. Maybe there is something that theorists have termed as egalitarian regime, also known as 'collegiums'. Egalitarian regimes are distinguished through a voluntary kind of organization, wherein all members are basically equal in their resources, in addition to their decision making powers. So it could be called a combination of centralization, non-centralization and equality as shown in Figure 3.2.

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Fig. 3.2 Egalitarian Regimes

Centralization, by means of hierarchy, could be an answer to the question of social organization in which the people who are involved should dwell together through the acceptance of structured inequality. It has the advantage of subordination of personal egoism for the favor of the whole community. Showiness might still stay with higher classes, but even the lower orders of people will get protection since they will be looked upon as one collective group. Evils lurk in many ways. It could be in the forms of dictatorship or tyranny, or it could be because of the inability of recognizing and learning from the mistakes committed. The extenuating cure could be called 'Non-centralization'. This is a practical or regional allocation of authority. This way, local efficiency also gets increased; however, its disadvantage is that the distance between central authorities and those close to the general public increases. There are evils of non-centralization too. These could be the lack of communities, which further results in dependence upon hierarchy for the maintenance and alteration of rules for the governance of transaction, or it could be uncontrolled competition among people. This could thus result in inequalities which would further lead to strain within the social fabric.

Egalitarianism could also have evils of its own. It could be the lack or need for authority that would lead to incessant delay along with quarrels and envy over discussions and minor differences. It could further lead to continuous splits and lack of tolerance over factional competition. All these differences can cause conspiracy charges among the community. The crucial aspects like, scientific activity, political democracy and economic growth are dependent upon competition.

In the case of democracy there is a competition for the office. In the field of science, competition is based on ideas. Likewise, in the case of economic growth, the competition would be for resources. The problems or should we say, some problems of centralization could be taken off through the inception of hierarchies that compete against each other, whether be it in markets or elections or any other purposes. The problems of the markets could be resolved by equivocation, without any restrictions and through allowing and limiting (not in a restricted manner) the freedom of contract. There is a common agreement that federalism could be good. This agreement leads to a disagreement over what it actually is and thus diverse political regimes will continue to coexist.

Conceptions

So the price for federalism could be the cost of pluralism. This price could be in terms of the contradictions. Nelson Polsby states that,

What individualists cannot choose, of course, is a society in which they retain the right to move about as they like or need, exercising their options to change their jobs, marital status, geographic location, names, hair, lifestyles, political commitments, while others hold still and provide them with the comforting support systems- stable neighborhoods, lifelong friendships, personalized and unbureaucratic professional services- of a more stable, confining and less resourceful age.

Individual choices often conquer trust over leaders and institutions. Basically, one cannot hope for steady collective life along with tolerant personal expressiveness. There always will be and have been contradictions which cannot be avoided. According to Theodore Lowi, 'Every regime ultimately creates a politics consonant within itself. That is why, seeing contemporary politics triangulated rather than bifurcated there is the probability of a three party system'. He insisted that there should be a socialist party. On the question of why such a socialist regime is not present in the US, he answered by stating that one such party could come up soon. He further stated, 'With the state governments as the course of legitimating for...capitalism...there was simply no common political experience that would lend much plausibility to a socialist analysis of American society or a socialist critique of American capitalism.'

Without a doubt, the federal system can be adaptable, but it should be noted that the adaptability should not lead to a decline of answerability. In his review, Kettle warns by stating that, 'Such a system makes it difficult to determine just who is responsible for a problem at hand or how it can be resolved. Furthermore, it makes it impossible for anyone to tackle the problems of the system as a whole.' Hence, organizations should not be sacrificed for awareness.

Legislature Reforms

Politics is driven by ambitions. Ambitions are driven by motivations and institutions. Politicians fulfill their ambitions through various means: through leading coups and takeovers of palaces in non-democracies, through engineering victories in elections and through no-confidence votes in the case of democracies, etc.

In a democratic situation, the leaders have a certain limit and they are restrained to a certain extent because of factors such as constitutions, party, electoral institutions, federal pacts and many other social factors. Political ambition has been a topic of research and study among most of the developed democracies of the world especially in the United States of America. Let us study about legislative reforms in the US, in an attempt to understand legislature reform.

Many of the observers are of the opinion that a model legislature must be capable, bipartisan and well-organized. On the contrary, most of the observers are

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of the opinion that the California legislature does not fulfill the above mentioned criteria. Legislators are usually not experienced and therefore the parties do not seem to get along very well. The budget is therefore usually late. According to the statewide survey of September 2007, only 34 per cent of the people of California supported the legislature.

Some reforms have been recurrently suggested to address these shortcomings. They are:

- Relaxing the limit of terms for legislatures
- Transfer of the redistricting procedure to an independent commission
- Reduction of the supermajority's need for a budget

There are four fundamental concerns which drive the call for reforms. They are:

- The recognized decline in competence, which is often blamed upon the naïveté of legislatures.
- The second apprehension is the waning bipartisanship. In the last forty years, the democrats seem to have become inclined towards liberalism and the republicans have become more conservative. This confirms the notion that there is a difference between the ideologies of these parties. The observers have a concern that the polarization further degrades the public debate, they feel that it makes policy responsive towards the party rather than towards public opinion.
- Another apprehension is the loss of legislative competence: there is a general feeling that legislature has a problem when it comes to getting things completed.
- There is also the problem of the budget. The budget has a requirement that at least a number of minority parties should pass votes for its passage.

Over the last few years, the passing of the budget has become a problem. A survey that was conducted by the PPIC in September 2007 shows that approval for the legislature for the handling of budget declined by almost 10 points. It was 6 points down in May 2007.

Term-Limit Reform

There have been measures to restore competence through the measure of term limit reform. Currently, fifteen of the states have placed limits upon the services in state legislature. These limits are dissimilar in three aspects:

- How long can the members serve for each chamber
- How long can the members serve for the legislature
- Whether or not the limits that are placed, apply only on consecutive and/or constitute terms for a lifetime.

The term limit law of 1990 by California is seen as a strict one and is deemed exemplary for other territories as well. Based on this law, Californian legislators can

serve a higher term of six years for assembly and eight years for the senate in their lifetime. This is a very short term and it matches that of other states such as Michigan and Arkansas.

Reformers have often argued that such short term limits can make the legislators too inexperienced and naïve and also make them focus only upon their subsequent positions, where they can perform competently. Surely, there have been evidences that support this argument. It has been seen that the legislators with short-term limits jump from one committee to the other quite frequently. They do so to climb up the hierarchy more quickly. Also, they pass smaller number of bills and are surely less effective when it comes to the reviewing the budget and scrutinizing bureaucracy.

However, some evidences show a contrary picture. California is a very large state and thus, there are no shortages for potential legislatures. Those who are experienced in the elected office, furthermore, in spite of the fact that many advocates of the reform have argued that the term limit has been discouraging, legislators, surveys and reports do not present us with the same picture. One should take a note of the fact that reforms act as a balancing method and thus cannot be judged as a drawback or benefit on their own.

Case Studies: UK, US, France and Germany

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Case Study 1: The British Constitution

Salient Features of the British Constitution

The following are the salient features of the British Constitution:

1. Unwritten Constitution

Unlike the Indian Constitution, the British Constitution is unwritten. The French writer De Tocqueville once remarked that 'England has no constitution.' British constitution is a mixture of charters, statutes, judicial decisions, common law, usages or traditions, customs, conventions, precedents etc. The first constitutional document was the Magna Carta of 1215, then came the Bill of Rights 1689, then the Parliament Acts of 1911, 1949, etc. The British constitution was not framed at a single time. It is still in the process of growth.

2. Evolutionary Constitution

The British constitution has developed through a process of gradual evolution. It is still going through the process of growth. It was not framed by a person or a king for his own advantage. The British people have developed their constitution from precedent to precedent and from past experience of law and practice.

3. Flexible Constitution

One of the most important features of the British constitution is its flexibility. This means that it can be amended by the Parliament. In England there is no difference between the ordinary law and constitutional law. The British Constitution is different from that of America's or Pakistan's. In America or

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Pakistan, the constitution is considered to be a supreme document in which amendment is very rare. The England's constitution is always under the process of growth.

4. Unitary Constitution

England's constitution is a unitary constitution. All the powers of the state are concentrated in the hands of a single government for the whole country. All the local governments are the servants of the central authority which has created them and can dissolve them also.

5. Unreality

One of the unique features of the British constitution is what is called its unreality. There is a great difference in its appearance and its reality. In other words there is a great divergence in its theory. It is an absolute monarchy while in reality it is a democratic state ruled by a parliament elected by the people.

6. Parliament's Sovereignty

In Britain, like in India, the Parliament is sovereign. The sovereignty of the Parliament is a source of the Constitution's flexibility.

7. Party System

Like India, the British political system is a party system that has been working successfully largely due to the existence of two major parties. These parties are Labour Party and the Conservative Party. However, recently the Liberal Democrats have also been making inroads. The existence of two major parties throughout its history has contributed to the strengthening of political traditions in Britain.

9. Nature of Conventions

Another very important feature of the British Constitution is the existence of a large number of conventions in it. No one can understand this constitution properly without studying these conventions carefully. These are a part of the constitution but they are not laws, because as such these conventions cannot be enforced by the courts. They are well known to all those who run the government.

Examples of the conventions:

- The Prime Minister must sit in the House of Commons
- Parliament must meet at least once in a year

10. Independence of Judiciary

The British constitution is based on the principle of the Independence of the judiciary. Since the year 1700 this principle has been a fundamental principle of the English constitution. Although the judiciary is no doubt independent in Britain but the right of judicial review is not granted.

11. Bicameral Legislature

Like in India, according to the British Constitution, the British Parliament consists of two houses: the House of Commons (Lower House) and the House of Lords (Upper House).

12. Blend of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy

The British Constitution is a unique blend of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. It is a Monarchic due to the existence of the Queen and King. It is aristocratic because of the House of Lords. It is Democratic because Britain is a democratic state run by a Parliament elected by the people.

Sources of the British Constitution

The sources of the British constitution can be divided into two parts:

- The laws of the constitution
- The conventions of the constitution

(A) The Laws of the Constitution

The laws of the constitution are based on written documents. These include historic documents, acts of the parliament, judicial decisions and common laws.

1. Historic Constitutional Documents

The historic constitutional documents form a very important source of the British constitution. The importance of these documents can be judged from the fact that the transition process from absolute monarchy to constitutional government in Britain was triggered by these elements e.g.:

- **Magna Carta (1215):** The charter Magna Carta required the then monarch of England, King of John of England to proclaim certain liberties and accept that his will was not arbitrary—for example by explicitly accepting that no freeman could be punished except through the law of the land, a right that still exists.
- **The Petition of Rights (1628):** It is a document that sets out specific liberties of the subject that the king is prohibited from infringing.
- **The Bill of Rights (1689):** It is an act of the Parliament that laid down limits on the powers of the crown and sets out the rights of Parliament and rules for freedom of speech in Parliament, the requirement to regular elections to Parliament and the right to petition the monarch without fear of retribution.

2. Acts of the Parliament

The laws made by the parliament from time to time have also contributed and furthered the transition to constitutional government in Britain e.g.

- The act of Habeas corpus (1679)
- The act of settlement (1701)
- Reform acts of (1832,1867,1884,1918,1928)
- Acts of parliament (1911, 1949)

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3. Judicial Decisions

These are also important sources of the British constitution. Judicial decisions explain and interpret the rules and statutes passed by the parliament.

4. Common Law

Common laws are also a very important source of British constitution. Especially relating to the liberty of the subjects, i.e., many basic rights of the people e.g. jury trial, freedom of speech and assembly are based on common law as practiced by various courts in the country.

(B) The Conventions of the Constitution

The conventions are not recognized or enforced by any court. These are highly respected by the British electorate and leadership. The conventions of the British constitution are actually of an unwritten character. They form an important part of the constitution. They are important because they have enabled the British political system to adopt itself to the changing needs of the time. Some of these conventions are:

1. The British monarch cannot veto the bills passed by the parliament.
2. The sovereign invites the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons to form the cabinet.
3. The Prime Minister and Finance Minister are both from the House of Commons
4. The money bills originate in the House of Commons.
5. The cabinet remains in power as long as it enjoys the confidence of the majority party in the House of Commons, otherwise it has to resign.
6. All the civil servants are tried in the same court like any other citizen

Sanctions behind the Conventions

The conventions are not enforced by the courts, then the questions arises, why do the people obey them? These are the sanctions behind the conventions:

- Force of law
- Respect for conventions
- Public opinion

A. Force of Law

According to Dicey, the conventions are observed because they are based on and sanctioned by law. The power behind them is the power of law. If, says Dicey, the conventions are not observed, it will almost immediately bring the offenders into conflict with the courts and the law of land. Dicey gives the following example: As the parliament has to meet at least in a year, suppose if the Prime Minister does not summon the parliament for two years, then no budget will be passed and no taxes will be collected. Therefore, although it is a convention but now it has the force of law behind it. Hence disregarding it will force the public official to commit illegal acts.

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B. Respect for Conventions

Lowell says that conventions are observed because they are a code of honour. They are the rules of game and the single class which has hitherto had the conduct of the English Public life almost entirely in its own hands, is the one which is peculiarly sensitive to such conventions. Thus, the respect for the conventions by the ruling class of Britain is the force behind them.

C. Public Opinion

Ogg says that the force behind the conventions is the force of the public opinion. The public wants their observance and it will not tolerate their violation e.g. public expects a cabinet defeated in the parliament to leave office when it has lost the confidence in the parliament. Dr. Jennings says that the force behind the conventions is the same as behind the law.

Case Study 2: Constitution of the USA

The present Federal government of U.S.A came into being in the year of 1789. The United States comprised of thirteen colonies of Great Britain. In the year 1776, these colonies at the Atlantic Coast rebelled against the mother country and became independent in 1783. During this period the revolted colonies established the “Articles of Confederation” as the first constitution in 1777. However, this system could not last very long. There was no separate common executive nor was there any independent judiciary. An effective central government was the fundamental need of the hour. A convention for the purpose of framing the constitution was convened at Philadelphia in 1787. Thus the constitution was framed on the basis of this convention and was signed by the delegates on September 17, 1787. This constitution came into force in 1789. Since then it has undergone many changes, one of them being the increase in the number of states from 13 in 1787 to 50 at present.

Sources of the Constitution

The following are the important sources of the American constitution

- (a) **Written Constitution of 1787:** The constitution was drafted by a convention held at Philadelphia. It came into force in 1789.
- (b) **Judicial Decisions:** The occasional interpretations of the constitution by the Supreme Court have introduced many important modifications in the constitution.
- (c) **Laws of Congress:** The framers of the constitutions laid down only the general outlines of the governmental structure. The details have been filled in by the laws passed by the Congress.
- (d) **Convention:** A convention is a custom which by long usage has acquired the force or sanctity of the constitution. These are also an important source of the American Constitution.
- (e) **Formal Amendments:** During the period of over 170 years, the American Constitution has undergone a number of amendments in the original document.

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Salient Features of American Constitution

The following are the salient features of the American constitution:

1. Written Constitution

Like the Indian Constitution, the first prominent feature of the American constitution is that it is a written or documentary. It is very brief document and contains about 4000 words and at least 10—12 pages. It consists of a preamble and seven articles only. The framers laid down only the fundamental principles and did not bother about the details. However, this does not mean that all the rules of the American constitution are to be found only in one document. It proclaims itself to be the ‘Supreme law of the Land’.

2. Rigid

Another feature of the American constitution is that it is rigid, which means that it cannot be amended by the congress by the ordinary procedure. The procedure is very intricate and difficult. It is, therefore, rightly remarked that “it the founding fathers were to return to life today, they would not find it difficult to recognize handiwork.

3. Federal in Nature

Another important feature of the American constitution is that it is federal in structure. Federalism is a device by which independent states form a union without losing their identity. The American states are units having autonomous powers; the centre cannot meddle in their affairs.

4. Separation of Powers

The American constitution is based on the principle of ‘separation of powers’. The framers of the constitution believed that the separation of various organs of the government was necessary to ensure individual liberty and to check despotism. They, therefore, gave the presidential system to their people. In the U.S, all the executive power is enjoyed by the President; he is not responsible to the legislative. The legislative powers have been vested in the Congress. The judicial powers are vested in the Supreme Court.

5. Checks and Balances

The framers of the U.S constitution were aware that a department, if left unchecked, would become oppressive. They, therefore, introduced checks and balances in the constitution. Thus, Congress has been given a share in the executive powers. It can check the president’s powers of making treaties and appointments. Similarly, the President enjoys the powers of suspense veto. By using this power he can influence legislation. He also enjoys judicial powers of giving pardons and reprieves.

6. Judicial Independence

The direct consequence of separation of powers is the doctrine of judicial independence. The concept of the independence of the judiciary in the American Constitution was the most important concept that was borrowed by the makers of the Indian Constitution. In the United States, all the judicial powers are enjoyed by the Supreme Court and other federal courts, no other office can influence its independence.

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7. Judicial Review

An important feature of the American constitution is the power of Judicial Review. This is another concept that was borrowed by the Indian constitutional makers. The Supreme court in the U.S is supreme not only in theory but also in practice. In the United States all the laws passed by the congress and state legislatures are subject to judicial review.

8. Fundamental Rights and Liberty

Another important feature of the American constitution is that it ensures certain fundamental rights for every American citizen, of which he cannot be deprived by any lawful authority. Freedom of religious worship, freedom of speech and press, right to assemble peacefully and property rights etc. are some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by the U.S citizens. The Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution is similar to the Fundamental Rights of the American Constitution.

9. Popular Sovereignty

The US constitution establishes the popular sovereignty of the people. The preamble of the constitution runs thus: 'We, the people of United States, in order to form a perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, promote general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty ourselves, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America'

10. Limited Government

Another important feature is the doctrine of limited government. Unlimited powers of the government would make them despotic which would lead to tyranny and violence. In U.K, the Parliament is supreme whereas in United States the constitution is supreme and the powers of the government organs are limited.

11. Bicameral Legislature

In United States, congress is the parliament, which consists of two houses: the Senate and the House of Representatives. This means that the type of legislation in U.S is bi-cameral.

12. Dual Citizenship

Every American citizen is entitled to the right of dual citizenship. First of all, he is the citizen of America and secondly he is the citizen of that state in which he lives. The feature of dual citizenship was introduced in the American constitution by the 4th amendment. This feature is in contrast to the Indian Constitution where there is only one citizenship; all Indians are the Citizens of the Republic of India only.

Case Study 3: France

France is a republic and in France it is by the constitution that the institutions that govern the nation, or the institution of governance have been defined, majorly by the constitution which is in force currently. This is the constitution of the Fifth Republic. From the time of the Fifth Republic, the Constitution got modified as many as seventeen times and the last time that it was modified

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was in 2008, July. This change was brought about when the “Congress” (French Parliament’s both chambers’ joint convention) approved President Sarkozy’s proposed constitutional changes by one vote over the 60% required majority. The constitution of French is a parliamentary one which also rests greater powers in the executive (the President and the Ministers) in comparison to the democracies of the western world.

In France, in 1958 the Fifth Republic was instituted. The main persons who are attributed with this are General de Gaulle and Michel Debré. General de Gaulle was also the first president of the Fifth Republic and Michel Debré was the prime minister.

Out of the five republics of France, four of them have a President as the head of state. This makes the French presidency the oldest presidency of Europe which exists even today. Nevertheless, in the constitution of each of the five republics, the duties, functions and powers of the President and the President’s relation with French governments have differed. During the time of both the Third Republic and the Fourth Republic, both being parliamentary systems, the President of the Republic’s office was mainly ceremonial with no power. It was under the Fifth Republic that there has been a tremendous increase in the power of the President of the Republic. In the current times, the President holds the most powerful position in the political system of France.

Some duties and powers of the French President include:

- Power to dismiss the National Assembly
- Power to call referenda
- Negotiating all foreign treaties
- Heading the armed forces
- Chairing the Higher Council of the Judiciary
- Chairing the Council of Ministers
- Appointing the Prime Minister
- Appointing the members of the highest appellate court
- Appointing the members of the Constitutional Court

While the above are the powers that the President holds, every domestic decision that is taken by the President has to have the stamp of approval of the Prime Minister.

From 1875 right up till 2008, the President was not allowed to personally be present in the National Assembly or the Senate. This was done to ensure that the legislature and the executive were kept separate. Then, in 2008, by a constitutional amendment the President was allowed to convene the Congress of the French Parliament for making a declaration. This declaration could be followed by a debate in the absence of the President.

The Executive

The President is the head of the Executive as well as of the state. The president is an elected representative who is elected through universal suffrage. The President of the French Republic resides at the Elysée Palace (*le palais de l’Elysée*) in Paris. May 2012 till date, the President of France is François

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Hollande. To begin with, in France, the president of the Fifth Republic used to hold office for a term of seven years (*le septennat*), and there was no limit on how many number of times the same person could be elected President. But, 2002 onwards, the term of office has been reduced to five years (*le quinquennat*). With the constitutional reforms of 2008 there is a restriction of two terms placed on the same person holding the post of President.

Persons who are candidates for Presidency need to obtain 500 sponsoring signatures of elected officials of a minimum of 30 departments or territories overseas. The President is directly elected via a voting system comprising two stages. The candidate to obtain over 50% vote in the first round gets elected. On the other hand, if none of the candidates manage to get 50% of the votes, then there will be a second round and this round will be a run-off between those two candidates who attained the top votes during the first round of voting. An important thing to remember here is that the elections always take place on Sunday.

Besides being the head of the state and of the executive, the President even has the responsibility of being the supreme commander of the military. In this capacity, the president along with his Council of Ministers (*Conseil des ministres*), works out the policy for the state.

The Prime Minister is appointed by the President. Presently, Manuel Valls is the Prime Minister of the Fifth Republic. The Prime Minister holds the responsibility of forming the government. The Prime Minister of France also resided in Paris, at Matignon House (*l'Hôtel Matignon*).

Though theoretically it is the Prime Minister who chooses the ministers, in reality till the situation is not of *la cohabitation* (the Prime Minister and the President being from opposite sides), forming the government is the joint work of the PM and the President. It is essential that the President affix an approval on the government ministers' appointments.

The cabinet of ministers (*le Conseil des ministres*) meets each week. The President chairs the meetings of the Cabinet. Policies are determined by the ministers and they also bring all new legislation to the Parliament in the form of bills (*projets de loi*) inside of the framework of current law. The ministers are also responsible for applying policy through decrees (*décrets*).

Within the political system of France, between the President (highest authority in the state) and the Prime Minister (second-highest authority in the state), the relationship is of prime importance. There will be times when the President and the Prime Minister will belong to different parties or even be part of different political spectrum, of political persuasion. This did happen during 1986, 1993 and 1997 and when this happens, the two heads need to work with '*cohabitation*'.

In May 2012, in the second round of the Presidential election by the Socialist Party candidate François Hollande beat Nicolas Sarkozy, the incumbent President and candidate of the conservative UMP. François Hollande obtained 51.63% of the vote. In 17 years, this was the first time that a socialist President had been elected. François Hollande made himself so unpopular during the voting that he was nicknamed Monsieur Flanby (a wobbly French pudding).

France will hold its next Presidential election in May of 2017.

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The Legislative

The Parliament in France comprises two Chambers or Houses. Its lower house is the principal house and is referred to as *Assemblée nationale*, meaning national assembly. Its other house or chamber is the *Sénat* or the Senate.

The National Assembly has 577 seats which are represented by single-member constituencies. Even the 2.5 million French people who live abroad are given the opportunity to cast their vote in one of 11 constituencies grouping areas of the world together.

The specialized task of the National Assembly is to scrutinize the government's day-to-day business. If a disagreement arises with the Senate, it is the National Assembly's position which will prevail. It has been argued by critics that as far as setting its agenda is concerned, the Assembly has been found to be weak, and it is also weak when it comes to holding the executive to account.

The Senate is the upper house of Parliament in France. Currently, the Senate comprises 348 seats and this number changes based on change in population. Of the 348 seats: 323 represent mainland France, 13 represent French overseas territories, and 12 represent French nationals abroad.

The Members of Parliament are known as *Députés*. They get elected through universal suffrage, in general elections (*élections législatives*) which are held every five years. The Senators get elected by 'grand electors'. Even the Parliament elections are conducted in two stages. If in the first round itself a candidate manages to get an absolute majority of votes that have been cast, the candidate stands elected. The purpose of the second round is of a runoff between two or more candidates, but generally between two candidates. The second round is held a week after the first round.

The Senators are chosen by "grands électeurs" who are the mayors and other locally elected representatives.

The Judiciary

While *le Garde des Sceaux* (Minister of Justice) has the power over the running of the justice system and public prosecutors, France has a highly independent judiciary which is independent of the legislative and the executive branches. The French civil law is laid out in the handbook known as *Code Civil*.

In France, there exists a civil legal system, implying that law arises mainly from statutes that are written down and the judges have to interpret this written law and not make their own laws. The basic principles of France's rule of law are those which had been laid down in the Napoleonic Code.

France's highest appellate court (court of appeal) is called the Cour de Cassation. It is the responsibility of the President to appoint the six chief judges. Cour de Cassation does not possess the power of judicial review. This power rests with a separate Constitutional Court. This division of power was established by the Fifth Republic. The Constitutional court comprises nine members: one appointment made by each of the following:

- The President
- President of the Senate
- President of the National Assembly

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The appointments are made once in three years for a nine years term. A member cannot be reappointed. Such a system is in direct contrast with the system being followed in the United States of America where all appointments that are made to the Supreme Court are made by the President and these appointments are made for life, not a restricted number of years.

The French Republic's former Presidents are referred to as "les sages" which translated into English means 'the wise'. They are all *de jure* members of the Constitutional Court. Presently there are three such members, which has brought the membership of the court to 12 members.

The meetings of the court are infrequent. It meets only when there is referral of legislation by the Parliament, the Prime Minister or the President.

Political Parties

As of 2015, the Socialist Party governs in France.

In France, the main political parties are:

On the right: The Popular Union Movement (UMP - *Union pour un Mouvement Populaire*),

Centre right: The New Centre (*Nouveau Centre*), and the Union of Democrats and Independents (launched in 2012) *l'Union des démocrates et indépendants*,

Centre : The Democratic Movement (*Mouvement Démocratique*, MoDem)

On the left: The Socialist party (*Parti Socialiste*, PS) - since June 2012 the party has been in power.

The Radical left (*les Radicaux de gauche* - a centre left group)

The French Communist Party (*parti Communiste Français* - PCF).

The Green Party (*EELV - Europe Ecologie Les Verts*)

In France, there have been extremely resilient extremist parties on both the right and the left, including the NPA (*Nouveau parti anticapitaliste*) and the trotskyst Workers' Party (*Lutte ouvrière*), and the National Front (*Front National*).

As opposed to majority of the world democracies, in France, the greater number of national politicians are found to be former civil servants and they are the ones who held high ranks. In France, politics is taken extremely seriously and a high degree of voter participation is found. In the Presidential election of 2012 election, it touched 79.48%.

Case Study 4: Germany

Germany (*Deutschland* in German), is officially referred to as the Federal Republic of Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland* in German). Germany is located in West-Central Europe and is a federal parliamentary republic. It comprises sixteen constituent states.

The capital of Germany is Berlin, its largest city. Second only to the United States of America, Germany is the most popular migration destination.

In the 21st century, Germany is a developed country with an extremely high living standard and there is a productive and skilled society to sustain it. Both

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universal health care and social security are upheld by it as also tuition-free university education and environmental protection.

Constitution

Much like United Kingdom, Germany is a parliamentary system.

The basic law for the Federal Republic of Germany is the constitution of Germany. It formally got approved on 8 May 1949, then was signed by the Allies of World War II on 12 May, and became effective on 23 May, as the constitution of those states of West Germany, as this was included within the Federal Republic to begin with.

It considered that the Basic Law of 1949 was a response to the perceived flaws of the 1919 Weimar Constitution, which was unable to stop the Nazi party from rising to power in 1933.

The Executive

Head of State

The politics of the day and the government are run in Germany by its parliamentary system of government, the Federal Chancellor. Nevertheless, the President also has certain roles and responsibilities. By public appearance and action, the Federal President is representative of the very state, its unity, legitimacy and existence. There, an integrative role is held by the office of the President, and it also holds the control function of upholding the constitution and the law. The office also has what is referred to as the “political reserve function” which is used in crisis situations in a parliamentary system of government. The Federal President provides guidance and direction to the general societal as well as political debates and holds unto himself certain key “reserve powers” to use in a situation of political instability. Some of these powers are listed out under Article 81 of the Basic Law. Under Article 59 (1) of the Basic Law (German Constitution), it is for the Federal President to represent the Federal Republic of Germany in matters of international law, to conclude treaties with foreign states on its behalf and perform accreditation of diplomats. Before they can become effective, the President needs to sign all federal laws. Power of Veto does not rest with the German president. Nevertheless, conditions for refusing to sign a law on the basis of unconstitutionality are the subject of debate.

Head of Government

The federal chancellor or the *Bundeskanzler* is the head of the federal government or the *Bundesregierung* and in as much is the federal government’s executive branch. The federal chancellor is both elected by and responsible to the *Bundestag*, the parliament of Germany. The government also has Federal Ministers whom the Chancellor selects.

Other than during 1969–72 and 1976–82, the periods during which the Social Democratic party of Chancellor Brandt and Schmidt stood second in the elections, the post of Chancellor has been held by a candidate from the largest party, usually supported by a coalition of two parties with a majority in the parliament.

A minister of the Chancellor appoints the Vice-Chancellor who is known as *Vizekanzler*. The office of the Vice-chancellor is not so much of importance as it is indicative of who is the main cabinet member as far as the smaller coalition partner is concerned.

Cabinet

The German Cabinet is known as *Bundeskabinett* or *Bundesregierung*. For the Federal Republic of Germany, this is the chief executive body. The German Cabinet comprises the cabinet ministers and the chancellor. The Basic Law's Article 62-69 lays down the fundamentals of the organization of the cabinet.

Legislature

There is a division of the Federal legislative power between the *Bundesrat* and the *Bundestag*. The people of Germany directly elect the *Bundestag*, and the *Bundesrat* represents the governments of the regional states (*Länder*). With the federal legislature rests the powers of both concurrent jurisdiction and exclusive jurisdiction with the states in areas specified in the constitution.

The *Bundesrat* holds less power than the *Bundestag*. The latter only requires the former's consent for proposed legislation related to revenue shared by the federal and state governments, and the imposition of responsibilities on the states. Nevertheless, when it comes to actual practice, generally there is need for the agreement of the *Bundesrat* in the legislative process, due to the fact that oftentimes the federal legislation must be executed by local or state agencies. If disagreement arises between the *Bundesrat* and the *Bundestag* on any matter, a conciliation committee is set up which enables the reaching of a compromise.

Bundestag

The term of office of a Federal Diet, *Bundestag*, is four years. This is an elected body which has 598 or more members who are elected based on mixed-member proportional representation. This is referred to in Germany as "personalized proportional representation." Of the total, 299 members are from single-seat constituencies and these members are elected by a 'first past the post electoral' system. Such parties that get lesser constituency seats than their national share of the vote get allocated seats from party lists for making up for the difference. On the other hand, such parties that get a greater number of constituency seats than their national share of the vote are allowed to hold on to these 'overhang seats'. The election of 2009 has 24 overhang seats, and due to this strength of the *Bundestag* is up to 622.

It is essential for a party to obtain either of the two to be eligible for non-constituency seats in the *Bundestag*: obtain 5% of the national vote or win a minimum of 3 directly elected seats. Often referred to as "five percent hurdle", this rule was adopted for the election law in Germany for preventing political fragmentation and strong minor parties. The first elections to the *Bundestag* took place in the Federal Republic of Germany ("West Germany") on 14 August 1949. After the reunification, it was on 2 December 1990 that the elections for the first all-German *Bundestag* took place. Germany's last federal election was conducted on 22 September 2013.

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Judiciary

In Germany, its judicial system is made up of courts of three types. These are:

- **Ordinary courts:** Such courts deal with criminal and most civil cases. They are the largest in number. *Bundesgerichtshof*, or the Federal Court of Justice of Germany, is the country's highest ordinary court. It is also the highest appellate court.
- **Specialized courts:** Such courts are meant for the purpose of hearing cases related to fiscal, social, labour, administrative and patent law.
- **Constitutional courts:** The focus of such courts is on constitutional interpretation and judicial review. The *Bundesverfassungsgericht*, or the Federal Constitutional Court, is the highest court that looks into matters concerned with the constitution.

The key difference between the Federal Court of Justice and the Federal Constitutional Court lies in the fact that the Federal Constitutional Court is called only for such cases where the constitutional matter is in question (like, human rights being possibly violation during a criminal trial), and it is possible to call the Federal Court of Justice during any case.

Foreign Relations

A key area of the foreign policy of Germany is its policy on foreign aid. This is formulated by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and implemented by the various organizations setup for the purpose of implementation. According to the government of Germany, development policy has to be the international community's joint responsibility. After the United States and France, Germany is the third largest donor of aid in the world. Germany spent 0.37 per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP) on development, a figure lower than the government's target of increasing aid to 0.51 per cent of GDP as of 2010.

Administrative Divisions

In Germany, there are 13 states that are together known as *Länder*. Since the states vary in population and size, there is a difference in the subdivision of these states, more so between *Stadtstaaten* (city states) and *Flächenländer* (states with larger territories). For the purpose of regional administration, the five states of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Saxony, comprise twenty-two *Regierungsbezirke* (Government Districts). In the year 2009, Germany stood divided into 403 *Kreise* (districts) on municipal level, these consist of 301 rural districts and 102 urban districts.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. What are egalitarian regimes?
10. When was the term-limit law enforced?

3.6 SUMMARY

- The term ‘political system’ consists of two words—political and system. The first word ‘political’ refers to subsistence and role of the state in empirical terms. The second word ‘system’ entails a set of parts in interdependence as well as in operation.
- There are various degrees of authoritarianism; even very democratic and liberal states will show authoritarianism to some extent, for example in areas of national security.
- There are many critics of authoritarianism, most of which at the same time support democracy.
- In government, authoritarianism denotes any political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or small elite that is not constitutionally responsible to the body of people.
- Democracy means the power or rule of the people.
- Democracy is of two types, viz., direct democracy and indirect democracy or representative democracy.
- Democracy has certain characteristics. R. M. MacIver says that democracy is not a way of governing, whether, by majority or otherwise, but primarily, a way of determining who shall govern and broadly to what ends.
- Democracy is a very old form of government and so its theory dates back to the days of the Greeks who identified it with ‘people’s power’ (Pericles), or a system in which ‘rulers are accountable to the people for what they do therein’ (Herodotus).
- Certain conditions are necessary for democracy to be successful. Aristotle pointed out to the economic basis of politics. Politics cannot succeed unless people are economically sound and there is no great gulf between the rich and poor.
- Totalitarianism is a form of government which came into prominence after the First World War. After the war, countries tried to set up democratic governments such as the Weimar republic.
- Unlike democratic rule, under totalitarianism, people have no right to speak, to form political parties, or even choose their religion.
- Totalitarianism has a huge impact on technology and science. Scientists in a totalitarian country have restrictions as to what to invent.
- When we debate over the issue of centralization and decentralization in terms of a contemporary perspective, we are basically marking the end of an ancient period and the beginning of a new epoch.
- The ancient kind of federalism does not exist anymore and the same can be said about constitutional government, which is gradually diminishing. In

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contemporary terms, centralization and decentralization gained momentum in the year 1984.

- In a democratic situation, the leaders have a certain limit and they are restrained to a certain extent because of factors such as constitutions, party, electoral institutions, federal pacts and many other social factors.
- The word ‘dictatorship’ implies the ‘unrestricted domination of the state by an individual, a clique, or a small group’.
- As a term ‘dictatorship’ is not just a political system’s governing principle but is even an ideology which is at the crux of the way of life and a normative expression of political behaviour.

3.7 KEY TERMS

- **Direct democracy:** In direct democracy, people directly participated in the affairs of the government.
- **Rule of law:** It means the supremacy of law as against that of man. It also stands for equality of law.
- **Recall:** It means withdrawing the representatives from the Assembly or legislature if they do not work for the betterment of the people.
- **Political democracy:** In the political sphere, it stands for liberty, freedom of speech and expression, majority rule and tolerance of the views of the minorities.
- **Totalitarianism:** This form of political system has ‘total’ control over their people; restricts people from thinking.

3.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Some merits of direct democracy are:
 - It enables the people to get experience of government and administration.
 - It makes the government responsible.
 - It creates a sense of responsibility and patriotism among people.
 - It enhances political consciousness of people.
 - It keeps voters in touch with the government.
2. Indirect democracy has the following features:
 - It is a representative form of government in which people’s representatives take decisions.
 - Sovereignty is vested in the people.
 - Government works on behalf of the people.
 - People do not get a chance to participate in the affairs of the state.

3. In some Cantons of Switzerland, the institution of *landsgemeinde* or open assembly prevails. There, like the city state of Greece, people gather at a particular place and decide their own affairs. In this sense, it is similar to direct democracy, which prevailed in the Greek city states.
4. The different forms of dictatorship specified by Franz L. Neumann are:
 - Simple dictatorship
 - Caesaristic dictatorship
 - Totalitarian dictatorship
5. Under oriental despotism, the ruler was vested the highest secular authority in totality and religious authority in part. The regime of the despot had its basis in the army and the bureaucracy of the state, yet remained non-totalitarian. While the servants were to be obedient and completely submissive to the ruler, the ruler has respect for human rights of social groups lying beyond his state's purview.
6. In a constitutional dictatorship there exists proper respect for the limits that the constitution has fixed. The main purpose and function of a constitutional dictatorship is restoring and protecting the traditional legal order in situations of crisis or during periods of emergency.
7. Liberalism is a political philosophy that is centered on the freedom of an individual. The Indian Constitution contains many features that make it liberal in nature, the most important being the section on fundamental rights.
8. The parliamentary system has been borrowed from England, the concept of independent judiciary and judicial review and fundamental rights from the US Constitution, the federal features from Canada and the Directive Principles from Ireland. Many provisions related to administration have been taken from the Government of India Act, 1935.
9. Egalitarian regimes are distinguished through a voluntary kind of organization, wherein all members are basically equal in their resources, in addition to their decision making powers.
10. The term limit law was enforced in 1990 by California.

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3.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Differentiate between direct and indirect democracy.
2. State the political, social and economic dimensions of democracy.
3. Write a short note on the basic structure of the Indian Constitution.
4. What is elite related rule?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the classical theory of democracy.
2. Discuss the different dictatorship models in detail.
3. Describe the salient features of the Indian Constitution and also state its sources.
4. 'Decentralization, which is based upon spontaneous rearrangements amid independent entities, only exists because of the virtue of dissimilarity.' Discuss.

3.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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Structure

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- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Modernization and Political Development
 - 4.2.1 Political Modernization
 - 4.2.2 Theories and Bases of Modernization
- 4.3 Underdevelopment
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- 4.5 Social Movements
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- 4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.10 Questions and Exercises
- 4.11 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The origin of the term 'Political Development' can be traced back to the 1950's when a large number of American political scientists were attempting to study the political dynamics of the newly emerging countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Huge amounts of statistical and quantitative data on the social, political, economic and demographic aspects of these nations were collected to analyse their attitudes, values and behaviour patterns.

In this unit, the concept and theories of modernization and political development, the history of social movements and the role of non-governmental organizations have been discussed in detail.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the concept of modernization and political development
- Describe the various approaches to political development
- Discuss the features and theories of political modernization
- Analyse the concept of underdevelopment

- Discuss the various theories of revolution
- List some of the important social movements of India
- Describe the role of non-governmental organizations

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4.2 MODERNIZATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The concept of political development is derived from the liberal tradition of the West. It projects Western liberal democracy as the model of a developed society. Since it is also regarded as the modern society, development is sometimes described as modernization, and political development is conceived as political modernization. In short, modernization stands for the process of transition of a society from traditional values and institutions to modern ways of life. Generally traditional values and institutions are regarded as fit for an agrarian economy and society whereas modern ways of life are regarded as fit for industrial and technology based society. It is believed that only the modern system is capable of fulfilling the needs and aspirations of the modern man.

Sharing the concern of other social scientists with the great dichotomy of modernity and tradition and the grand process of modernization, political scientists in the 1960s began to pursue more actively their interests in what was variously called political modernization or political development. Their starting point was the concepts of tradition and modernity; eventually this essentially comparative and static focus gave way to a more dynamic and development oriented set of concerns. This shift can be clearly seen in the work of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Committee on Comparative Politics and particularly of Gabriel Almond, its chairman and intellectual leader during the 1950s and early 1960s.

The volume which undoubtedly played the major role in first focusing the attention of political scientists on developmental problems was *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, edited by Almond and James S. Coleman and published in 1960 under the sponsorship of the Comparative Politics Committee and the Princeton Center for International Studies.

The bulk of the book consisted of descriptions and analyses in terms of a common format of politics in five developing areas. The principal intellectual impact of the book, however, came from the introduction by Almond and, to a lesser degree, the conclusion by Coleman. This impact was very largely the result of their application to the politics of non-Western countries of a general concept of the political system. Almond used this framework to distinguish between developed and under-developed or developing political systems. Developed political systems are characteristic of modern societies and under-developed ones of traditional societies.

Almond's concepts of traditionalist and of modernity or, as he seemed to prefer, rationality are described in Parson as the terms derived from the central stream of sociological analysis. Almond's distinctive contribution in this respect, however, was the insistence that all political systems are culturally mixed, combining elements of modernity and tradition. All political systems, the developed Western

ones as well as the less developed non-Western ones, are transitional systems. He was appropriately critical of some sociological theorists for promoting an unfortunate theoretical polarization in not recognizing this dualistic quality of political systems.

This book is concerned with the analysis of the political systems of societies which are presumed to be developing (or modernizing) and the comparison of those systems with the political systems presumed to exist in modern societies. Its key categories are system, role, culture, structure, function and socialization. With the possible exception of socialization, no one of these refers to a dynamic process. They are categories essential to the comparative analysis of political systems; they are not oriented to the change and development of political systems. Almond posited a number of functions which must be performed in any political system and then compared systems in terms of the structures which perform those functions. What we have done, he said, is to separate political function from political structure. Almond also argued, we need dualistic models rather than monistic ones, and developmental as well as equilibrium models if we are to understand differences precisely and grapple effectively with the processes of political change.

In this work, Almond and his associates presented the elements of a dualistic model of the political system, but they did not attempt to present a developmental model which would contribute to the understanding of the processes of political change. For Almond that task came six years later with another major theoretical work co-authored with C. Bingham Powell. Unlike the earlier volume, this book was concerned with political dynamics and focused explicitly on political development as a subject and as a concept. Almond and Powell argued that political development is the response of the political system to changes in its societal or international environments and, in particular, the response of the system to the challenges of State building, nation building, participation and distribution.

Political development itself was thought of primarily in terms of political modernization. The three criteria of political development were held to be, structural differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularizing factor. Almond, thus came face to face with the problem which was gripping many other political scientists at that time: What is political development?

In 1965 Lucian W. Pye compiled a fairly comprehensive listing of ten meanings which had been attributed to the concept of political development:

- The political prerequisite of economic development
- The politics typical of industrial societies
- Political modernization
- The operation of a nation state
- Administrative and legal development
- Mass mobilization and participation
- The building of democracy
- Stability and orderly change
- Mobilization and power
- One aspect of a multidimensional process of social change

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In a noble effort at synthesis, Pye attempted to summarize the most prevalent common themes on political development as involving movement toward: increasing equality among individuals in relation to the political system; increasing capacity of the political system in relation to its environments; and increasing differentiation of institutions and structures within the political system. These three dimensions, he argued, are to be found lying at the heart of the development process. In a similar vein, another effort to generalize about definitions of political development found four of recurring concepts: rationalization, national integration, democratization, and mobilization or participation.

This quest for political development, in John Montgomery's phrase, necessarily led political scientists to grapple with three more general issues. First, what was the relationship between political development and political modernization? The tendency was to think of political development as virtually identical with political modernization. Political development was one element of the modernization syndrome. Political scientists might disagree as to what types of change constituted political development, but whatever they did choose was almost invariably thought of as a part of the more general process of modernization. The principal dissent from this point of view came in 1965 from Samuel P. Huntington, who argued that it was highly desirable to distinguish between political development and modernization. The identification of the two, he said, limited too drastically the applicability of the concept of political development in both time and space. It became restricted to a particular phase of historical evolution, and hence, it was impossible to talk about the political development of the Greek City-State or of the Roman Empire. In addition, political development as political modernization made the former a rather confusing complex concept, tended to reduce its empirical relevance, and made it difficult if not impossible to conceive of its reversibility, i.e., to talk about political decay.

A second issue which political scientists had to deal with in their definitional efforts was whether political development was a unitary or a complex concept. Since so many people had so many ideas as to what constituted political development, the prevalent tendency was to think of it as a complex concept. This tendency was explained or, perhaps, rationalized by Pye on the grounds that the multifunction character of politics means that no single scale can be used for measuring the degree of political development. Hence, most scholars used several dimensions: Pye himself, as indicated above, suggested three; Almond also had three; Ward and Rustow, eight; Emerson, five; Eisenstadt, four. This all seems very reasonable, since political development clearly would appear to be a complex process. Yet, obviously also, this approach can lead to difficulties. What are the relationships among the component elements of political development? Thus, although Pye argued that equality, capacity and differentiation constitute the development syndrome, he also had to admit that these do not necessarily fit easily together. On the contrary, historically the tendency has usually been that there are acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity, and the processes of greater differentiation. In a similar vein, Almond argued that there is a tendency for role differentiation, subsystem autonomy and secularization to vary together, but that the relation between each pair of these three variables is not a necessary and invariant one. Almond,

indeed, presented a two-way matrix with secularization and differentiation on one axis and subsystem autonomy on the other. He found some type of political system to occupy each of the nine boxes in his matrix. The question thus necessarily arises: What does political development mean if it can mean everything? On the other hand, if political development is defined as a unitary concept, the tendency is either to define it narrowly as Huntington, for instance, did in identifying it exclusively with institutionalization and thus to rob it of many of the connotations and the richness usually associated with it, or to define it very generally, as for instance Alfred Diamant did which in effect, masks a complex concept under a unitary label.

A third problem in the definitional quest concerned the extent to which political development was a descriptive concept or a teleological one. If it was the former, it presumably referred either to a single process or to a group of processes which could be defined, in terms of their inherent characteristics, as processes. If it was a teleological concept, on the other hand, it was conceived as movement toward a particular goal. It was defined not in terms of its content but in terms of its direction. As in the more general case of modernization, the goals of political development were, of course, valued positively.

The definition of political development in terms of goals would not have created difficulties if there were clear cut criteria and reasonably accurate indices (e.g., the political equivalent of per capita Gross National Product) to measure progress toward those goals. In the absence of these, however, there was a strong tendency to assume that, since both scholarly analyst and, presumably, the political actors he was analysing, wanted political development, it was therefore occurring. The result was that almost anything that happens in the developing countries coups, ethnic struggles, revolutionary wars becomes part of the process of development, however contradictory or retrogressive this may appear on the surface. These definitional problems raised very real questions about the usefulness of political development as a concept. Referring to Pye's list of ten definitions, Rustow argued that this is obviously at least 'nine' too many. In truth, however, one should go one step further. If there are ten definitions of political development, there are ten too many, and the concept is, in all likelihood, superfluous and dysfunctional.

In the social sciences, concepts are useful if they perform an aggregating function, that is, if they provide an umbrella for a number of sub-concepts which do share something in common. Modernization is, in this sense, an umbrella concept. Or, concepts are useful because they perform a distinguishing function, that is, because they help to separate out two or more forms of something which would otherwise be thought of as undifferentiated. In this sense, manifest functions and latent functions are distinguishing concepts.

Political development in general is of dubious usefulness in either of these ways. To the extent that political development is thought of as an umbrella concept encompassing a multiplicity of different processes, as in the Almond and Pye cases discussed earlier, these processes often turn out to have little in common except the label which is attached to them. No one has yet been able to say of the various elements subsumed under the label political development what Lerner, at a different

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level, was able to say about the broader processes subsumed under the label modernization: that they went together because in some historical sense, they had to go together. Instead, it is clear that the elements included in most complex definitions of political development do not have to go together and, in fact, often do not. In addition, if political development involves differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and secularization, as Almond suggests, do not the really interesting and important questions concern the relations among these three, as Almond himself implies in his conclusion? The use of the term political development may thus foster a misleading sense of coherence and compatibility among other processes and obscure crucial questions from discussion. To the extent, on the other hand, that political development is identified with a single, specific process, e.g., political institutionalization, its redundancy is all the more obvious. What is to be gained analytically by calling something which has a good name by a second name? As either an aggregating concept or a distinguishing concept, in short, political development is superfluous.

The popularity of the concept of political development among political scientists stems perhaps from the feeling that they should have a political equivalent to economic development. In this respect, political science finds itself in a familiar ambiguous methodological position between its two neighbouring disciplines. In terms of the scope of its subject matter, political science is narrower than sociology but broader than economics. In terms of the agreement within the discipline on goals, political scientists have more shared values than sociologists, but fewer than economists. Sociology is comprehensive in scope, economics is focused in its goals; political science is not quite one or the other. The eclecticism and diffuseness of sociological theory are excused by the extent of its subject. The narrowness and parochialism of economics are excused by the precision and elegance of its theory.

In this situation, it is quite natural for political scientists to borrow concepts from sociologists and to imitate concepts of economists. The sociological concept of modernization is, quite properly, extended and applied to political analysis. The concept of political development is created in the image of economic development. In terms of choosing its models, one might generalize, a discipline will usually tend to copy the more structured and scientific of its neighbouring disciplines. This leads to difficulties comparable to those normally associated with the phrase misplaced concreteness. Economists, it will be said, do differ over what they mean by economic development and how one measures it. These differences, however, shrink to insignificance in comparison to the difficulties which political scientists have with the term political development. If, on the other hand, political scientists had modelled themselves on the sociologists and talked about political change in imitation of social change rather than political development in imitation of economic development, they might have avoided many of the definitional and teleological problems in which they found themselves.

Characteristics of Political Development

Different writers have advanced different models of political development. Of these two are particularly important which are based on similar thinking. The first model advanced by James S. Coleman and Lucian Pye conceived of political development

as political modernization. In its view a modern political system is more efficient than a traditional political system in the same way as the modern industrial system is more efficient than traditional non-mechanized agriculture. Traditional political system was primarily concerned with the collection of taxes, law and order and defence but modern political system also plays an active role in improving the quality of life of its citizens apart from performing its traditional functions. Under traditional political system, people were not involved in politics; government simply exercised power over them. But under modern political system, people are closely associated with politics. They do convey their demands and opinions to government. They do express their support or opposition to government policies and decisions. Government broadly relies on legitimacy of its acts in order to secure the support and cooperation of the people. This model identifies three characteristics of political modernization:

- Differentiation
- Equality
- Capacity

Taken together they comprise development syndrome. Differentiation refers to the process of progressive separation and specialization of roles, institutional spheres and associations within the political system, e.g., the separation of occupational roles from kinship, of legal norms from religion, of administration from politics. Equality is regarded the ethos of modernity. It implies the notion of universal adult citizenship, legal equality of all citizens and the psychic equality of opportunity for all to gain excellence according to their respective talents and efforts. The subjects of traditional society become citizens of modern society. Modern political system encourages people's participation in the process of governance. This results in the greater respect for law. Capacity in this sense denotes the increased capacity of political system for the management of public affairs, control of disputes and coping up with the new demands of the people.

The second model of political development was advanced by Gabriel Almond and G. B. Powell.

Based on the structural functional analysis of political system, this model identifies three characteristics of political development:

- Structural differentiation
- Secularization of culture
- Expansion of capabilities

Structural differentiation implies the evolution of distinct structures and organs or institutions for the performance of different functions of political system. It operates at two levels:

- At input level, it envisages the emergence of suitable nongovernmental structures for performing the functions of political socialization (family, school, peer groups, etc.), interest articulation (interest groups), interest aggregation (political parties) and political communication (media of mass communication)

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- At output level, it stipulates separation of powers between different governmental organs for performing the functions of rule making (legislature), rule application (executive) and rule adjudication (judiciary). Secularization of culture denotes the process by which people gradually adopt more rational, empirical and analytical outlook in their political thinking and action. In particular, it requires transition from lower to higher levels of political culture, i.e., from parochial to subject, and from subject to participant political culture

Expansion of capabilities implies an increase in four types of capabilities of political system:

- Regulative capability (the capability of legitimate coercion to control the behaviour of individuals and groups)
- Extractive capability (the capability to appropriate the natural and human resources of society and international environment)
- Distributive capability (the capability to distribute various benefits of individuals and groups)
- Responsive capability (the capability to respond to the demands coming from society and international environment)

A balanced development requires that regulative and extractive capabilities of political system are suitably matched with its distributive and responsive capabilities.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of Political Development—Comparative Study

Political modernization model as enunciated by James Coleman and Lucian Pye	Political development model as enunciated by Gabriel Almond and G.B. Powell
Differentiation: The process of progressive separation and specialization of roles, institutional spheres and associations within political system	Structural Differentiation: The emergence of specific structures for the performance of specific functions both at input and output levels
Equality: Universal citizenship, legal equality and equality of opportunity	Secularization of Culture: Adoption of more national, empirical and analytical outlook leading to political participations as equal citizens
Capacity: Greater efficiency to fulfill needs and aspirations of the people	Expansion of capabilities: Balancing of regulative and extractive capabilities of political system with its distributive and responsive capabilities

If developing societies are able to develop these characteristics in their political systems, they are likely to prove more efficient in their political functioning. But each of these countries must combine these requisites with its own genius. Because of their large size, complex and multicultural character combined with the heritage

of communitarian sentiment, they should, not be reduced to competitive market societies in the name of their political development.

Approaches to Political Development

The study of political development is not the study of politics in societies at some given level of development. If this were the case, there would be few if any studies of politics which were not studies in political development, since those polities which are usually assumed to be developed are also presumably still developing. Yet not infrequently studies in the politics of less developed societies are treated as if they were studies in political development. Tunisia, it is said, is a developing society; therefore, its polity is developing polity. Hence, a study in Tunisian politics is a study in political development. The fallacy here is to look at the subject of the study rather than at the concepts with which that subject is studied. Depending on the concepts which were used and hence, the questions which were asked, for instance, a study of John F. Kennedy's presidency might be a study in the uses of power, the institutionalization of an office, legislative executive relations, consensus building, the psychology of leadership, the role of intellectuals in politics. Or it could, conceivably, be a study in political development or political change. Exactly the same possibilities would exist for a study of Habib Bourguiba's presidency. There is nothing in the latter which makes it inherently more developmental than the former. Precisely the same is true for the innumerable studies of the role of the military, bureaucracy and political parties in developing societies. More likely than not, these are simply studies of particular institutions in particular types of societies rather than studies in change or development. Depending upon the conceptual framework with which these subjects were approached, they could just as easily be studies in civil military relations, organizational behaviour, and political behaviour, as studies in political development. They are the latter only if the categories employed are formulated in terms of change.

It could, of course, be argued that change is so all pervasive that it is virtually synonymous with politics itself, and hence it cannot be studied as a separate subject. The rejoinder is that, to be sure, politics is change, but politics is also ideas, values, institutions, groups, power, structures, conflict, communication, influence, interaction, law and organization. Politics can be studied, and has been studied, in terms of each of these concepts. Each sheds a different light on the subject, illuminates different areas, and suggests different relationships and generalizations. Why not also analyse politics in terms of change or development? In fact during the 1950s and 1960s a variety of scholars did just that. Many different approaches were employed. Without making any claim to inclusiveness or to systematic rigour, it is perhaps useful to focus on the three of these approaches: system function, social process and comparative history.

(i) System Function

In the analysis of political development, a close relation existed between systems theory, in the strict sense and structural functional theory. It is, indeed, impossible to apply a functional approach without employing some concept of the political system. The varieties of theory encompassed in this general category are reflected in the

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names: Talcott Parsons, Marion Levy, David Easton, Gabriel Almond, David Apter, Leonard Binder, Fred Riggs. The principal contribution of these scholars has been to develop a set of concepts and categories, central to which are those of system and function, for the analysis and comparison of types of political systems. Among their other key concepts are: structure, legitimacy, input and output, feedback, environment, equilibrium. These concepts and the theories associated with them provide an overall model of the political system and the basis for distinguishing types of political systems in terms of the structures which perform the functions which must be performed in all political systems.

The advantages of the system function approach clearly rest in the generality of the concepts which it deploys on the plains of analysis. One problem of the approach for the study of political change is the defect of this great virtue. It is primarily a conceptual framework. This framework does not necessarily in and of itself generate testable hypotheses or what are often referred to as middle-level generalizations. Scholars using the framework may come up with such hypotheses or generalizations, but it is an open question whether the conceptual framework is not more of a hindrance than a help in this respect. The approach itself provides little incentive for scholars to dig into empirical data. Indeed, the tendency is in just the opposite direction. The theory becomes an end in itself. It is striking how few facts there are not only in general works, such as Levy's two volumes, but even in case studies attempting to apply the system function approach to a specific society, such as Binder's study of Iran.

A more fundamental problem is that this approach does not inherently focus on the problem of change. It is possible to employ the concept of system in a dynamic context, focusing on lags, leads and feedback. In actuality, however, much of the theorizing on political development which started from a systems approach did not primarily employ these dynamic elements in that approach. The stress was on the elaboration of models of different types of political systems, not different types of change from one system to another. In his two volume opus, *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*, Levy, for instance, is overwhelmingly concerned with the second element in his two component title. The bulk of his work is devoted to discussing the characteristics of societies in general and then distinguishing between those of relatively modernized societies and of relatively non-modernized societies. The question of modernization and its political components gets short shrift in the first and last chapters of this 800 page work. As we noted earlier, Almond himself saw somewhat comparable limitations in the framework which he used in *The Politics of Developing Areas*. The elaborate and change-oriented scheme which he and Powell present in *Comparative Politics, A Developmental Approach* does not entirely escape from this difficulty. Among the works in the system function tradition, directly concerned with political development, David Apter's *The Politics of Modernization* has probably been most successful in bringing to the fore dynamic concerns with the rate, forms and sources of change. Yet to the extent that he has done this, it has in large part flowed from his independent concerns with normative questions and ideologies, which are derived from sources other than the system function framework which he also employs. The structural functional approach, as

Kalman Silvert has pointed out, was initially employed by social scientists interested in studying either very primitive societies (the anthropologists) or very complex societies (Parsons). It is an approach peculiarly limited in what it can contribute to the understanding of societies undergoing fundamental change. It is, moreover, rather ironic that political scientists should have seized upon this approach in order to study political change at the same time that the approach was coming under serious criticism within sociology because of its insensitivity to, and limited usefulness in, the study of change. As has often been pointed out, a related difficulty in attempting to deal with change in this intellectual context is the extent to which the concept equilibrium also tends to be implicitly or explicitly linked to the system function approach. The equilibrium concept presupposes the existence of a system composed of two or more functionally related variables. Changes in one variable produce changes in others. The concept, as Easton has pointed out, is closely linked with the ideas of multiple causation and pluralism. In addition, however, equilibrium also means that the variables in the system tend to maintain a particular pattern of interaction. In its pure form the theory conceives of equilibrium as a state of rest. In all forms it presupposes tendencies toward the restoration of an original condition or a theoretically defined condition of equilibrium.

Equilibrium theory has obvious limitations as a framework for exploring political change. As one sociologist observed, the theory does not attend to intrinsic sources of change, does not predict changes that have persistent directional (but only those that restore balance if that is disturbed), and thus does not readily handle past changes that clearly affect the current state of the system. In effect, change is viewed as an extraneous abnormality. It is held to be the result of strain or tension, which gives rise to compensating movements that tend to reduce the strain or tension and thus restore the original state. Change is unnatural; stability or rest is natural. Some thinkers have attempted to reconcile equilibrium and change through the concept of moving equilibrium. By itself, however, this concept is inadequate to account for change. If the equilibrium remains the same but is itself moving as a whole, the concept does not explain the cause or direction of its movement. If the equilibrium is itself changing, then moving equilibrium really means multiple equilibrium, and again some theory is necessary to explain the succession of one equilibrium by another.

(ii) Social Process

The social process approach to political development starts not with concepts of the social system and the political system but rather with a focus on social processes such as industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, literacy expansion, occupational mobility which are presumed to be part of modernization and to have implications for political change. The emphasis is on the process, not the system. The approach is more behaviourally and empirically oriented than the system function approach, and it typically leads to the accumulation of substantial amounts of data, often quantitative in nature (surveys or aggregate ecological data), about these social processes which it then tries to relate to political changes. While the scholar working with the system function approach typically attempts to impute functions, the scholar employing the social process approach attempts to correlate processes. He may be

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tempted to move beyond correlation to causation and to shed light on the latter through various techniques of causal or path analysis.

The scholars most prominently associated with this type of approach to political development and related questions in the 1950s and 1960s included Daniel Lerner, Karl Deutsch, Raymond Tanter, Hayward Alker, Phillips Cutright and Michael Hudson. The two most important early works, which stimulated much of what followed, were Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958) and Deutsch's 1961 article, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development'. The system function scholar begins with a concept of the political system, then differentiates different types or models of political systems, and attempts to spell out the consequences and implications of these distinctions. His approach typically is concerned with linking a pattern of action to the system as a whole, i.e., identifying its function within the system, while the social process scholar is concerned with relating one pattern of action to another pattern of action.

The great virtue of the social process approach is its effort to establish relationships between variables and particularly between changes in one set of variables and changes in another. In this respect, it does focus directly on change. Its limitations in dealing with change are threefold. First, more often than not, the variables which have been used concern levels of development rather than rates of development. Since it is empirically oriented, the variables employed are shaped by the availability of data. Data on levels of literacy in different societies at the same time (i.e., now) are easier to come by than data on levels of literacy in the same society over time. The latter, however, are necessary for longitudinal analysis and the use of rates of change in literacy. While cross-sectional analyses may be useful and appropriate in studying some types of relationships, they are also frequently inferior to longitudinal analyses in studying other types of relationships. The difficulty of getting data on the changes in variables over time in most modernizing societies in Asia, Africa and even Latin America has consequently led many social process analysts back to the study of Western European and North American societies. Here is a clear case where knowledge of political change or political development is advanced by studying developed rather than developing societies. A related difficulty is the extent to which the social process approach has been applied primarily to the comparison of national societies, which are often units too large and complex to be useful for comparative generalization for many purposes.

A second problem in the social process approach concerns the links between the usually social, economic, and demographic independent variable and the political dependent ones. The problem here is the general methodological one of the causal relationship between an economic or social change (which is in some sense objective) to political changes which are normally the result of conscious human effort and will. If the problem is, for instance, to explain voting participation in elections or the frequency of coups, how meaningful is it to correlate these phenomena with rates of economic growth, fluctuations in price levels, or literacy levels? The relation between the macro socioeconomic changes and macro political changes has to be mediated through micro changes in the attitudes, values and behaviour of individuals. The explanation of the latter is the weak link in the causal chain which is assumed to

exist in most social process analysis. To date, the most prevalent and effective means of dealing with this problem has been the various forms of the relative deprivation and frustration aggression hypotheses utilized to relate socioeconomic changes to political instability. At the dependent end of the causal chain, social process analysts often have trouble in defining political variables, identifying indices for measuring those variables, and securing the data required for the index.

One more general criticism which can be raised about the social process approach concerns the extent to which it makes politics dependent upon economic and social forces. That the latter are a major influence on politics is obvious, and this influence is perhaps particularly important in societies at middle levels of social economic modernization. In its pure form, which, to be fair, most of its practitioners rarely use, the social process approach would leave little room for social structure and even less for political culture, political institutions, and political leadership. One of the great problems of the social process approach to political change has been to overcome this initial deficiency and to find ways for assigning independent roles to cultural, institutional and leadership factors.

(iii) Comparative History

A third approach to political development is somewhat more diverse and eclectic than the two just considered. Its practitioners share enough in common, however, to be loosely grouped together. They start neither with a theoretical model nor with a focus on the relationship between two or more variables, but rather with a comparison of the evolution of two or more societies. What the system is to the system functions man and process is to the social process man, society is to the comparative history man. He is, however, interested not just in the history of one society but rather in the comparison of two or more societies. The system functions man conceptualizes; the social process man correlates; the comparative history man, naturally, compares. Among social scientists concerned with political development who would fit primarily into this school are Cyril Black, S. N. Lisenstadt, Dankwart Rustow, Seymour Martin Lipset, Barrington Moore, Jr., Reinhard Bendix, and, in some measure, Lucian W. Pye and the members of the SSRC Committee on Comparative Politics.

The work of these people tends to be highly empirical but not highly quantitative. They are, indeed, concerned with precisely those factors with which the social process analysts have difficulty: institutions, culture and leadership. Their approach is to categorize patterns of political development either by general stages or phases through which all societies must pass or by distinctive channels through which different societies may pass, or by some combination of these *vertical* and *horizontal* types of categories. Moore, for instance, distinguishes three patterns of modernization, under bourgeois (England, United States), aristocratic (Germany, Japan), and peasant (Russia, China) auspices. While he admits there may conceivably be a fourth way (India?), he is very dubious that this possibility will materialize. Consequently, every modernizing society will presumably have to find its way to modernity by the way of liberal capitalism, reactionary fascism, or revolutionary communism. Cyril Black, on the other hand, starts by identifying four phases of modernization through which all societies pass: the initial challenge to modernity; the consolidation of modernizing

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leadership; economic and social transformation from a rural, agrarian to an urban, industrial society; and the integration of society, involving the fundamental reordering of social structure. He then specifies five criteria for distinguishing among societies in terms of how they have evolved through these phases and proceeds to classify all contemporary societies into seven patterns of political modernization on the basis of these criteria. He thus combines vertical and horizontal categories into a truly all encompassing scheme of comparative history, and he very appropriately subtitles his book, *A Study in Comparative History*.

In a slightly different vein, Dankwart Rustow and the SSRC Committee on Comparative Politics have attempted to identify the types of problems which confront modernizing societies and to compare the evolution of these societies in terms of the sequences with which they have dealt with these problems. Rustow argues that there are three key requirements of political modernization: identity is essential to the nation, authority to the State, equality to modernity. The three together form the political basis of the modern nation state. The critical differences among societies concern the extent to which they had to deal with these problems simultaneously or sequentially, and, if the latter, the order in which these problems were dealt with. On the basis of comparative analysis, Rustow suggests that the identity authority equality sequence leads to the most successful and least traumatic modernization. In a somewhat similar spirit and parallel endeavour, the SSRC Committee identified five crises which societies would have to deal with in the process of political modernization: identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation and distribution. A rough equivalence presumably exists between these two efforts as well as that of Almond.

The great virtue of the comparative history approach is that it starts by looking at the actual evolutions of societies, attempts to classify those evolutions into patterns, and then attempts to generate hypotheses about what factors are responsible for the differences in patterns. It starts, in short, with the real stuff of history, at the opposite end of the methodological scale from the system function approach with its abstract model of the system. Nor does it, like the social process approach, assume that certain variables, such as urbanization and instability, can be lifted out and generalized about independently of their context. This approach thus clearly lacks generality. In effect, it comes back to a focus on the historically discrete phenomenon of modernization, and it deals with particular phases in the evolution of particular societies. Like most developmental analyses, its concepts are less generalized than those of equilibrium analysis. In comparison to the system function man with his conceptual complexity and the social process man with his high powered quantitative analyses, the comparative history fellow often seems like a rather pedestrian, traditional plodder, whose findings lack theoretical and scientific precision. On the other hand, he is, unlike his competitors, usually able to communicate those findings to readers who will not read jargon and cannot read numbers.

Each of these three approaches has obviously contributed much to the study of political development. At the same time each has the defect of its virtues. From the viewpoint of a theory of political change, the system function approach is weak in change, the social process approach is weak in politics, and the comparative history approach is weak in theory. By building upon and combining the strengths of

all three approaches, however, it may be possible to overcome the deficiencies of each.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are the three criteria of political development?
2. State some limitations of the equilibrium theory.

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4.2.1 Political Modernization

The political aspects of modernization refer to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political system of modernizing societies. The political system comprises all those activities, processes, institutions and beliefs concerned with the making and execution of authoritative policy and the pursuit and attainment of collective goals. Political structure consists of the patterning and interrelationship of political roles and processes; political culture is the complex of prevailing attitudes, beliefs and values concerning the political system.

The overall process of modernization refers to changes in all institutional spheres of a society resulting from man's expanding knowledge of and control over his environment. Political modernization refers to those processes of differentiation of political structure and secularization of political culture which enhance the capacity—the effectiveness and efficiency of performance—of a society's political system.

The political framework of modernization is essentially rooted in the changing sources of legitimation of authority and process of its diffusion and centrality in the social structure. In a society having a traditional polity source of power is in the traditionally established and institutionalized offices of kings or chiefs. In such a system authority has a hierarchical character and not consensual.

Democratic political framework radically alters such role structure with regard to power. Power ceases to have a closed hierarchical characters, the sphere of political action is broadened to the level of mass participation.

Perspectives on Political Modernization

Political modernization can be viewed from historical, typological and evolutionary perspectives. The various perspectives are as follows:

- **Historical political modernization:** It refers to the totality of changes in political structure and culture which characteristically have affected or have been affected by those major transformative processes of modernization like secularization, commercialization, industrialization, etc., which were first launched in Western Europe in the 16th century and which subsequently have spread, unevenly and incompletely throughout the world.

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- **Typological political modernization:** It refers to the process of transmutation of a pre-modern traditional polity into a post-traditional modern polity.
- **Evolutionary political modernization:** It refers to that open-ended increase in the capacity of political man to develop structures to cope with or resolve problems to absorb and adapt to continuous change and to strive purposively and creatively for the attainment of new societal goals. From the historical and typological perspectives, political modernization is a process of development toward some image of modern polity.

Theoretical Approaches to Modern Polity

There are three main approaches to study modern polity including the complex characteristics, they are as follows:

- **The trait-list approach:** It usually identifies the major structural and cultural features generic to those contemporary politics regarded as modern by the observer.
- **The reductionist approach:** It focuses upon a single antecedent factor, explanatory variable, correlative or determinant as the prime index or most distinguishing feature of modernization and by implication of political modernity. Single characteristics which have been highlighted include the concept of capacity, differentiation, institutionalization, national integration, participation, populism, political culture, social mobilization and socio-economic correlates. These reductive efforts do not imply a denial of multivariate causation rather they reflect either the timeless quest for a comprehensive single concept of modernity or simply the desire of illuminate a previously neglected or under emphasized variable.
- **The ideal-type approach:** It is either explicit or implicit in most conceptualizations of both a modern political system and the process of political modernization. Descriptive traits lists of a generically modern polity tend unavoidably to be ideal-typical. The very notion of modern polity implies an ideal-typical traditional polity as a polar opposite as well as transitional polity as an intervening type on a continuum of political modernization.

The orientation governing the traditional polity is predominantly ascriptive, particularistic and diffused where as a modern polity is predominantly achievement—oriented, universalistic and specific. Thus political modernization is viewed as a process of movement from a traditional pole to the modern pole of the continuum.

Features of Political Modernization

As the dominant empirical trend in the historic evolution of modern society, differentiation refers to the process of progressive separation and specialization of roles, institutional spheres and associations in the development of political systems. It includes such universals as social stratification and the separation of occupational roles from kinship and domestic life, the separation of an integrated system of

universalistic legal norms from religion, the separation of religion and ideology and differentiation between administrative structure and public political competition. It implies greater functional specialization, structural complexity and interdependence and heightened effectiveness of political organization in both administrative and political spheres.

The second is the notion of equality as the central ethos and ethical imperative pervading the operative ideals of all aspects of modern life. Equality is the ethos of modernity; the quest for it and its realization are at the core of the politics of modernization. It includes the notion of universal adult citizenship, the prevalence of universalistic legal norms in the government's relation with the citizenry and the predominance of achievement criteria in recruitment and allocation to political and administrative roles. Even though these attributes of equality are only imperfectly realized in the modern politics, they continue to operate as the central standards and imperatives by which modernization is measured and political legitimacy established. Popular participation or involvement in the political system is a central theme in most definitions of political modernization.

The third characteristic is that of capacity as the constantly increasing adaptive and creative potentialities possessed by man for the manipulation of his environment. The acquisition of enhanced political administrative capacity is the third major feature of political modernization. It is characterized by an increase in scope of polity functions, in the scale of the political community, in the efficacy of the implementation of political and administrative decisions in the penetrative power of central governmental institutions and in the comprehensiveness of the aggregation of interests by political associations. The political modernization process can be viewed as an interminable interplay among the process of differentiation, the imperatives and realizations of equality and the integrative, adaptive and creative capacity of a political system. Political modernization is the progressive acquisition of a consciously sought and qualitatively new and enhanced political capacity as manifested in the effective institutionalization of new patterns of integration and penetration. It regulates and contains the tensions and conflicts produced by the processes of differentiation and new patterns of participation and resource distribution adequately responsive to the demands generated by the imperatives of equality and the continuous flexibility to set and achieve new goals.

The old traditional authority structures—feudal or religious authorities close their importance. A single, secular and national political authority emerges and there is centralization of authority. There is a growth of a network of differentiated and specialized political and bureaucratic institutions to meet the challenges of ever changing political system. There is increased differentiation and specialization of political and bureaucratic institutions.

There is a growing involvement and participation of people in the modern political system. The main agents to bring about the process of modernization in the political system are colonialism, elites, revolutionary leaders, political parties, military and bureaucracy.

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Political Modernization in India

Almost all the political systems have set before themselves the goal of modernization. The political trends in India since independence have largely been a series of reconciliations with demands articulated by regional interest groups: linguistic formation of states in the political realm, emphasis on mixed economy in the sphere of economic policy, secularism and neutrality in international relationship are all reflections of the predominantly reconciliatory pattern of political modernization in India. The same pattern is true in case of traditional institutions' role in politics. Caste associations, kin groups and ethnic solidarities have adapted themselves to the need of a modern democratic political culture successfully. Due to the impact of modern forces certain changes have been witnessed in the political sphere of society. Regulation of court laws, establishment of village panchayats and local autonomy has changed the traditional Indian political system. In villages there is decline of caste panchayats and their functions are being transferred to courts.

On the other hand, caste is developing on political lines. There is change in the pattern of leadership. This leadership is now available to low income groups as well. The predominance of all India parties indicates the extent to which political unity is firmly established. Regional differences of culture and language have found political expression in debates on the number and delimitation of states. It is evident from various sources that intellectuals in a broad sense have dominated political life in India since independence and that active participation in politics by the mass of the population such as occurred in the independence movement has recently begun to revive on a limited scale with the emergence of peasant movements in some states. Students are the principal source of recruitment to the political work and this shows prevalence of factionalism in the major parties. Some studies have found the prevalence of factionalism to be characteristic of the traditional village culture itself. The reservation of seats for scheduled castes and tribes has led to emergence of parties catering exclusively this section of society. In recent years they have made huge gains both in term of vote share and role in the national politics. There are conflicts between traditional social arrangements, caste system and religion and new relationships brought out by economic growth.

4.2.2 Theories and Bases of Modernization

Modernization is a development that entails social change. It involves change in the society to make it better. New knowledge is an important part of modernization. So is the new confidence of the individual. Development of science and technology has produced a vast amount of valuable knowledge. Nature is no longer a mystery. Man has come to know a lot about it. The more the knowledge, the more confident man is vis-à-vis Nature. In the modern society man is in possession of a lot of information through expansion of education and mass media. Modernization is a global phenomenon. It would permeate different parts of the world sooner or later. It entered the West quite early in the 16th century. It visited Latin America, Asia and Africa much later. Even in Africa and Asia, all parts of the continent have not been exposed to modernization at the same time. The impact of modernization would

depend upon its timing and degree; when a territory gets modernized and to what extent.

Modernization is not only universal in its scope, it is also inevitable. It would march on, though not in the same pace to all places. No society can close its windows to the wind of modern ideas for all time to come. Modernization is unavoidable; it cannot be permanently resisted.

The following theories or approaches have been employed to study modernization.

1. **Economic theory/approach:** This approach lays maximum emphasis on growth. It is argued that modernization would result in a substantial increase in production and output. A marked increase in per capita income would be the main gain of modernization.
2. **Social theory/approach:** As a result of modernization, social functions would multiply both in number and nature. In correspondence to this big increase in the number of functions, there would be an equally substantial increase in the number of structures performing these functions. Modernization would be characterized by functional specialization and structural differentiation. As modernization would progress, education, mass media etc., would undergo rapid expansion.
3. **Political theory/approach:** The proponents of this approach emphasize the policymaking role of the government. In any system the core function is performed by the government which formulates policies and implements them also. The efficacy of the government would largely determine the fate of the system - its unity, integration, stability and security.
4. **Psychological theory/approach:** This approach lays emphasis on the psychological traits of modernization. It is asserted that modernization effects a psychological transformation of the individual. He develops a scientific attitude and rational outlook, and frees himself from superstitions and blind beliefs. A modern man develops 'empathy' which means the power of the individual to project his personality into an object of contemplation. He would have possessed the required mental preparedness to encounter the future with confidence.

Two broad approaches have been suggested to study modernization, namely, structural and psycho-cultural. The main proponent of the structural approach is Talcot Parsons. He says, modernization is characterized by affective neutrality, self-orientation, universalism, achievement and functional specificity. A modern man should be affectively neutral. He should be free from considerations of emotions while performing a public duty. For instance, the relationship between husband and wife is primarily personal. But the relation between the bank clerk and a customer is not personal. The bank clerk, while dealing with a customer, is guided by the rules and regulations of the Bank; he is not influenced by any emotional consideration. A modern man is characterized by an orientation of enterprising and he believes in

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self-aggrandizement. He is guided by universalistic criteria, while a traditional man is guided by particularistic criteria. Modernization is based on achievement. In modern society, the status and position of man is determined by his achievement. On the other hand in a traditional society, ascription is the determining factor. A modern society is functionally specific. The exchanges, demands and obligations between individuals are limited to a particular context. For example, the relations between a corporation and its employees are confined to that corporation. Their relation is not influenced by what happens outside the corporation, and they do not carry their official relation outside it. In a traditional society, the relationship among individuals is functionally diffused. The psycho-cultural approach to modernization says that modernization or development is a function of appropriate values, attitudes and personality traits. It is argued that for modelising a society what is required at the minimum is the capitalist spirit. According to Max Weber, development in the West is largely attributed to the Protestant ethics. The other proponents of this approach are Daniel Lerner David McClelland, and Alex Inkeles. McClelland has argued that a society cannot develop unless the people have sufficient 'achievement motivation'. These scholars opine that a modern man is adaptable, independent, and efficient and oriented to long- term planning. According to them, a modern man believes that the world is amenable to change and he is confident of his ability to bring about the desired changes. The traditional man, in contrast, is anxious, suspicious, lacking in ambition, oriented towards immediate needs, fatalistic, conservative and clings to established procedures even when they are no longer appropriate.

Global and Local Dimensions of Modernization

Modernization is a global phenomenon in the sense that at any point of time it has arrived or will arrive at some part of the globe. Modernization is inevitable: no society can remain closed to outside ideas for all time to come. Sooner or later, it will open up, and in the process it will change. Thus, the forces of modernization are irresistible; they will penetrate a state or a society sooner or later.

Modernization has also a regional or a local dimension. Change in a society occurs taking into account the local conditions and culture. Change will be sustainable if it fits into existing conditions or values. If there is no proper fit between new ideas and the social condition or culture, that idea may not be allowed to enter the society. Even if that idea manages to enter the society, it will create undesirable problems for it. Thus, every change should be society or community specific; it should be attuned to the local condition and values.

Modernization, in a sense, is westernization. As a result of industrial revolution, the West underwent a great deal of change: it led to both structural and attitudinal changes. It resulted in fast expansion of communication links, education, industrialization and urbanization. It also produced new thinking and new ideas. Social behaviour and structures changed, so did the individual's view of life.

While Europe was marching fast on the path of modernization, most other countries remained poor and backward. The latter were predominantly feudal and agriculture. They were closed to the outside world.

Analysis of Modernization Theory

The theory of modernization was analysed by the following scientists:

- Samuel P. Huntington
- C. E. Welch Jr.
- Samuel Huntington
- Eisenstaedt
- Karl Deutsch
- Alex Inkeles

According to Samuel P. Huntington 'modernization is a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity'. Modernization is a process of change taking place in different spheres of life, and this change takes place not only in ideas, but also in activities. In other words, the change occurring in the realm of thought is reflected in the actions of man.

C. E. Black has defined modernization as the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing conditions that reflect the unprecedented increase in mass knowledge permitting control over his environment the accompanied the scientific revolution. Black says that in the society undergoing modernization, institutions are able to adapt themselves to the fast-changing conditions, reflecting a vast increase in mass know and man is empowered to control the environment.

C. E. Welch Jr. has observed 'modernization depends upon systematic, sustained and purpose' application of human energies to the rational control of man's physical and social environment for various human purposes.

The two key elements of modernization, according to Welch Jr., are the rational control of the man's environment and the application of modern knowledge for serving the man and bettering his condition. It would thus imply that the essence of modernization is lost if it is used for inhuman purposes.

While modernization, to Guy Hunter, is 'using, to the best advantage (of man), the common stock of scientific knowledge', in the words of D. A. Rustow, it is the process of 'rapidly widening control over nature through close cooperation among man'. Daniel Lerner has observed that modification is 'a disquieting positivist spirit, touching public institutions as well as private aspirations.'

Huntington gives an exhaustive description of modernization. He deals with it at different levels. Firstly, at psychological level, modernization entails a fundamental shift in values, attitudes and expectations. A modern man has a mobile personality, and his loyalties and identifications get broadened. Secondly, modernization involves demographic mobility. There occurs increase in man's physical mobility and improvement in his health and life expectancy. Further, urbanization in accompanies modernization. Thirdly, at the intellectual level, modernization implies a big increase in man's awareness about his environment and diffusion of this awareness through spread of literacy, education and mass media. Fourthly, modernization, at the social level, encourages the growth of secondary associations with specific functions as a supplement to family and other primary groups with diffuse roles. Fifthly, modernization

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has an economic dimension; diversification of occupational skills and activities, increase of industrialization and fall in the importance of agriculture.

According to Eisenstaedt, the characteristics of modernization are:

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- Social mobilization
- Social differentiation
- Economic change
- Political change

Social mobilization, Karl Deutsch says, is the process by which major clusters of social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour. The indices of social mobilization are:

- Exposure to mass media
- Spread of literacy
- Urbanization
- Change in occupation

Social differentiation refers to the recruitment of people, on the basis of achievement, to different structures with specialized functions. By economic change is meant increased use of technology, and development of secondary and tertiary sectors. Political change, briefly means, spread and vitalization of democracy. While the centre is consolidated, power also flows to the periphery.

According to Alex Inkeles, the nine traits of modern man are:

1. Modern man is ready for new political experiences and is open to political innovation and change.
2. He holds opinion on a wide range of issues. He is politically tolerant. Aware of diversity of attitudes and opinions around him, he acknowledges those differences without fear. He neither automatically accepts the opinions of those who are above him, nor automatically rejects the opinions of those who are below him, in power hierarchy.
3. He is oriented towards the present or the future, rather than the past.
4. He believes in political planning and organizing as a way of handling life.
5. He believes that man can learn to dominate his environment in order to serve his purposes and goals rather than being dominated by it.
6. He has the confidence that the world is calculable and that other people and political institutions around him can be expected to fulfill their obligations and responsibilities.
7. He is aware of the dignity of others and disposed to show respect for others.
8. He has faith in science and technology.
9. He believes in distributive justice.

Rewards should be made according to contribution, not according to whim or special properties of the person. Inkeles is of the view that modern political man is identified with and allegiant to leaders and organizations that transcend the parochial and primordial. He is politically active, involved and rational.

Modernization implies rationality: A modern man is rational. He does not allow emotions to control his decisions and actions. On the other hand, he is guided by rational calculation in decision-making. He takes into account the benefits of the decision he wants to take. A modern man is scientific in temperament; he is free from blind beliefs and prejudices. He makes use of scientific knowledge and technology to maximize the outputs and benefits.

Achievement motivation: One main difference between a traditional society and a modern society is that a modern man has achievement motivation, while a traditional man does not. According to Max Weber, the West was able to achieve fast development mainly because of the fact that many people of the West are Protestants and Protestantism rewards achievement. In Protestant ethics achievement is a virtue, not a sin. On the other hand, in many backward societies achievement is not considered a virtue. Weber argues that *Gita*, the Holy Book of Hindus, asks man to work without having an ambition to get something. This philosophy, according to Weber, deters Hindus from trying for achievement. An American Psychologist, McClelland supports the Weberian thesis when he argues that without achievement motivation, economic development is not possible, He believes that through education, training and socialization, achievement motivation can be injected into the individual.

Social Mobilization

According to Karl Deutsch, modernization involves social mobilization. In a backward society, the factors of mobilization of people are infrastructural forces such as caste, religion and ethnicity. Development is facilitated when people are mobilized on secular lines mobilized on secular lines cutting across narrow boundaries. In a backward society, a man identifies himself with small groups with national loyalties. He has to cut his bondage with such groups and identify himself with the whole society. Mobilization of society replacing mobilization of parochial groups would lead to its modernization.

Transformation rather than transfer: Through mass media backward societies come to know of institutions of developed societies which they want to have in their societies. But these borrowed institutions will be misfit and dysfunctional if they are not adapted to local conditions and cultures. Thus, they need to be transformed, taking into account local realities. This would require necessary change in the attitudes and Orientations of individuals of modernizing societies. It has been rightly observed that modernization operates rather through a transformation of institutions that can only be accomplished by the transformation of individuals. Modernizing societies must learn how transferred institutions can be transformed, how adopted life-ways can be adapted

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Basic Elements of Modernization

Modernization for its success requires some basic elements: these are expansion of education expansion of mass media, expansion of communication links, economic welfare and a decent healthcare. Perhaps the most important factor of modernization is education. Education increases the awareness of man and enables him to be trained in modern occupations. An educated man has a good understanding of his environment and he feels confident of interacting with it. Thus the emphasis is not so much on higher education as it is on the universalization of primary education. Expansion of road links would facilitate physical mobility of man while expansion of mass media would catalyze his mental and psychological mobility. The more a man's exposure to communication media, the more his awareness and the more his psychological adaptability. An educated and conscious man is mentally better prepared to encounter a new world. He has better ability to cope with changing conditions and new realities. The success of modernization would lie in helping the individual in getting prepared in advance to encounter the unknown and unseen.

The West is more developed than developing Asian countries mainly because the former is highly industrialized while the latter is not. Industrialization was launched in the West much earlier. The developing countries are trying to industrialize themselves, but they started it very late. An agricultural society can modernize itself by introducing suitable innovation in agriculture, but it will remain less developed unless it also undergoes adequate industrialization.

As a society gets more developed, new towns and cities come into being. The villagers, in large number, migrate to towns and cities because the latter would provide more modern facilities like schools and colleges, and hospitals. Industrialization is inevitably followed by urbanization, but not vice versa. Even in the period long preceding the Industrial Revolution there were important cities in many countries.

A society, while undergoing modernization is likely to encounter several crises. First, it would experience the crisis of national identity. When a traditional society is exposed to modernization, different groups such as regional, local, religious, cultural and other social groups start asserting their own identities, and fighting for their interests. Each group believes that it is more deserving than others to get power and other benefits. This leads to a bitter conflict among them. Being engaged in such inter-group conflict, they forget that they belong to a larger society and that they have an overriding duty towards it. As a result of this the nation fails to be properly unified and united, and national identity fails to blossom.

The second is the crisis of legitimacy. In a newly modernized state, the power holders many times fail to discharge their functions properly. Being obsessed with power, they forget their duty towards the people. Sometimes their failure to deliver the goods is due to their inefficiency. Being new, they may not have learnt the necessary skills for taking decisions and implementing them. As a result, people out of discontent and frustration lose faith in their rulers. This forces the government to experience a crisis of legitimacy. The government is not accepted by people as legitimate.

The third is the penetration crisis. A development programme would be successful if it reaches the people. It is not enough that a development policy is formulated by the government. It is equally) important that it should be implemented sincerely and efficiently. These programmes should be implemented in remote and interior parts of the country.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. What is typological political modernization?
4. State some of the indices of social mobilization.

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4.3 UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The works of two leading scholars of Marxist thought—Bill Warren and Justin Rosenberg have been discussed here. Bill Warren was a strong critic of dependency and world system approach. He generated a new debate by his theory of ‘third world capitalism’. On the other hand, Justin Rosenberg critiques globalization theory and analyzes contemporary development in terms of the character of the international system and its relationship to the changing character of social relations.

Bill Warren

Bill Warren was a British Communist, originally a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and later a contributor to *New Left Review*. He is best remembered as the author of *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism*. Warren rejected Lenin’s argument that Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. Instead, Warren argued that imperialism plays a progressive role in fostering the spread of capitalism worldwide, which is a prerequisite for socialism. To support his view, Warren examined the development of capitalism in a range of third world countries, including British rule in India. According to Warren, colonialism had brought about a marked improvement in material welfare throughout the world. This improvement took three main forms—better health care, better education, and greater access to consumer goods. Each of these was crucial in laying the foundation for the long term development of productive forces. Further, Warren argued that in the post-colonial era there has been phenomenal increase in the wealth and productive capacity of third world countries. Although such a process has been uneven, however, such irregularities are inherent in capitalist development. Warren believed that the picture of North-South relations portrayed by dependency theorists or world system theorists was imaginary and incomplete. In Warren’s view, the introduction of capitalism throughout the world had its costs, but it was not leading to the ‘development of underdevelopment’. Making direct references to Marx, Warren argued that we should not be anti-capitalist in those situations where capitalist development is increasing levels of productivity and making material improvements to the living standard of people as these are part of capitalism’s historic mission as a precursor to a transition to socialism.

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Justin Rosenberg

The focus of Justin Rosenberg’s analysis is the character of the international system and the changing character of its social relationship. Rosenberg’s writings provide a social theory of international relations. Starting with a historical materialist critique of political realism and globalisation theory, this focus has led to a sustained attempt to reconstruct Trotsky’s theory of ‘uneven and combined development’. The purpose of such a construction is to expand Trotsky’s idea from an analysis of capitalist development in particular into a more general premise about world history and the role of inter-societal interactions within it. Marx observed that, ‘It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the condition of production to the direct producer... which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state.’ To put it another way, the character of the relations of production permeates the whole of society and also relations between states. The form of the state will be different under different modes of production, and as a result the characteristics of inter-state relations will also vary. Hence, if we want to understand the way that international relations operate in a particular era, our starting point has to be an examination of the mode of production, and in particular the relations of production. According to Rosenberg, anarchy is the key feature of the capitalist mode of production, which manifests in the political economy of contemporary international relations.

Rosenberg believes that globalization is a descriptive category denoting ‘the geographical extension of social processes’. According to Rosenberg, such social processes have become a global phenomenon and a theory of globalization is required to explain this occurrence. However, Rosenberg believes that such a theory should be rooted in classical social theory and should be able to examine the underlying social relations which have led to the capitalist system becoming dominant throughout the globe.

Human Development Perspective

The origin of the Human Development perspective to measure development lies in the need for an alternative development model due to the shortcomings of the prevailing development approaches of the 1980s, which presumed a close link between national economic growth and the expansion of individual human choices. An alternative model for the development was increasingly recognized due to many factors, they are as follows:

- There was growing evidence that was contrary to the then prevailing belief in the ‘trickle down’ power of market forces to spread economic benefits and end poverty
- The human cost of structural adjustment programmes became more apparent
- Social ills (crime, weakening of social fabric, HIV/AIDS, pollution, etc.) were still spreading even in cases of strong and consistent economic growth

- A wave of democratization in the early 1990s raised hopes for people-centred models

The work of the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and the Indian economist Amartya Sen and others provided the conceptual foundation for an alternative and broader human development approach. Such an approach may be defined as a process of enlarging people's choices and enhancing human capabilities and freedoms, enabling them to live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge and a decent standard of living, and participate in the life of their community and decisions affecting their lives. Some of the issues and themes currently considered most central to human development include:

- **Social progress:** Greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services.
- **Economics:** The importance of economic growth as a means to reduce inequality and improve levels of human development.
- **Efficiency:** In terms of resource use and availability, human development is pro-economic growth and productivity as long as such growth directly benefits the poor, women and other marginalized groups.
- **Equity:** In terms of economic growth and other human development parameters.
- **Participation and freedom:** Particularly empowerment, democratic governance, gender equality, civil and political rights, and cultural liberty, particularly for marginalized groups defined by urban-rural, sex, age, religion, ethnicity, physical/mental parameters, etc.
- **Sustainability:** For future generations in ecological, economic and social terms.
- **Human security:** Security in daily life against such chronic threats as hunger and abrupt disruptions including joblessness, famine, conflict, etc.

According to Amartya Sen, 'Human development, as an approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it.' Since 1990, the human development concept has been applied to a systematic study of global themes, as published in the yearly global Human Development Reports under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. Name the most famous work of Bill Warren.
6. How has Amartya Sen defined human development?

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4.4 REVOLUTIONS

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Let us discuss some of the definitions of revolution and violence given by some revolutionary co-writers.

Sorel, Fanon and Arendt

Georges Sorel (1847–1922) was an intriguing and erudite French writer, whose ideas defy easy classification. He is best known for his work *Reflections on Violence* (1906). He was influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and the French syndicalist movement. However, it is the shocking arguments of his profoundly disturbing book that should capture our attention. Sorel argued that violence could save the world from barbarism; and importantly, equated violence with life, creativity, heroism and virtue. Why would Sorel think so? He thought that violence of the workers would prevent employers from a philanthropic paternalism towards their employees. However, although he supported the spontaneous violence of the workers he loathed violence employed by the state, politicians and intellectuals.

In ‘Apology for violence’, an appendix to the *Reflections on Violence*, Sorel declared that socialism could not exist without an apology for violence. He supported the strikes of workers, and for Sorel, a strike was a phenomenon of war, and the social revolution was an extension of this war. Violence, in the mind of Sorel, appears to have been something very sublime.

Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) was a revolutionary of African descent, who influenced movements of decolonization in Africa. Within a context of racism faced by people of African descent at the hands of Europeans, Fanon argued that for the colonized violence was a cleansing force, for it freed the native from his inferiority complex, despair and inaction. Violence made him fearless and restored his self-respect—or so argued Fanon.

After the catastrophe that Europe witnessed during World War II, most Western thinkers believed that countries would shun violence and war. Instead, the Cold War set in, and violence was imminent once again, but this time at unimaginable proportions. In this context, Hannah Arendt argued that violence should be shunned from the public sphere/politics.

Yet, she conceded that violence could serve to dramatize grievances and bring them to public attention though it will not promote causes; neither history, nor progress. The practice of violence — argued Arendt — like all action changes the world but the most probable change is to a more violent world. Notwithstanding, she insisted that non-violence was not the exact opposite of violence.

What is a Revolution?

A revolution is popularly understood as a fundamental transformation of the socio-economic and political structures of any given society or nation-state. While political revolutions refer specifically to changes in the structure of the state, social revolutions are those that witness a change in societal structures. Social revolutions tend to alter

the structure of the State over a period of time. The classification of socio-political changes as *coup d'etat*, insurgency, rebellion and revolts largely depend on the political inclinations of the person or group involved in analysis of such occurrences. Notwithstanding, a revolution is the most radical of all the above mentioned terms. Revolutions have happened in many spheres of human life. Thus, in science, we have the 'Copernican Revolution' in astronomy and, the term 'Scientific Revolution' found in the work of Thomas Kuhn; the 'Industrial Revolution' that first took place in Britain; the 'Green Revolution' in India, etc. However, here, when we use the term 'revolution', we are consciously referring only to political and social revolutions.

Rebellions are revolts involving the subordinate classes of a society, without however producing a structural change in either in the State or society. *Coup d'etat* is a forceful overthrow of a political regime/leadership of a State without altering its structure.

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Defining Characteristics of a Revolution

A survey of leading studies on revolutions shows that a revolution normally has five defining characteristics. These are radical novelty, illegality, violence, regime succession and freedom. Revolutions are radical and novel because, unlike gradual socio-political changes, these are sudden. Most revolutions begin as illegal political events because the established order that is in the process of being overthrown often classifies it as such. But if a revolution is successful, the new regime tends to legalize its coming to power. Most political revolutions witness violence, sometimes even large-scale bloodshed.

A revolution is a series of events, and its nature can be ascertained only after these events have taken place. Often, hindsight is the best perspective to understand a revolution. It is alleged that Mao Zedong was once asked to comment on the French Revolution of 1789. To which, he replied that it was too early to comment. Hannah Arendt, a German-American philosopher, reflected on major European events in her work *On Revolution* (1963), where she observed that revolutions occur for the sake of promoting human freedom. In the last instance, if no radical change in the socio-political structure has taken place, then, no revolution ever took place.

Causes of Revolutions

The different analyses of the causes of revolutions may be broadly classified as Marxist and non-Marxist theories. Marxists believe that revolutions emerge out of the contradictions that exist in the socio-economic sphere. Revolutions are the consequence of the struggle between classes, or the exploited and the exploiter or the oppressed and the oppressor. Although, non-Marxist theories agree with many of the Marxist analysis of the causes of revolutions, there are two significant differences. First, non-Marxists tend to diminish the economic determinism prominent in Marxist interpretations. Second, revolutions are not considered to be an inevitable part of the logic of history.

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4.4.1 Marx's Theory of Revolution

Karl Marx called revolution the 'driving force of history'. According to McLellan, the whole oeuvre of Marx could be understood as an attempt to answer the question: why did the French Revolution, which was initially progressive, fail to eradicate inequalities of wealth? Marx spent the formative years of life studying the French Revolution. Consequently, he recognized that the French Revolution had aided in destroying feudalism and the ancient regime but failed to alter the real life of man. Therefore, he termed the French Revolution as a 'political revolution' rather than a 'social revolution'.

The French Revolution was a political revolution, for Marx, because it proclaimed the abstract rights of man, i.e., liberty, equality and fraternity. This meant that an individual could emancipate himself by becoming a bourgeois. It was however not a social revolution because human beings were as yet incapable of emancipation from the real life, i.e., from his socio-economic life.

Every revolution is social in so far as it destroys the old society. Every revolution is political in so far as it destroys the old power [...]
A political revolution with a social soul is as rational as a social revolution with a political soul is paraphrastic or nonsensical. Revolution in general – the overthrow of the existing power and dissolution of previous relationships – is a political act. Socialism cannot be realized without a revolution.

Critical Notes on 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform' (1844)

And, if a real revolution were to take place it had to be a social revolution led by the proletariat, or the working class, because it represented the interests of the substantial number of people in a society.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being exploded into the air.

The Communist Manifesto (1848)

However, by carrying out a revolution the proletariat would be educating themselves by altering their consciousness as well. Revolution was thus education, where people on a large scale would undergo a transformation. Thus, for Marx, revolutionary activity was both the changing of the social, economic and political structure along with oneself. It changed the objective elements and the subjective elements through a unity of theory and practice, which Marx termed as 'revolutionary praxis'.

[A] communist revolution is directed against the preceding mode of activity, does away with labour, and abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves, because it is carried through by the class which no longer counts as a class in society, is not recognized as a

class, and is in itself the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc, within present society; and both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.

The German Ideology (1845–6)

Marx was involved in studying economics thoroughly during the decade of the 1850s, and his studies persuaded him to understand how important economic factors were in determining the possibilities of a revolution. He concluded that a revolution was possible only as a consequence to an economic crisis.

At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or – what is but a legal expression for the same thing – with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

Preface to *A Critique of Political Economy* (1859)

Marx believed that advanced industrial societies were possible sites of a revolution. But, towards the end of his life, he thought that Russia could prove to be a starting point for a revolution. Marx also believed that in the long run a successful revolution could not be confined to one country alone.

It would be fair to infer that Marx believed that force or violence could be a catalyst for revolutions but only if the socio-economic conditions were conducive for the employment of physical force. However, if that was not the case, post-revolutionary periods would witness reigns of terror, when those from above were trying to reorganize society. It was for this reason that Marx was critical of the Jacobin terror in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Marx suggested that the post-revolutionary government could take the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The detailed programme referring to this aspect of revolutionary praxis is present at the end of the second section of the *Communist Manifesto*.

4.4.2 Marxist Theories of Revolution: Lenin, Mao and Gramsci

Vladimir Lenin, the most prominent leader of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, elaborated the theory of the State as expounded by Karl Marx, and his collaborator, Frederick Engels. Lenin's views on revolution are most clearly evident in his work *State and Revolution* (1917). Lenin argued that only a violent revolution could overthrow the bourgeois State and, revolutionary action was most effective through a proletarian party organized on the basis of centralism, also known by the term

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‘democratic centralism’. After ‘smashing’ the State apparatus and thus conquering State power the proletariat would take steps towards the socialist reorganization of the State.

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Briefly put, Leninism envisaged a greater role for revolutionary ‘toilers’ (workers and peasants) than for the revolutionary proletariat. Similarly, he believed that the potential for transformation was greater in the underdeveloped or semi-colonial countries rather than the advanced capitalist countries. He also emphasizes the leading role of the party in place of the spontaneous activity of the working class.

It is generally believed that Mao Zedong (1893–1976) departed from Marxist orthodoxy and endowed the peasantry with a great degree of initiative to carry out a revolution. As China was largely dependent on an agricultural economy in the early decades of the 20th century, and as the substantial section of the society was living in the countryside, the Communist Party had to rely on the peasantry as the single greatest social force for the revolutionary cause. Mao stressed the techniques of guerrilla warfare in revolutionary war. His insights were employed by Latin American revolutionaries since the time of the Cuban Revolution of 1959. One must be cautious while imbibing the ideas of Mao from secondary sources, especially European or Western Marxist interpretations.

The concept of ‘passive revolution’ largely gained currency amongst Left-leaning revolutionary intellectuals through a reading of Antonio Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks*. However, the term was originally used by Vincenzo Cuoco (1770–1823), an Italian conservative thinker, in his essay ‘Historical essay on the Neapolitan Republic of 1799’. Cuoco believed that a revolution must be avoided at all costs because it was a destroyer of traditions on which civilization was based. So he argued, instead, in favour of a passive revolution with very little or no mass participation, but where changes came about through resistance by the educated classes and consequently reforms were introduced to prevent a violent revolution.

Gramsci studied Cuoco’s concept and critiqued it. He understood the method of the passive revolution as patient preparation towards ‘molecular change’ in men’s minds towards altering the composition of social forces. It appears that Gramsci believed that both violent and passive revolutions might be necessary. However, that necessity of the passive revolution arose not as a political programme but as a criterion of interpretation. Perhaps, and at best, he equated the idea of the passive revolution with bourgeois-democratic revolution or bourgeois-national revolution. Gramsci described Gandhi’s political work during India’s struggle for independence from British rule as a ‘naïve theorization of the passive revolution’.

4.4.3 Post-Modernism

Post-modernism is a reaction to/against Modern European philosophy. There is little agreement on what the presuppositions of Modern philosophy are, largely because the field of Modern European philosophy is vast and varied. Consequently, it is difficult to summarize Post-modernism. Nonetheless, it would be fair to characterize some of the elements of Post-modernism in the following manner:

- It is a complex cluster concept
- Rejects grand narratives
- Anti-transcendental
- Anti-universal
- Rejects the sovereignty of reason
- Questions binary oppositions and closed explanatory models
- Raises questions based on gender, history and ethnocentrism
- Suspicious of the autonomous, rational subject
- Incredulous of the role of the Enlightenment project

Post-modernism is a movement away from the viewpoint of modernism. More specifically it is a tendency in contemporary culture characterized by the problem of objective truth and inherent suspicion towards global cultural narrative or meta-narrative. It involves the belief that many, if not all, apparent realities are only social constructs, as they are subject to change inherent to time and place. It emphasizes the role of language, power relations, and motivations; in particular it attacks the use of sharp classifications such as male versus female, straight versus gay, white versus black, and imperial versus colonial. Rather, it holds realities to be plural and relative, and dependent on who the interested parties are and what their interests consist in. It attempts to problematise modernist overconfidence, by drawing into sharp contrast the difference between how confident speakers are of their positions versus how confident they need to be to serve their supposed purposes. Postmodernism has influenced many cultural fields, including literary criticism, sociology, linguistics, architecture, visual arts, and music.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. State any five elements of post-modernism.
8. Differentiate between the Marxist and the non-Marxist theories of revolutions.

4.5 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The term ‘social movements’ was introduced in 1850 by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* (1850). Social movement is carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change. A social movement generally aims to bring in reform or change in the social structure. Social movements are born out of conditions of deprivation and exploitation in a society. According to Graham Wallace, an English social psychologist and educator, who is remembered for his contribution to the development of political science, the psychology of politics, and his pioneering work on human creativity, ‘A social movement develops out of a deliberate, organized and conscious effort on the part

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of members of society to construct a more satisfying culture for themselves.’ Social movements refer to a collective action or behaviour to achieve better conditions in society. Thus, they may be defined as a voluntary association of people engaged in a concerted effort to change behaviour and social relationships in a larger society. Many a time, they aim at bringing in radical changes against the unjust, unlawful and inhuman actions in society.

Sometimes it is argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence prevalent in the modern western culture are responsible for the unprecedented number of social movements. Modern western social movements gathered momentum through education (the wider dissemination of literature) and increased mobility of labour because of the industrialization and urbanization of the nineteenth century societies. Following are some of the social movements of India.

1. Agrarian Movement

Peasant movement is a social movement involved with the agricultural policy. Peasants’ movement has a long history that can be traced to the numerous peasant uprisings that occurred in various regions of the world throughout human history. Early peasant movements were usually the result of burden in the feudal and semi-feudal societies, which resulted in violent uprisings. More recent movements, fitting the definitions of social movements, are usually much less violent, and their demands are centered, around better prices for agricultural produce, better wages and working conditions for the agricultural laborers, and increasing the agricultural production.

Peasant Uprising in Bengal and Bihar

One of the most popular events of peasant revolt was the conflict with Indigo cultivators in Bengal during 1859–60. The peasants were forced to cultivate indigo and sell them at cheaper rates to the British. The cultivation of indigo would make their lands infertile and fallow forever. Upon refusal, the peasants were tortured and beaten, ruthlessly and brutally and were forced to cultivate indigo. Along with the support of intelligentsia of Bengal, the peasants revolted and refrained from cultivating indigo. The movement started in the Nadia district of Bengal and spread across Burdwan, Birbhum and Bangladesh (Khulna and Pabna). The government was compelled to appoint a commission for investigation and mitigation of the system. However, the conflict could not be solved and the oppression of British and resistance of peasants continued. The uprising also spread to the neighbouring state of Bihar. The indigo cultivators of Bihar revolted in a large scale in Darbhanga and Champaran in 1866–68. Unrest broke out amidst peasants in the 1870s in East Bengal (now Bangladesh). The powerful and cunning zamindars freely took recourse to ejection, harassment, illegal seizure of property, including crops and chattels and extortions, and large-scale use of force to increase rents and to prevent the peasants from acquiring occupancy rights. The Bengal peasants also had a long tradition of resistance stretching back to 1782, when the peasants of North Bengal had rebelled against the East India Company.

From 1872 to 1876, the peasants united and formed a union to impose a ‘No Rent Policy’ and fought against the oppressive zamindars and their agents. It was

stopped only when the government suppressed the peasants' acts of violence. This created a situation of uneasiness and unrest amongst the peasants and it ended when the government promised to take some action against the Zamindari oppression.

Peasant Movement in Maharashtra

A major agrarian unrest took place in Pune and Ahmednagar districts of Maharashtra in 1875. In Maharashtra, the British government had directly settled the revenue with the peasants. At the same time, it increased the rates of revenue so high that it was impossible to pay the revenue and they had no option left other than borrowing money from the moneylenders who in turn charged high interest rates. More and more land was mortgaged and sold to the moneylenders, who gave utmost efforts to acquire land at legal and illegal terms. The peasants lost their patience and by the end of 1875 and huge agrarian riots took place. Police failed in meeting the fury of peasants' resistance which, was suppressed only when the entire military force at Pune took the field against them. Once again, the intelligentsia of Maharashtra supported the peasants' demands. But it was proved that the source of misery of peasants was high revenue rates and government's incapability to provide loan at cheaper rates.

Uprisings in Kerala and Assam

Peasant unrest also broke out in several other parts of the country such as Kerala and Assam. The situation worsened in Assam because of high land revenue assessment. The peasants refused to pay enhanced revenue demands to the landlords and fought against land revenue collectors to seize their lands. The situation worsened and police had to mobilize their network to suppress the peasants. Many peasants were killed mercilessly in the riots. These movements did not pose any threat to the British rule, but proved that the Indian peasants' reactions were instant and spontaneous to every situation. The peasants always resisted the efforts of the British to gain control and power in the name of maintaining law and order.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and Kisan Sabha

The Kisan Sabha movement started in Bihar under the leadership of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati who had formed in 1929 the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) in order to mobilize peasant grievances against the zamindari attacks on their occupancy rights, and thus sparking the Farmers' movement in India.

Gradually the peasant movement intensified and spread across the rest of India. All these radical developments on the peasant front culminated in the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in April 1936 with Swami Sahajanand Saraswati as its first President. It involved prominent leaders like N.G. Ranga, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Pandit Karyanand Sharma, Pandit Yamuna Karjee, Pandit Yadunandan (Jadunandan) Sharma, Rahul Sankrityayan, P.Sundarayya, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Bankim Mukerji. The Kisan Manifesto released in August 1936, demanded abolition of the zamindari system and cancellation of rural debts, and in October 1937, it adopted red flag as its banner. Soon, its leaders

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became increasingly distant with Congress, and repeatedly came in confrontation with Congress governments, in Bihar and United Province.

2. Telangana Movement

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The Telangana Movement or Vetti Chakiri Movement also known as Telangana *Raithanga Sayudha Poratam* was a communist-led peasant rebellion against the feudal lords of the Telangana region and later against the princely state of Hyderabad between 1946 and 1951. This movement was led by the Communist Party of India. The revolt started in 1946 in the Nalgonda district against the oppressive feudal lords and quickly spread to the Warangal and Bidar districts in around 4000 villages. Peasant farmers and labourers revolted against the local feudal landlords (*jagirdars* and *deshmukhs*), who were ruling the villages known as *samsthans*. These *samsthans* were ruled mostly by Reddys and Velamas called as Doralu. They virtually ruled over all the communities in the village and managed the tax collections (revenues), and owned almost all the land in that area. The Nizams had little control over these regions barring the capital, Hyderabad. Chakali Ilamma, belonging to the lowly Rajaka caste, revolted against 'zamindar' Ramachandra Reddy, during the struggle, when he tried to usurp her four acres of land. Her revolt inspired many to join the movement.

The communist-led agitation was successful in liberating over 3000 villages from the feudal lords and 10,000 acres of arable land was distributed to landless peasants. Around 4000 peasants lost their lives in the struggle fighting feudal private armies.

It later became a fight against the Nizams. The initial modest aims were to do away with the illegal and excessive exploitation meted out by these feudal lords in the name of bonded labour. The most strident demand was for the writing off, of all debts of the peasants that were manipulated by the feudal lords.

Nizam's Resistance to Join Indian Union

With Hyderabad's administration failing after 1945, the Nizam succumbed to the pressure of the Muslim elite and started the Razzakar Movement, which was very violent and was also involved forcible conversions of religion. At the same time, the Nizam was resisting the Indian government's efforts to bring the Hyderabad state into the Indian Union. The government sent the army in September 1948 to annex the Hyderabad state into Indian Union. The Communist party had already instigated the peasants to use guerrilla tactics against the Razzakars and around 3000 villages (about 41000 sq. kilometres) had come under peasant-rule. The landlords were either killed or driven out and the land was redistributed. These victorious villages established communes reminiscent of Soviet mir (socials) to administer their region. These community governments were integrated regionally into a central organization. The rebellion was led by the Communist Party of India under the banner, *Andhra Mahasabha*.

Few among the well-known individuals at the forefront of the movement were great leaders, like Suddala Hanmanthu, Chandra Rajeswara Rao, Raavi Narayana Reddy, Arutla Laxmi Narsimha Reddy and Arjula Ramana Reddy. Others included

the Urdu poets Makhdoom Mohiuddin, and Sulaiman Areeb; proletariat leader Hassan Nasir, (later migrated to Pakistan) Bhimreddy Narasimha Reddy, Nandyala Srinivas Reddy (NSR), Mallu Venkata Narasimha Reddy, Mallu Swarajyam, Arutla Ramchandra Reddy and his wife Arutla Kamala Devi.

The violent phase of the movement ended in 1951, when the last guerilla squads were subdued in the Telengana region.

3. Naxalism in India

It is necessary to locate the framework of the Communist movement in India to be able to comprehend the genesis of the Naxalbari movement. In this regard, the Telengana Movement of the 1940s will always remain a glorious chapter in the history of peasant struggle in India. The Telengana uprising facilitated the growth of Indian communist movement. Political unrest was witnessed in the Indian states of Kerala and West Bengal. However, in the backdrop of such organizational upheavals, an incident in a remote village named Naxalbari in Bengal, changed the course of communism in India. On March 1967, when a tribal youth, having obtained a judicial order, went to plough his land, local landlords attacked him with the help of his goons. The incident infuriated the tribal people; they retaliated and started recapturing their lands forcefully. A rebellion followed that left behind one police inspector and nine tribals dead. Within two months, this incident acquired tremendous support from Communist revolutionaries from the states of Bengal, Bihar, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. In May, 1968, All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) was formed. They abided by the two cardinal principles, allegiance to armed struggle and non-participation in the elections. However, differences cropped up, which led to the exclusion of a section. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) held its first meeting in 1970 in Kolkata and Charu Majumdar was elected its general secretary. Since then, the members of the CPI (M-L) continued with their armed struggle with Charu Majumdar as the undisputed Naxalite leader. Majumdar went on to draft the 'Historic Eight Documents', a collection of his articles which formed the ideological basis of Naxalism. The country witnessed a euphoria of a revolution in the lines of Maoism.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Naxalite movement gained momentum and Calcutta (now Kolkata) became the centre of naxalite activities. A strong presence was felt among the radical students' movement in Calcutta. Thousands of students left schools and colleges only to be a part of the Naxalbari movement. They occupied the premier institutes of the city, Presidency College and Jadavpur University to carry out revolutionary activities. Nonetheless, the revolution was much short-lived than expected. Many were tortured, thousands lost their lives and hundreds of them were put behind bars. In July 1972, Majumdar was arrested by the police and imprisoned. He died in Alipore central jail after twelve days of captivity.

The naxalite movement after Majumdar's death was marked by a number of splits brought about by personalised and narrow perceptions about the Maoist revolutionary line and attempts at course correction by some of the major groups. Even Kanu Sanyal, one of the founders of the movement, was not free from this

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trend. He gave up the path of 'dedicated armed struggle' by 1977 and accepted parliamentary practice as one form of revolutionary activity. During the next three years, further splits were noticed regarding ideology and practice among leaders, such as Kondapalli Seetharamaiah (Andhra Pradesh) and N. Prasad (Bihar) dissociating themselves from the activities of the party. Prasad formed the CPI (M-L) (Unity Organisation) and Seetharamaiah started the People's War Group (PWG) in 1980. Seetharamaiah's line also sought to restrict 'annihilation of class enemies' but the PWG's emphasis was on building up mass organisations, not on developing a broad democratic front.

Despite repression and failure, the naxalite agitation continued in parts of India, specially West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. It is an ongoing conflict in present day India. Numerous Maoist and Naxalites are at a constant tiff with the government. In 2002, the PWG intensified its attacks against politicians, police officers, and land and business owners in response to a July ban imposed on the group by the Andhra Pradesh state government. The government responded by tightening security, allegedly ordering attacks on suspected PWG members by state police and the. In 2006, revolutionary activities continued in the states of Chattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh. Fighting continued between Naxalite Maoists and government security forces throughout the year. The majority of hostilities took place in Chhattisgarh, when over 400 Naxalites attacked a Chhattisgarh police station, seizing arms and killing dozens.

Despite continued violence till today, the present central government's campaign to curb and reduce the militant Naxalite presence labelled as 'Operation Greenhunt' appears to be having some success, the 2011 death toll of 447 civilians and 142 security personnel killed was almost fifty percent lower than that of 2010.

4. Working Class Movements

Jute and cotton textiles and plantations absorbed the largest number of wage labour in India. As early as 1874 Sasipada Banerjee, a Brahmo social reformer started philanthropic and educational work among the jute mill workers of Calcutta. But his education was about how to be good workers.

The first attempt at organising the industrial workers shorter working hours (as stipulated by the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891) took place in Bombay in the 1880s. Twenty-five important strikes have been recorded in Bombay and Madras between 1882 and 1890, several big strikes in Bombay and Madras between 1892-93 and 1901, 'A new note of militancy was evident among Calcutta jute workers' writes Sumit Sarkar. By the middle of the 1890s labour was, becoming restless though no trade union did yet emerge. The swadeshi agitation in Bengal following the partition decision gave a boost to strikes in the Bengal industries owned by British capitalists. But the first political strike to take place in 1908 in Bombay following the arrest of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Two major strikes took place immediately after World War I: one at the Ahmedabad textiles in 1918 in the settlement of which Gandhi had a role and the other in the Bombay textiles in 1919 which encompassed the entire textile worker population. The strike spread to the clerks of mercantile houses, dock labourers and railway engineering workers. The post-war inflation had

been the primary cause of these strikes. In this strike the Home Rule League of Annie Besant had an active role.

The Home Rule League helped development of the first trade union in the country, in April 1918—the Madras Labour Union. Establishment of trade unions picked up its momentum. By November 1920 when the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) met in Bombay, 125 trade unions had come into being.

The formation of the All-India Trade Union Congress was necessitated by the foundation of the International Labour Organization that gave representation to trade unions of different countries. Lala Lajpat Rat became its first chairman. Dewan Chaman Lall its first secretary. Though almost all liberal politicians (including Annie Besant, Motilal Nehru, Vitthalbhai Patel and Mohammad AliJinnah) attended the first conference. Gandhi totally boycotted it and his Ahmedabad Majdoor Mahajan for ever remained outside its fold. This could be as much due to Gandhi's dislike for the liberal politicians as his distrust in the concept of class conflict. It was a few years later that Congress organizationally took command of the AITUC. The official Congress history, by Sitaramayya, does not mention the foundation of the AITUC.

But then, the ILO was not promoting class conflict. Its aim was conflict resolution between the workers and the employers. Reviewing the second session of the AITUC, M.N. Roy noted in 1922 ,that most of the important unions were headed by English skilled workers indirectly connected with the government or by humanitarian reformists Without any conception of class struggle or by opportunist nationalist politicians.

The Indian communists could penetrate the field of organised trade unions only in 1927 though Muzaffar Ahmed and S.A. Dange had been active among workers at Calcutta and Bombay earlier. In 1928 the AITUC affiliated itself with the league against Imperialism. In 1929 Jawaharlal Nehru became president of AITUC and S.A. Dange its general secretary. In 1931, under the impact of sectarianism the communists led by B. T. Ranadive left the AITUC and formed the Red Trade Union Congress. They returned in 1935.

The moderate leaders like N.M.Joshi had walked out of the AITUC earlier than the communists. They also returned in 1938 to the AITUC fold. During the Quit India movement, when most of the nationalist and socialist Congress leaders were in jail, the communist grip over the AITUC became firm. In May 1947 the Congress walked out of the AITUC and formed the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

Labour militancy in the inter-war period has two waves; in 1928-29 with the early shadow of the Great Depression falling on India and in 1937-38, before the Second World War marching in. The first wave began with the workers' strike in the Tata industries at Jamshedpur only to be defeated, passed on to the Southern Railways where the strike was crushed and came to a peak in the Bombay textile strike. The Meerut conspiracy case against the communists was partly a result of British panic over the strikes. It certainly stemmed the tide of labour movement. Besides, Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience movement had no place for labour agitation. As a result, the labour activity fell sharply. It also resulted in a temporary split in the

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AITUC with the formation of the Red Trade Union Congress in 1931. It revived in 1937-38 partly being encouraged by the popular ministries coming to office in the provinces. But then, the beginning of the war crushed the activism by means of the Defence of India Rules. Soon the labour scene got confused by the difference between the communists and other nationalists.

5. Women Movement

Anti-Dowry Movement

Dowry, a practice of ancient origin, has assumed abnormal proportions in present-day India. Hardly any part of this vast country is free from this cancerous evil.

The custom of dowry started with the giving of presents to the young woman entering in wedlock by her immediate family. However, in the course of time it became a monstrous evil which involved the questions of family prestige and social status. The end result is anxiety for many parents with marriageable daughters that their daughters would not be married off because of a lack of means to provide dowry. Even when the marriages take place, the young bride, uprooted from her parental home, lives in real hell amidst the jeering, harassment and physical violence from her in-laws for bringing less dowry than acceptable to their greed. In many cases the poor woman is driven to suicide; or else, she is burnt alive. Every year, thousands of innocent young women in India die this way, while the lives of many more thousands are made unbearable. Anything that is done to bring to an end to this inhuman practice will be a great step towards the progress of humankind.

The government has sought to control this evil through periodic legislation. The Dowry Prohibition Act was passed in 1961 to prohibit the practice of giving and taking dowry. After it was found to be ineffective in reducing the number of dowry deaths, the Criminal Procedure Code was amended in 1983, making the cruelty to end the harassment of a woman by her dowry-seeking husband or his relative punishable. The Dowry Act was amended in 1984 to make giving or receiving dowry a cognizable offence. Another amendment in 1986 defined dowry death and made it compulsory to conduct post-mortem of a woman who had committed suicide or died in suspicious circumstances, within seven years of her marriage.

Devadasi Movement

'Devadasi' literally means God's (Dev) female servant (Dasi). The Devadasi system is an ancient Indian sociological practice. In this system, young girls are 'married off', 'given away' in matrimony to God or local religious deity of the temple. Once sworn in as Devadasis, they are not allowed to marry, as they are supposedly married to the God. Devadasis generally served the people from the upper castes and classes, such as the priests, the inmates of the temple, the zamindars (local landlords) and other men of money and power in the town and village. The service given to these men was considered analogous to service of God.

Genesis of Devadasi System

There have been different opinions about the genesis and growth of this atrocious system. While tracing the origin and the development of this intriguing system, many

factors come into consideration. Factors such as religious sanction, unequal caste structure, the existence of a male dominated society and economic backwardness are chiefly responsible for the continuation of this phenomenon.

The Devadasi system was established as a clever ruse by the feudal lords and priests who devised an easy way to sleep with women. The priests held full control over the people in their villages and this practice was a result of a conspiracy between the feudal class and the priests (Brahmins). The latter, with their ideological and religious hold over the peasants and craftsmen, devised a means that gave prostitution their religious sanction. Poor, low-caste girls, initially sold at private auctions, were later dedicated to the temples. They were then initiated into prostitution.

There is a list put forward by the famous Indian scholar Jogan Shankar to determine the evolution of the Devadasi system. According to him, the following are the reasons which played a major role in supplanting the system with firm roots:

1. It developed as a substitute for human sacrifice.
2. It developed as a rite to ensure the fertility of the land and the increase of human being and animal population.
3. It developed as a part of phallic worship which existed in India from early Dravidian times.
4. It sprang from the custom of providing sexual hospitality for strangers.
5. It developed due to licentious worship offered by a people subservient to a degraded and vested interests of priestly class.

The Anti-Nautch

The leading social reformers of the nineteenth century started a social purity movement against the evil practice of Devadasis. The movement was commonly known as 'the Anti-Nautch Movement'. The word 'nautch' was anglicized form of the Hindi word 'nach' meaning dance. Nautch meant any form of public dancing by the females and the Devadasi dance was also known as 'Tanjore Nautch'. Hence, this movement against the reform of the Devadasis was known as Anti-Nautch Movement.

This reform movement was basically aimed at

- Elimination of the Devadasis
- Regaining their social space in the society
- Reconfiguring them from being a morally-inferior fallen women to a dignified common woman in the society

The Anti-Nautch Movement began in south India as a struggle for the middle class to orient all female in the service of the home and nation. The Anti-Nautch movement reached its apex during the 1920s. Many Devadasi s were taken out of the temples and sent to urban rehabilitation centres in order to domesticate them as a measure of the reforms. The Madras Legislative Assembly had initiated a legislative procedure to declare the Devadasi system as a criminal offence and forceful induction of young girls into the Devadasi system as a criminal act. In 1947, the Madras Devadasis (Prevention of Dedication) Act of 1947 was passed that criminalized the

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marriage of women to deities and outlawed the performance of dance in public by Devadasis.

Dalit Women Movement

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About 160 million Dalit constitute India's women population. They comprise about 16 per cent of India's total female population and 8 per cent of the total police women population. The Dalit women have been trying for decades to become a part of the mainstream on the basis of their economic, political and cultural identity. The movement started because of their ideological isolation. Poverty, economic status and political breakdown led to the starting point of the Dalit women movements in India. Lack of education also encouraged them to initiate the movement. They have been severely suppressed and victimized by the upper class people. When one speaks of Dalit liberation, one recalls the name of Ruth Manorama, who was an active member of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. In the Indian society, the Dalit women are facing a triple burden of caste, class and gender. They are a distinct social group. In the male dominated society, they suffer severe oppression not only through caste but also through gender differentiation.

The laws of Manu can be held responsible to a great degree for perpetuating their miserable states. Even the scriptures deny any kind of economic, political, social, educational, and personal means to the Dalits which could lead to their upliftment. In the field of education, the Dalit women are not allowed to study beyond a certain level and are victimized. They do not receive primary education despite the fact that the Constitution guarantees free education for all children under the age of fourteen. There are reports of atrocities being committed on Dalit women. The reasons behind the exploitation and victimization of the Dalit women at the places of education were a lack of educational resources especially in rural areas, privatization of schools, extreme poverty, demand for an increase in the dowry for educated girls, humiliation and bullying by the high caste students and teachers, etc. The Dalit women are a miserable lot and have to face new challenges every day. In case the Dalit women refuse to work, they are beaten, tortured and sometimes, even raped.

With the introduction of the democratic constitution and despite various social legislations, the Dalit women are still suffering and are exploited by the subject class. The Indian caste system is a crippling disease for the marginalized sections of the society. The feminists in India are highly involved and are battling for the betterment of the women. The Dalit women movement is an epoch making event in Tamil Nadu. It came in the wake of a realization by the Dalit women for the need of a separate movement for their welfare in order to protect their rights. About 30 districts of Tamil Nadu participated in this movement together and wanted to take this movement to the grassroot level. The movement was active in 16 districts. The Tamil Nadu women's forum is an initiative taken by the state government to make the Dalit women aware of their rights and give them justice. The Dalit Mahila Samiti is another committee which was set up for similar reasons and comprises over 1,700 Dalit women in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The members of this Samiti opposed patriarchy openly and challenged the rigid caste structure. These women were harassed by different sections of the society for standing for their rights.

The two political philosophers Mahatama Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar had the greatest significant contribution to better the position of the Dalit women. They struggled hard for the upliftment of the Dalit women in India. Gandhi called them Harijans. At the time of Independence, Gandhiji raised his voice emphasizing the value of all work and removed the indignity attached to impure work. Ambedkar also mobilized these oppressed people against caste discrimination. When India attained freedom, an annexure/schedule was added to the constitution which provided a list of these oppressed castes, and thus these classes came to be known as the scheduled classes.

Dalit women assertions have emerged at different parts in different regions of the states. And it was a combination of mass movements. The movement started against their caste oppression, electoral politics etc. Strong Dalit women movements took shape in several parts of southern and western India. It is worth noting that the National Federation of Dalit Women was set up in 1995. This Federation mobilized the Dalit women to address the caste question from their part.

The Federation posed the following concerns: (a) Dalit oppression and victimization at the hands of the upper caste people, (b) the exploitation of Dalit agricultural by upper caste land owners (c) Oppression of Dalit women by not only the upper caste men but also by the men of their own community. One of the most disturbing facts is that though the Dalit population constitutes approximately 16.2 per cent of the total Indian population, still their control over resources of the country is less than 5 per cent. Though there have been several attempts by the government to improve the social, political and economical conditions of the Dalit community, yet discrimination against the Dalit population, especially the Dalit women, prevail in the society. The lower castes were considered inferior because of the nature of work they performed in the society, and thus it was thought that an improvement in their nature of work would change things for them. The establishment of the Dalit Mahila Samiti (DMS) was one of the first steps taken towards the direction of improving the social, economical and political conditions of the Dalit women. This Samiti was active in several parts of north India. The Mahila Samkhya staff was made aware of the feminist movements that were happening outside the country so that they could follow the example of the western countries. The organizational structure of the Mahila Samkhya was very strong. This Samiti played a huge role in mobilizing the Dalit women across two sub regions of Chitrakot. There was another organization that shared the aims and objectives of the DMS. It was called Vanagana. It organized mass protests in different parts of the country. The principles of participation of Dalit women was followed by Vanagana and this ensured that the Dalit women's concerns always central to Vanagana's agenda settling process.

The main concern of Vanagana was the upliftment of the individual Dalit women and it sought to mobilize them. Times changed and the Dalit women challenged patriarchal norms as well as the caste structure. This strengthened them even more. The Dalit women learnt to stand for themselves and their rights. Vanagana was a women-centric organization.

The Dalit women became active agents of social change and began to acquire leadership qualities through their struggles. They actively sought the creation of new

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identities. Both Vanagana and Dalit Mahila Samiti have been Dalit women movements and had the following concerns: (a) to change caste equations in their area of operation, (b) to negotiate against all forms of violence against women and men, (c) to make sure that the benefits of government schemes announced under the new Dalit run regime was available to all and that power flows to all eligible Dalits, (d) to promote the leadership of local women.

The movement was marked by a collective zeal for social change. The formation of a separate Dalit Mahila Samiti has taken place with the successful entry of Dalits in formal electoral politics. Ms. Mayavati, a Dalit woman, served as the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh from 13 May 2007 – 7 March 2012. She is an immense source of pride for the Dalit community, because she had managed to fight all forms of oppression and attained a powerful position in the government. She is a representative of the Dalit community. The period 1990-93 was also marked by the issue of mass mobilization and strong actions by women. The agitations initiated from the village level. The forceful eviction of the Dalit families from their lands of residence led to these agitations. In the period 1990-95, there were several individual cases that were fought against the oppression of the Dalits. In the village of Suvargada, four sisters belonging to the Kol Tribals, claimed that 40 bighas of land should be in their name. A bania upper caste merchant captured the land and the women fought against him. In the year 1997, a landmark case against a Dalit-Kurmi woman was taken up by the Dalit women's group which later participated in the formalizing of DMS. They organized a silent rally in the town to ensure that the police acted upon the compliant. This was an early case of taking a public stand as a Dalit woman. The movement was the result of positive identity. Thus, several attempts have been made by the government, women groups, etc. for the betterment of the Dalit community.

6. Tribal Movement

The Scheduled Tribes (ST) constitute eight per cent of the total population of the country. The tribes in India can be divided into two categories, namely frontier tribes and non-frontier tribes. The frontier tribes are the inhabitants of the North-East frontier states – Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. Except Assam, all the other states are land-locked between Assam and India's neighbours – Burma, China and Bangladesh. Therefore, these states occupy a special position in the sphere of national politics. The frontier tribes constitute 11 per cent of the tribal population. The non-frontier tribes, constituting 89 per cent of the total tribal population, are distributed among most of the states in India, though they are concentrated in large numbers in Madhya Pradesh (23 per cent), Orissa (22 per cent), Rajasthan (12 per cent), Bihar (8 per cent), Gujarat (14 per cent), Dadra Nagar Haveli (79 per cent) and the Laccadive Islands (94 per cent).

The Scheduled Tribes are commonly referred to as tribes, *adivasis*, aboriginals or as auto-chthonous. Social scientists have not yet examined the term 'tribe' in the Indian context thoroughly; these terms are largely government categorizations. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution has defined Scheduled Tribes as 'such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are

deemed under article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of this constitution'. By the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, issued by the President in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of the Article 342 of the Constitution of India, 212 tribes have been declared to be Scheduled Tribes. Later, by an Act of Parliament, some other groups were also included in the schedule.

Popular Tribal Movements in India

There have been several instances of tribal uprisings in India. The following sections deal with three of the most important tribal movements in India.

(i) Bhil Movement

The Bhils of Rajasthan have fought against discrimination under various leaders such as Shri Gobind Guru, Sadguru Surmal Das, Shri Mama Baleshwar, Sant Devadas Latta, Shri Manikyalal Varma, Shri Motilal Tejawat and Shri Bhogilal Pandya. However, one of the most popular movements was the one that was initiated by Shri Gobind Guru for a separate state of Bhilistan. The main reason behind this movement was to express displeasure against the denial and repression of their democratic rights. It was aimed at getting their rights and dignity back.

Gobind Guru, born in Basiagaon in a Banjara family, was one of the primary proponents of a separate state for communities which lived in western and Central India. He believed that the separate state would end their miseries and exploitation. Since he was a staunch follower of Arya Samaj, he created awareness among tribals against social evils such as delinquent behaviour, superstitions and addiction.

The movement angered the local rulers when one lakh tribals congregated on Mangarh hilltop in 1908. As a result, they attacked them when tribals were singing devotional songs. In this attack, more than 1500 tribals got killed and Gobind Guru was sentenced imprisonment of 10 years. This repression suppressed the desires of the tribals to have a separate state but it had a positive impact on them as it created social and political awareness among them.

(ii) Birsa Munda Movement

Before the arrival of the British, tribals depended largely on forest for their subsistence. They had rights on forest products such as firewood, fruits, honey, flowers, edible nuts, housing material and medical herbs. They also practiced fishing, hunting, basket making and weaving for their livelihood. These communities had their own chief and clan council who used to resolve their conflicts.

The British changed the land system in the tribal areas by creating a class of landlords and contractors. They also brought Brahmins and Rajputs to these areas so that they could perform their religious and military roles respectively. In turn, the British gave them zamindari rights.

The zamindars were considered *dikus* (outsiders) by tribals due to the introduction of land rents in their areas. When tribals did not have enough money to pay land rent, they had to borrow money from money-lenders. Thus, a class of money-lenders also came into being. This class exploited tribals by charging a high rate of interest. In place of clan council, a new legal system was forced upon tribals.

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Since tribals were not educated, they found it difficult to understand the new legal system. Moreover, they did not have enough money to pay fees to the lawyers.

The Forest policy (1884) of the British restrained the rights of tribals on the use of forest products. The rising prices of products worsened their condition. All the officials and clerks brought to tribal areas were non-natives. These new classes oppressed tribal people, and looked down upon them. Sometimes, tribals were physically assaulted by zamindars and money-lenders. In response to their oppression, they initiated a number of revolts and movements. The movement of Birsa Munda was one of this kind.

It was most popular movements of the Munda tribes of Singhbhum and Ranchi districts of the Chotanagpur region of Bihar. The movement was called so as it was led by Birsa Munda. He was popular amongst tribals due to his knowledge of Vaishnavism. He was a prophet and encouraged his followers to live in harmony with one another. He was against the government as well as missionaries. In 1895, he urged tribals to fight against their oppressors. The Mundas believed that the dikus and missionaries were responsible for their miseries. Therefore, they developed hatred towards them.

The Munda movement was aimed at attaining political and religious independence for the Mundas. The Mundas felt that they could achieve this independence only by driving out oppressors and the British or by killing them. As a part of the revolt, Birsa Munda announced Birsa Raj under which Mundas would obey only him and no one else. He encouraged Mundas not to pay rent to government.

This revolt took a violent turn on 24 December 1899. Tribals started this revolt a day before Christmas because they hated Christians and Europeans. They fought with their oppressors such as landowners, money-lenders, contractors and government official using their traditional weapons. They burnt their oppressors' houses, and killed a timber contractor, some constables and *chaukidars*. As a result, the government started counter attacking them with the help of search-and-beat operation. Soon, some leaders and tribals surrendered themselves.

Birsa Munda was arrested by the government and was sentenced to imprisonment for two years. However, he died of chronic dysentery soon after his arrest. Other arrested tribals were tried in a brutal manner and were sentenced to death. Thus, this movement ended in 1901.

However, this movement forced the government to change its policies. After some surveys, the government passed some Acts in favour of tribals. It inspired many tribals to continue fighting for their rights through revolts and movements. Birsa became a legend among a number of tribes. Later, the Indian National Congress evoked his name to get the support of tribals of this area.

(iii) Santhal Movement

The Santhals were a quiet unassuming people who worked under primitive agricultural conditions. Sir George Campbell paid tribute to them as being 'most industrious and even skilful clearers of the jungle and reclaimers of the soil'. With the establishment of the Permanent Zamindari Settlement (1793), the lands which they had cultivated

for centuries were overnight turned over to the zamindars. This was followed by pressing demands for increased rents. The Santhals found these new arrangements disturbing. Being peace-loving by nature, they started retreating from the districts of Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum, Chhotanagpur, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum. Hounded from their homelands, 'with great industry they cleared the forests in the plains skirting the Rajmahal Hills and, bringing large tracts of land under cultivation, started life anew.' At that time this area was called Daman-e-Koh.

The Santhals' belief was that the land belongs to the one who first tilled it. If pressed beyond that, they would rather retreat further into the woods and make new reclamations in places where they would not be molested. Unfortunately, however, they have reached extreme limits of retreat, and now find themselves on the borders of the plains of the Ganges at the very place where the competition for land is keenest and where rack-rents are too high.

Their peaceful existence in the new settlements was not to remain undisturbed for long. The same class of zamindars who had hounded them out of their lands in their former districts was to harass them again soon. As long as the forest lands were not cleared, the zamindars kept themselves away. However, once the land was made suitable for cultivation, they were not slow in coming up to claim proprietorship of the soil and demand rents. 'Greedy Zamindars', reported the Calcutta Review of 1856, 'living near the borders of the Daman had begun for some time to cast a wistful eye on their lands.'

The Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur were hated by the Santhals because they granted leases of Santhal villages to non-Santhal Bengali zamindars and moneylenders. The zamindars, the police, the revenue and court exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhals.

A usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent; false measures at the haut (weekly market) and the market; willful and uncharitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, *tattoos* (small ponies), ponies and even elephants, on the growing crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent. There have even been instances of the Santhals paying security for the good conduct of their oppressors; embarrassing pledges for debt also formed another mode of oppression. Thus, besides the zamindars, there were the moneylenders too.

The rates of interest as described above were incredibly high. The Santhal saw his crops, his cattle, even himself and family appropriated for debt which though ten times paid, remained an incubus upon him still.

Seeing the opportunity of good trade and profitable money-lending, many *moira* and *bania* families from the districts of Burdwan and Birbhum, and Bhojpuri and Bhatia families from Shahabad, Chaprah, Betiah and Arrah, had migrated to the Santhal areas. Barahait, the capital town of the hills, was reported in 1851 to be a substantial village with a large population and about fifty families of Bengali traders.

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Two markets were held there every week. The Santhals brought their produce to Barahait where the traders bought it at a price far below its true value. Large quantities of rice, bora, mustard and several other oil seeds were carried on bullock carts by the merchants to Jangipur on the Bhagirathi. From there on, they were sent to Murshidabad and Calcutta. Much of the mustard was exported to England.

On top of this, there was also oppression from Europeans employed in railroad construction. The Calcutta Review of 1856 cites cases of forced abduction of two Santhal women, and even murder and some unjust acts of oppression such as taking kids, fowls, etc., without payment on the part of the Europeans employed on the line of the railroad.

The oppression by the zamindars, the moneylenders, traders and Europeans and the government officers had inflicted great sufferings on the Santhal peasantry. The peacefulness of the Santhals was taken for timidity. The extent of oppression was intensified as time went by. All this was causing great discontent.

The Pakur Record of the Calcutta Review of 1856 indicated that in 1854, some time before the actual start of the movement, the village committees of the Santhals seem to have begun in right earnest to cogitate what might be the proper course for them to pursue. When finally they took the road to open insurrection, it was forced on them by a long course of oppression silently and patiently submitted to by those unsophisticated people. As far as the government was concerned, it had learned nothing from earlier Santhal uprisings in 1811, 1820 and 1831.

The warnings of the seething discontent were given by the events in 1854. After consultation among themselves, the leading Santhals began by robbing the mahajans and the zamindars of their ill-earned wealth. These were well-merited reprisals for their unprovoked cruelties.

The feelings of the Santhal peasantry were forcefully expressed by Santhal Gocho when he was unjustly harassed by police. This was the warning of the coming storm. However, the apparent calm prevailing at the close of 1854 was taken to have been caused by cowardice on the part of the Santhals.

The repressive measures instituted by police only added fuel to the fire. Early in 1855, nearly six to seven thousand Santhals from Birbhum, Bankura, Chhotanagpur and Hazaribagh assembled for the purpose of avenging the punishment inflicted on their comrades in the last year. They complained that their comrades had been punished while nothing had been done to the mahajans whose exactions had compelled them to take the law into their own hands.

The decisions of this meeting were circulated to all the other Santhals by the symbol of a sal tree, which is still used as a sign of unity and for the purpose of passing the word around. As a result, a large gathering of over 10,000 Santhals representing 400 villages met at Bhagnadihi on the night of 30 June 1855. It was decided that the time had come for the Santhals to rise as one and get rid of the control exercised by their oppressors. On the instructions of the meeting, 'letters were then written by Kirta, Bhadoo, Sunno and Sidhu, addressed to Government, to the Commissioner, Collector and Magistrate of Birbhum, to the Darogah of Thanahs

Dighee and Rajmahal and to several zamindars among others'. In their letters, the Santhal leaders declared their solid determination to get rid of the oppression by the zamindars and the mahajans and to take possession of the country and set up a government of their own. Although the government remained deaf to the Santhals' warnings, other non-Santhals resident in the area threw their support behind the Santhal peasantry.

Thus, with hope in their hearts, a song on their lips and bows and arrows in their hands, the Santhal peasants raised the flag of open armed insurrection against the unholy trinity of their oppressors the zamindars, the mahajans and the government.

Seeing the strong demonstration of the outraged Santhals, the zamindar's agents, moneylenders and traders took to their heels. The insurgents were not slow to consolidate their early gains. Establishing full control over the area between Borio and Colgong, they started moving towards Bhagalpur and Rajmahal.

The government, still officially expressing innocent surprise at the insurrection, was making large-scale preparations to suppress it. All available police and military forces were being alerted for immediate action. Orders were also issued to the zamindars and darogas of the neighbouring paraganas to aid in suppressing the insurrection. The insurrection was spreading rapidly.

Like all popular insurrections, the technique of guerilla fighting and assembled battalions was combined by the insurgents. The appearance of the Santhal insurgents on the Indian arena was a novel experience. Here were the first people's armies, composed of rebellious peasants marching against their oppressors. It was a supreme tribute to their organization and voluntary discipline that, without any previous military training, such large numbers of persons, exceeding 10,000, assembled and disassembled at a very short notice.

The postal and railway communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal were completely severed. The insurgents were in control of the area lying between the two cities. The high road between Pirpainti and Sakriguli was in the hands of the insurgents. The government's panic was 'intense'. The situation was entirely out of control. The military was empowered 'to take all the measures considered necessary for the extirpation of the rebels'.

With this began the most brutal suppression of the rebellion. In spite of the brutality, the insurrection was spreading to Godda, Pakur, Maheshpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. Isree Bhakt, Tilak Bhakt and Thootha Bhakht of Litiparu - who, despite their names indicating meek religious devotion, were notorious even amongst the Bhakts for devising and exercising inhuman cruelties on the debtors and making them pay for their crimes with their lives.

Now the Santhal forces were being helped by a large number of low-caste dikus (non-Santhals). With their ranks thus reinforced by a brotherly bond which cut across all lines of castes and religions, they marched to Sangrampur and from there on, under the combined leadership of Sidbu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab, laid siege to Pakur. They were successful in capturing it in three days. The government was now counter-attacking with full force. The zamindars and the indigo-planters also

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threw their resources on the side of the government. Many of the zamindars in the Bhagalpur and neighbouring districts lent their elephants for service with the different detachments operating over the battle-front.

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With all the forces thus assembled, the government moved with ruthlessness to suppress the insurrection. In all, thirty-six Santhal villages were destroyed. The Rajmahal Hills were drenched with the blood of the fighters. The Santhal peasantry, in the face of this annihilation of their villages, stood like granite rocks of courage defending their homes and hearths.

Despite the murderous repression, the Santhal insurgents, even by the middle of August, were still estimated to exceed 30,000 men in arms. Many of them were proceeding towards Monghyr into the village of Mulheapur. No repressive measures were regarded too drastic to be tried against the Santhals. Finally, in August, Mr A. C. Bidwell, commissioner of the Nadia Division, was appointed Special Commissioner to carry out the measures necessary for the entire suppression of the insurrection.

Despite their unflinching heroism, the Santhals were facing a hopeless task. The rest of India was quiet and the entire army of a mighty empire was moving against them. The number of troops engaged against them ran into tens of thousands. The apologists of this criminal suppression by the government loudly proclaimed the 'inhuman cruelty' displayed by the Santhals and justified the harsh punitive measures employed against them. In order to gauge the cruelty of the government towards the Santhals, one only has to compare the pent-up vengeance of the Santhals against the moneylenders, erupting with volcanic fury from the anger repressed for decades, with what the government did.

Out of a total of thirty to fifty thousand insurgents, fifteen to twenty-five thousand were murdered before the insurrection was finally suppressed. During those memorable days of July and August, the Rajmahal Hills surely saw an unprecedented blood-bath.

Kanhu and other leaders of the insurrection were captured by the third week of February 1856 near Operbandhoh, north-east of Jamatra and were executed.

The unanimous voice of the outraged humanity of the Santhals demanded peace and protection against their oppressors. The imperialists, however, wanted more bloodshed, more punishment, and more desolation. A large numbers of the Santhal peasants were taken hostages and prisoners. Others were sentenced to long-term imprisonments varying from seven to fourteen years. Witnesses against the prisoners were hard to obtain. This indicates the support they had among the population.

The Great Santhal Insurrection was thus cruelly suppressed. This was not the end of the oppressions against the Santhals, or in point of fact, against peasant in other parts of India. On the contrary, the oppression was intensified. And yet, the Santhal Insurrection was rightly successful in one important aspect. The Santhal area, which had up to then been administratively broken up and merged into the neighbouring districts, was now reorganized into a separate entity known as the

Santhal Paraganas. The Santhals had thus succeeded in forcing recognition of their special status as a national minority.

The din of the actual battles of the insurrection has died down. But its echoes have kept on vibrating through the years, growing louder and louder as more peasants from various places joined the fight against zamindari oppression. The clarion call that summoned the Santhals to battle on that fateful night of 30 June 1855 at Bagnadihi was to be heard in other parts of the country at the time of the Indigo Strike of 1860, the Pabna and Bogra Uprising of 1872, the Maratha Peasant Rising in Poona and Ahmednagar in 1875-76. It was finally to merge in the massive demand of the peasantry all over the country for an end to the oppression of the zamindars and moneylenders. The Santhal blood has etched this slogan in letters, bold and large. Glory to the immortal Santhals, who raised this slogan and showed the path to battle! The banner of militant struggle has since then passed from hand to hand over the length and the breadth of India.

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7. Dalit Movement

The Scheduled Castes (SCs) are known as Harijans, i.e., children of God, a term coined by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933. The Harijan nomenclature is considered pejorative by some leaders of the castes. They prefer to be called Dalits, i.e., the oppressed. Occupying the lowest rank in the Hindu caste system, they are called *Avarna*, those whose place is outside the *Chaturvama* system. They are also known as *Perial*, *Panchama*, *Atishudra*, *Antyaja* or *Namashudra* in different parts of the country. Their touch, and sometimes even their shadows voices are believed to pollute caste Hindus. Legally, they are no longer untouchables, though in practice many of them still bear that stigma.

The SCs constitute 16.2 per cent of India's population. Thirty-six per cent of them are workers. Among the workers, 48 per cent are agricultural labourers. Many of them are engaged in traditional occupations, such as flaying and scavenging. The SCs are scattered all over the country, though their number is insignificant in the pre-dominantly tribal states of the North-East frontier. They are not concentrated in very large numbers in particular districts or talukas either.

The Mahar movement of Maharashtra (discussed later in the unit) has been projected more often than not as an all-India movement. Of course, the leader of the Mahar movement, Dr. Ambedkar, was an all-India leader and he claimed to represent all the Dalits of the country. But his role in mobilizing the SCs outside Maharashtra is not well-known. There is no full-fledged study or even an anthology giving information about various SC movements in different parts of the country.

Mahad Satyagraha

Mahad Satyagraha can be considered as the starting point of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement for the Dalits. Mahad Satyagraha has been portrayed as a landmark of his political activism and his work for the betterment of Dalits in India. Dr. Ambedkar launched a social revolution on 20 March 1927 to remove the ban on the Dalits using the Chawdar tank in the Mahad town of Maharashtra. This movement

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showed a permanent solution to the problem of segregation among the social classes and societal stratification in India.

The Mahad Satyagraha of 1927 was started as a protest for 'access to water' to the untouchables. At that time, the untouchables or Dalits had limited or no access to public water resources. Thus, Dr. Ambedkar started the movement for the first time in the form of Mahad Satyagraha. During the Satyagraha, some ten thousand people turned up to a meeting called by Ambedkar and they heard speeches on all the topics of the day, including a call for Mahar women to wear their saris in the style of high-caste women so as to avoid stigma.

The Movement

Thus, Ambedkar's natural radicalism produced his first stern confrontation with prevailing attitude of the upper caste Hindus or the so-called radical orthodox Hindus, apparently quite without premeditation. The Mahad municipality had previously declared its Chowdar water tank open to all people without discrimination, in a spirit of reform. But in reality, the tank remained closed to untouchables though not to people of other communities such as Christians or Muslims. Prompted by the heat of the day and a shortage of water, Ambedkar determined to lead a procession to the tank. He himself was the first to draw water. The orthodox Hindus were duly outraged and demanded the tank to be ritually purified. Under pressure, the municipal council was induced to reverse its commitment to non-discrimination.

Ambedkar's response was to prepare for more action adopting the technique of *satyagraha* for the grant of rights to the untouchables to access water from the public resources. In his own words, 'The so called caste-Hindus are bitterly opposed to the depressed class using a public tank not because they really believe that the water will be thereby spoiled or will evaporate but because they are afraid of losing their superiority of caste and of equality being established between the former and the latter. We are resorting to this satyagraha not because we believe that the water of this particular tank has any exceptional qualities, but to establish our natural rights as citizens and human beings.'

Republican Party of India

The Republican Party of India (RPI) came into existence out of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation by changing the latter's name in October, 1957. After the death of Dr. Ambedkar, the founder of the party, N. Shivraj became its leader till his death in 1964. It held several sessions over a period of time. The first session of the RPI took place in Nagpur in October 1957; the second in 1959 at Aurangabad; the third in 1961 at Aligarh; the fourth in 1963 at Ahmedabad; the fifth in 1966 at Delhi; the sixth in 1969 at Nagpur and the seventh in 1975 at Pune.

The Republican Party accords acceptance to the fundamental tenets of the Indian Constitution such as justice, freedom, equality and brotherhood for the citizens of India. It aims to achieve these objectives through the medium of Parliamentary democracy.

Some of the objectives of the party, given below, reflect its interests in the Dalits of India:

- To organize the oppressed and others, in particular the Buddhists, the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes
- To organize the small farmers, landless labourers, industrial workers, and other workers dependent on wage
- To work for ensuring justice for the minorities
- To fight against the atrocities committed on the Dalits and to get their disabilities removed

The Republican Party initially did some good work and tried to represent Dalits and get their problems resolved. The period from 3 October 1957 to 3 October 1959 is considered as the Golden Age for the Republican Party. During this period, its leaders concentrated their efforts on acceptance of the genuine demands of the Scheduled Castes, and when not successful, offered united protest. Its leaders like B. K. Gaikwad, B. C. Kamble, Shri Dighe, G. K. Mane, Hariharrao Sonule, Datta Katti, N. Shivraj, K. U. Parmar and B. D. Khobragade were elected to the Parliament in 1957, where they raised such issues.

The Republican Party worked on many fronts effectively, such as:

- It voiced the concern on the atrocities committed on Dalits and tried to make them conscious.
- It innovated the Samata Sainik Dal, founded by Dr. Ambedkar in 1928.
- It worked out a plan to establish a women's organization. In this context, an All India Women's Conference was organized on 2 October 1957 at Nagpur, under the presidentship of Smt. Shantabai Dani.
- It contributed to establishment of Dalit Sahitya Sangh, the first convention of which was held under the chairmanship of B. C. Kamble on 2 March, 1958 at Bombay.
- It also established the All India Republic Students Federation.
- It played an important role in forming workers organization. The Workers' All India Conference was held on 2 October 1957 in Nagpur where a resolution was passed in favour of the workers.
- It also worked to propagate the teaching of Lord Buddha. In this connection, a convention was organized on 3 October 1957 at Nagpur. It was inaugurated by Mahathero Chandramuni. Presided over by Bhaiya Saheb, son of Dr. Ambedkar, four resolutions were passed in this convention:
 - o There should be reservation for the Neo-Buddhists in education and employment.
 - o The birth anniversaries of Lord Buddha and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar should be declared holidays.
 - o Land should be given where conversion to Buddhism took place for erection of the Buddha Vihara.

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- o The government should interfere and look into the atrocities perpetrated on Neo-Buddhists.

Marathwada University Namantara Movement

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Marathwada University Namantara movement was launched by the Dalits of Maharashtra. This movement was started by a group called Dalit Panthers. The aim of this movement was basically renaming the Marathwada University after Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, that is, renaming it as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University.

Marathwada is an economically backward region of Maharashtra. The populace of this region is generally comprised of farmers. The percentage of the population engaged in farming in Marathwada is 82 per cent, which is 12 per cent more than the total farming population in the entire state of Maharashtra. Only about two out of 1,000 persons in Marathwada are engaged in industry while in Mumbai, 100 persons out of every 1,000 are working in industry. There was hardly any industrial activity during the 1970s in Marathwada. The population of the Dalits in Marathwada exceeded the Dalit population in the whole of Maharashtra by 5 per cent. The condition of this Dalit population was miserable and it is estimated that more than 90 per cent of these Dalits lived below poverty line. The general literacy rate in Marathwada was 35 per cent while the prevailing literacy rate among the Dalits was 19 per cent. Only the Mahar community, which was a part of the Dalits community, was a socially conscious community and had a relatively high literacy rate.

There was a major problem of unemployment in Marathwada. One can estimate the severity of the conditions by the fact that at least 2,000 young men came to Parbhani town looking for jobs but only 40 posts were to be filled up. There was no scope for the youths in farming or in industry. Thus, the main focus of the Dalit youth became education because they did not have lands and could not pursue farming and neither were any jobs available in the industrial sector.

The Marathwada Dalits marched with the Dalit Panthers, a social organization founded in 1972. As a result of this march, the Panthers managed to split the students' advisory committee. The meeting that the committee had with Vasantao Patil, who was a political leader from Maharashtra, proved decisive in this split. Those who opposed the namantara move organized themselves under the name of 'Marathwada Vidyarthi Kriti Samiti'. This Samiti gave a call to the colleges in Marathwada to remain closed from 12 to 26 September 1977. The Samiti also organized a total Marathwada bandh on 19 September.

Marathwada University was a space associated with the historical exclusion of the Dalits. Thus, the Dalits wanted to convert it into a power centre. Because reservations were blamed for the presence of Dalits in the university and associated with the decline of academic standards, resistance to reservations became an important reason for the intensity of violence. Among urban and rural Dalits, they also became an excuse to devalue broad-based position for the namantara position as merely instrumental. In contrast, as violence intensified, the university was being incorporated into an existing Dalit political symbology. It was possible that the rural Dalits did not fully understand the demands for namantara, but they definitely wanted to see a

prominent institution named after their loved leader. And when the riots took place, the photos of Buddha and Ambedkar were destroyed. After this, the Dalit demand for namantara grew stronger. Ambedkar's name was semiotic currency for pro- and anti-namantara positions in the struggles over Dalits' mobility and right to self-representation of the post-colonial order.

The Namantara movement accelerated the symbolization of political figures and spatial logics. It also intensified political antagonisms and reflected them in transformations of caste sociality. Dalit's militancy produced violent repugnance in two registers: intensified ritualization of political violence, manifested in archaic forms of punishment; and crystallization of political antagonisms with substantial support from local state functionaries. This bifurcated structure of anti-Dalit violence, which enacted the recurrent tension between the ritual-archaic, intensified affiliations with symbolic form, whether new symbolizations of Dalit identity or ritual degradations of Dalit body. Understanding the relation between violence and politics and between political violence and symbolic politics embedded in material and spatial practices, enables us to move away from the resistant binarism of depicting the namantara movement as a matter of either class antagonism or purely symbolic politics.

As the Worli riots show, this bifurcation was vivid in the 1970s, as limited avenues for social mobility and economic advancement through the reservations regime produced class fractions in the Mahar Dalit community. These mapped onto other divisions between a universalist Dalit subject and an exclusivist Buddhist identity. These tensions seemed to become evident in a putative disconnect between the originators of the namantara demand and the victims who suffered in the violence.

The symbolizing and desymbolizing of key dimensions of Dalit experience and identity became politically consequential and materially significant in the 1970s. But the politicization of everyday life beyond the realm of formal politics was itself central to post-colonial Dalit identity. Although this was partly an effect of the state and of the emphatic particular identity of Dalits, new forms of public self-fashioning were added to the mix by the 1970s. As the reservations regime became conspicuous and highly conflictual space within formal politics, Dalit's representational practices produced new loci of conflict around ritual and socio-economic exclusion in daily life. The experientially inescapable visibility of Dalits was the result of the accelerated symbolization of Dalit identity and Dalit past. A more significant visibility came from the perception of Dalits as undeserving objects of government largesse whose additional claims upon the domain of representation had to be resisted at all cost.

As a consequence, violence became the hinge connecting the domain of formal politics and everyday life. As Dalits came to be stereotyped as militant, injured people with an insatiable appetite for government recognition, any effort to establish identity for self or community became a potentially incendiary demand. In this milieu, Dalit politics, from the formation of panthers to the Namantara movement, enabled equivalent between political commemoration and political violence.

The Namantara issue remained unresolved until 1994, when the namavistar (name enlarging) agitation succeeded in renaming Marathwada University as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, satisfying Dalit and regional demands.

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There was a great deal of violence again, largely restricted to the districts of Beed, Osmanabad and Parbani.

Aurangabad's upper-caste intelligentsia, progressive on the other issues, resisted the namantara demand. They argued that in order to preserve the unique identity of Marathwada against the insensitivity of the Maharashtra state government, the depiction of Ambedkar as a Dalit icon and namantara as a casteist demand defined upper-caste resistance. Thus, violence spread into other areas of commercial agriculture in the districts of Aurangabad, Nanded, Parbani, etc. The brutal desecration of Dalit bodies, often by burning, was another distinctive feature of anti-namantara violence.

People offer tokens of remembrance to the people who devoted their lives till and after 14 January 1994 when Marathavada University was renamed as Baba Saheb Ambedkar Marathavada University. At present, 182 colleges are affiliated to this university and over the years, it has developed 13 different faculties which are Arts, Social Sciences, Science, Commerce, Fine Arts, Physical Education, Medicine, Engineering, Law Education, Ayurveda, Homeopathy and Management Science.

8. Environmental Movement

Historical studies on peasant movements, mainly focus on the agrarian relationship between different classes of landowners. Studies on the struggles over forest resources are treated as tribal movements. Guha and Gadgil rightly observe, 'The agrarian history of British India has focused almost exclusively on social relations around land and conflicts over distribution of its produce, to the neglect of the ecological context of agriculture for example, fishing, forests, grazing land and irrigation and of state intervention in these spheres'.

Among the few important studies focusing on one of the important themes of the movements are those on the Chipko movement by Ramachandra Guha and Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) by Amita Baviskar. Both the authors, however, do not want their studies to be treated as mainly on environmental movements. Guha calls his study on peasant resistance focusing on the ecological dimension. It is a study on the ecological history of the region linking 'environmental changes with changing and competing human perceptions of the "uses" of nature'. The study is focused on the structures of dominance and the idioms of social protest. He analyses ecological changes and peasant resistance in the Himalayas in the wider comparative framework.

Baviskar studies the tribals of Madhya Pradesh focusing on their relationship with nature and their conflicts over state-sponsored 'development'. She interrogates the theoretical positions of the environmental movements which assert that the 'development' paradigm of the dominant elite followed by the Indian state is environmentally destructive. These movements claim that their critique 'is writ large in the actions of those marginalized by development-indigenous people who have, in the past, lived in harmony with nature, combining reverence for nature with sustainable management of resources. Because of their cultural ties with nature, indigenous people are exemplary stewards of the land'. She analyses the socio-cultural life of the tribals and their resistance to 'development'.

(i) Chipko Movement

In many ways, the Chipko movement has and will sustain the iconic status that it had acquired for mainly two reasons. First was its grassroots approach and second, the links that it was able to establish between the local environmental concerns of the villagers with the larger environmental discourse.

Chipko, although referred to as a movement, is actually a collective of several smaller movements that took place in the early 1970s against commercial forestry. Chipko did not begin as a conservation movement but primarily as an economic struggle, the roots of which lay in rural and peasant protests against commercial forestry during the British Raj. Post Independence, a network of roads snaked into the hill areas of Uttarakhand in the name of 'development'. These roads, armies of labourers, forest officials and contractors from outside are those whose work led to the methodical denudation of the region's forest.

The unusually heavy rains of 1970 had precipitated one of the most devastating floods in the country. In the Alakananda valley, water flooded nearly 100 square kilometres of land, washed away 6 metal bridges, 10 kilometres of motor roads, 24 buses and several other vehicles. Apart from this, houses collapsed, paddy crops were destroyed. The huge loss of life and property in this flood marked a turning point in the understanding of ecology in the region. The relationship between deforestation, landslides and floods were being explored in the region. It was observed that some of the villages most affected by the floods were directly below forests where felling operations had taken place. This cause was subsequently taken up by the Dashauli Gram Swarajya Sangh, a cooperative Sangh set up in Chamoli District and Chandi Prasad Bhatt, a prominent local activist. On 27 March 1973, Bhatt vowed to 'hug the trees' to stop the felling, which was followed by a huge protest gathering in April the same year at Mandal, forcing the Symonds Company contractor to beat a hasty retreat. In 1974, the State forest movement marked trees for felling at Peng Murrenda forest near Reni Village in Joshimath. In a singular display of courage and determination, hundreds of women in Reni led by 50-year-old Gaun Devi drove out the labourers of the contractor.

Chipko was largely a series of protests in the region by different groups and villages. Its significance lay in the fact that it was the case of poor and deprived villagers fighting the might of industry as well as the government through non-violent means.

(ii) Narmada Bachao Andolan

The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) is a grass-root level movement that celebrated 21 years of existence in November 2006. It was formed to fight against the environmental, social and cultural damage that the Narmada Valley Developmental Project (NVDP) has caused. The NVDP proposal consists of 30 large dams, 135 medium dams, 3,000 small dams on the river Narmada and its over four tributaries and threatens the life and livelihood of the 22 million inhabitants of the Narmada basin. The Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP), the largest dam, alone will submerge 245 villages — 19 in Gujarat, 33 in Maharashtra and 193 in Madhya Pradesh. According to NBA, 250,000 people will be affected by the SSP.

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The government sources claim that the SSP would irrigate more than 1.8 million hectares of land and solve the water crisis in the drought-prone areas of Kutch and Saurashtra. The NBA responds by saying that these are exaggerated and the actual benefits are much less than what is projected. The NBA also argued that in the whole process of the NVD, the riparian rights of the people who live in the valley, including the tribals and peasants were not taken into consideration. Added to this are the woes of those who have been displaced by the dam construction. The projected figure of 15,000 affected families in Maharashtra, though promised rehabilitation, are yet to be rehabilitated.

NBA has relied heavily on the media to popularize their struggles and issues and the mainstream national media has been an important part of their campaigns. Leaders and activists of the movement often write in various newspapers and publications. NBA also communicates through frequent press releases giving the status of the struggle from time to time. The media is also informed about the several mass agitations and other programmes and activities.

In the 1980s, voices were raised by the Narmada Bachao Andolan activists against the Sardar Sarovar dam construction on the Narmada River. This led to large-scale displacement of adivasis who were neither relocated to a proper area nor granted proper compensation. Besides, the dam was causing serious environmental hazards. Why did no political party take up the issue? Or, for example, in the 1980s itself, we saw women from various strata of the society raising their voices against violence perpetrated against them. Why did no political party take up the issues they raised or why did they just pay lip service to their cause?

Democracy is largely understood as popular sovereignty where people have control over the decisions made by the State. Since it is not practically possible for the people in the modern democratic societies to participate in the decision making process of the State directly, they do so through representatives. This representation gets its institutional form in political parties and it is through political parties that the people wish to articulate and represent their demands. But when political parties become ineffective in representing the interests of the people, we see the emergence of social movements (SMS).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. Who introduced the term 'social movements'?
10. Write a short note on the Telangana movement.
11. State the objectives of the Anti-Nautch movement.
12. Who were the Santhals?

4.6 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The term that lies at the core of any political system is 'development' which has to essentially be people-centred and citizen-participation-oriented. Citizen participation

is the essential element in the various interfaces of development, be it plan-formulation, decision-making, implementation of plans and programmes or sharing the fruits of development itself. The institutions and structures through which people's participation flows, can be many and varied: formal and informal, official and non-official, state-based and civil society oriented.

One can always find debates and discussions on the definition and meaning of the state. In the most simplistic of the statements, state is an independent public authority that has monopoly over institutionalized force. But what is a civil society? According to political theory, 'civil society' is a term that gained importance and prevalence in the writings of modern philosophical thinkers like John Locke, Adam Ferguson, David Hume, Adam Smith, etc. from the late seventeenth century onwards. Accordingly, the civil society marked the outcome of a process of civilization in the European societies since the Renaissance. Civilization comes about through work and industry, commerce and property; civil society thus emerged as a social system closely associated with economic improvement and expansion. In addition, civilization was fostered by education and character formation, by non-violent modes of behaviour, by respectful manners and politeness. A culture of sociability that took place in an atmosphere of mutual respect and recognition was thought to be an integral part of civil society. And this culture, it was felt, should be open to everybody, to each and every citizen.

In the literal sense, the civil society was closely connected with the economic sphere. The expansion of trade and commerce brought people into closer contact and demanded more universal codes of behaviour and communication. For all the political philosophers who envisaged the future of mankind as progressive and liberating, personal freedom and independence were at the core of civil society. Civil society was thus built on top of a free market economy, in which its members were supposed to participate as producers and consumers. However, political philosophy insisted that the traditional market place to be also treated as a sphere of economic exchange, social encounter and even political debate. In this sense, civil society was devised as a space where citizens could meet in order to socialize with their fellow citizens, to exchange ideas and discuss issues of common concern, to form political opinions. It was not a sphere where those opinions translated into political actions and decision-making. This was left to the state which, according to Hegel, combines legislative and administrative powers. However, the civil society was not in the least apolitical; rather, it preceded and prepared for the political sphere.

Civil society is not identical to political power, but it only shapes a social space that is thoroughly public. People meet in groups and associations, and these are not meant to be secluded spaces. Its membership is open to everyone subject to the compliance to rules prescribed by the collective. There are debates and there are discussions, but they all take place in an atmosphere of mutual trust and recognition. There is no hierarchy and no barriers of power and authority. On the whole, the organization of these societies represented democracy as a vital element.

In democratic regimes, it is completely up to the citizens if and where they want to organize. But, if they choose to do so, the state can provide them with a legal framework that guarantees the freedom of individual entry and exit, as well as

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the accountability of activities performed by the group. It also sanctions any violation of the general code of behaviour implicit in the constitutional setting of civil rights. This acknowledges that all fellow-citizens have to be respected as dignified individuals regardless of their gender, class, religion or even ethnic origin.

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The advantages of organizing voluntarily are many and the democratic state has good reason to encourage rather than discourage the voluntary organization of its citizens. The more it refrains from direct intervention, the more it can rely on the self-mobilizing capacities of the citizens. In this way, the citizens cannot only detect and even solve societal problems, but can also forge bonds of cooperation and mutual trust among themselves. That is why French philosopher Toqueville described the USA as a classical country of voluntary associations and clubs in the early nineteenth century. He opined that it was the strength of the civic involvement that actually reflected the weakness of the federal state.

The crux of the whole issue is, however, that never and nowhere has the civil society existed independently from the state. On the one hand, the state policies determined how far the self-organizing powers of citizens could reach, and on the other, the civil society functioned as a critical antidote to state power providing it with both public reasoning and social practice. Historically, this arena of citizens' forum emerged slowly but persistently in the shadow of the absolutist rule and proved to be a crucial factor in the destabilization of the order. Basically, it rested only on three elements:

- Protection of public space and encouraging civilized behaviour
- Creation of a dynamic market
- Adherence to the rule of law

In the absence of any one of them, the civil society could not function. Civil society denounces cheating, dishonesty and even violence.

But the most important aspect of being the members of civil society organization is that the civil society and its networks bear close relations with the concept and practice of active citizenship, transcending the formal political and legal meaning. This is so because citizenship not only entitles its bearers to individual and political rights, but also entitles them to enjoy the solidarity of their fellow-citizens. However, this does not imply that one should consistently turn individualistic. Today, people have a much broader perspective and orientation. Whether they go or do not go to the polls or whether they participate or do not participate in other pluralistic association, they do keep themselves informed through newspapers and media channels and even talk politics on the road, thus accentuating people's participation.

The institutions and structures through which people's participation can flow into development activities can be many and varied such as peoples' local organizations, local self-government units like Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in India, municipalities, municipal corporations, metropolitan city councils, development authorities in rural/urban areas and above all, voluntary agencies (volgas), non-profit organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), cooperatives, etc. Of these, the units of local self-government in rural/urban areas on the formal-official side of the spectrum and voluntary associations on the informal-unofficial side-both working

at the grassroots level are considered to be the most essential institutional mechanisms for mobilizing peoples' support, initiative, resources, enthusiasm and cooperation for developmental purposes.

The debate over the role of NGOs in development raises a host of issues and problems. Of these that which stands at the centre stage is the time-honoured issue of the relationship between state and civil society. Human wisdom and ingenuity have devised certain social orders and structures to regulate the diverse aspects of complex human life, so that rhythm of civilized life is possible for all.

The basic social orders that the people have-devised for the above purposes include the society (community), state, market and associations. Through these orders, the human life has been sought to be regulated directed, controlled and guided in the interest of orderly, peaceful, individual and collective existence. Each one of these social orders, as Victor Pestoff puts, has its own guiding principles, predominant actors, resources, principal motives and pay-off. The social institutions normally associated with these four social orders are households, public (government) agencies, private firms and voluntary associations or non-profit organizations respectively.

In terms of the sectoral paradigm, the public (government), private (business profit-oriented firms) and voluntary (cooperatives, voluntary associations, non-profit organizations, NGOs, popular movements, etc.) sectors are known as the first-, second- and third-sector, respectively. The question that arises here is: what should be the proper (right) degree of relationship between:

- State and civil society
- State and the market and
- State and voluntary bodies

These institutions have been the basis of several political, social, economic theories. In our considered view, the co-existence of the society, state, market and associations is a prime requisite of happy, healthy, harmonious, balanced, fruitful life. Coexistence of the four social orders will also lead to a democratic mode of management of social life, governance in the political order, economic theories and cultural milieu. For, all the four types of order are interdependent on one another. No single order can substitute or supplant the other three orders. All the four orders constitute the essential parts of the large complex integrated whole.

It is true that the state is sovereign but it cannot and should not take the place and role of society lest it will run the risk of ending up as an absolutist—a totalitarian, despotic, fascist nation-state like Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy or the Communist Party controlled dictatorships of erstwhile USSR or East European countries. True, society is anterior to and more wider in scope and range of its activities than the state but it has to recognize and submit itself to the sovereign will of the state, its laws and mandates in the larger interest of the common good and collective well-being lest instead of order, peace or harmony, anarchy, chaos and confusion will reign supreme in society and life under such conditions will be 'nasty, brutish and short' let alone achieving development while the sovereignty of the state is not absolute as the pluralists say, the state alone has the legitimate authority to use

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coercive power if necessary to compel and command obedience to its will and the responsibility of maintain peace and order in society besides promoting the welfare and well-being of its people. The state in developing countries like India has the greatest responsibility to bring about planned socio-economic development and nation-building. The state is not an end in itself but a means to an end and that end is to promote all round, balanced, integrated development of all citizens and the nation as a whole.

The civil society manifests itself through myriads of households, communities, associations, voluntary groups of different hues and kinds, social service workers, non-profit organizations, cooperatives, unions, women's development groups and environmental NGOs. Not only does it have its definite place in modern state but also performs vital functions for its members through the network of these institutions. Both before and after the state came into being, the voluntary bodies have been rendering yeoman social service to the poor, neglected, the old-aged, the sick and the down-trodden or relief work during natural calamities.

India has a great tradition of social service, social reform and voluntary community-based service from the times immemorial. The voluntary associations had launched mass-based social and political movements in the country to wrest independence from the colonial rulers and retrieve their civil, political and socio-economic rights. Mahatma Gandhi's Construction Work Programme proved to be a trail blazer in the world of voluntary social work. In the Western countries, community-based voluntary associations showed the way to the modern state to become a welfare state replacing the 'police state' of the *laissez-faire* era. Under the impact of Keynesian welfare economic, spread of democracy and the Beveridge Report the night-watchman state of the eighteenth century underwent metamorphosis into the modern Welfare State (service state) whereby the administrative (bureaucratic) state was born.

During the last four decades, significant social movements in the Western societies have taken place resulting in heightening of the anti-state posture of voluntary groups. These groups claim that the state is incapable of tackling the problem of the neglected and marginalized sections of society and that tins role can be performed effectively and equitably only by them.

As C. P. Bhambhri observes 'the voluntary action groups are projecting themselves as an alternative to the over-centralized state system in the west'. The NGOs argue that the power of the state has failed to resolve the crisis of the modern times and voluntary action is required to resolve the crisis created by the over-centralized and militarized Western State System.

In the developing nations like India with the state assuming the major responsibility for promoting development and welfare, the governmental bureaucracy has acquired enormous power and function as the agent of social change, thus laying the foundation for a strong administrative state. The command model of development with strong centralization and top-down planning as its hallmarks, left little room for peoples' involvement in 'development through participation'.

Bureaucratic apathy and inefficiency coupled with corruption in the high echelons of administration and political leadership, lack of confidence on the part of

the government in peoples' involvement and participation in development activities, the undermining of panchayati raj institutions by the central and state governments prior to the Seventy-Third Constitutional Amendment and central government's 'witch-hunting' against voluntary agencies and Gandhian social workers sent shock waves to the pluralists amongst Indian political scientists like Rajni Kothari and sociologists the one hand and the social activists and NGOs on the other.

The planners and policy makers in India who paid lip-service to the citizen participation in development realized the importance of involving the voluntary sector in the country's decentralized development only since the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980–85). Earlier, the tendency of political decision-makers and the development bureaucracy were to equate the work of voluntary agencies with only welfare activities and charity work or the government sponsored cooperatives. The Sixth Plan identified 'new areas' in which NGOs as 'new actors' could participate in development. These areas included:

- Optimal utilization and development of renewable source of energy, including forestry through the formation of renewable energy association at the block level
- Family welfare, health and nutrition, education and relevant community programmes in the field
- Health for all programmes
- Water management and soil conservation
- Social welfare programmes for weaker sections
- Minimum needs programme
- Disaster preparedness and management
- Promotion of ecology and tribal development
- Environmental protection and education

The plan mentioned that youth and women organizations, interest groups like those of farmers, self-employed women, and voluntary groups engaged in general development work in a specific area or activity; farmers cooperatives working in command/catchment area irrigation projects; religious, social, cultural organizations, professional bodies and educational institutions would play the development role.

Issue of Autonomy of the NGOs

A thorny issue of the NGOs has to do with their demand for greater autonomy from the state. Other related issues are:

- Sources of funds and accountability for rendition of reports
- Audit of accounts and transparency in their activities

In order to function as a truly voluntary body, an NGO is expected to draw at least half of its resources (funds) from voluntary sources as donations, etc. Most NGOs are dependent on the government's grants-in-aid or donations from external

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(foreign) donors like the World Bank or international NGOs. Lack of financial autonomy results in their easy cooptation by the funding agencies—be it domestic or foreign and such NGOs cease to be truly ‘voluntary or non-government agencies.’ They become agents of the donors, functioning according to the directions and guidelines of the funding authority and not according to their normative or ideological principles. The harmful tendencies of voluntary sector are evident from the Naxalite movement and Peoples War Groups which sometimes seek support of the voluntary NGOs.

4.6.1 Importance of NGOs

In this context, we come across two different views. First, in the context of developing societies like India, development, i.e. the banishment of backwardness and poverty, calls for structural changes. ‘Voluntary agencies’ writes C.P. Bhambhari, ‘cannot change the social-power structure but the state can be democratically compelled to challenge the existing power structure.’ Further, voluntary agencies are ‘localized’ groups while the action and jurisdiction of the state is co-terminous with the entire society. Another political scientist, Mohit Bhattacharya echoes the ‘same view when he observes that voluntary organizations’ isolated and minuscule efforts’ cannot correct the ‘massive social disorganization left behind by imperialism and since perpetrated by a feudal-capitalist socio-economic system. To expect radical social change through voluntary effort is a kind of day-dreaming’.

The second and opposite view shared by Rajni Kothari is full of optimism, encouragement, hope and faith in the potential of NGOs as the most viable organizations best suited to play the role of catalyst of social change and development ‘in a socially backward and ethnically diverse and dispersed society’ such as the Indian society.

Together the state and citizens must carry out the daunting task of development as joint partners and nation-builders. In fact, it is indispensable for the state to harness the strengths of voluntary associations—their proximity to people far and near, flexibility, innovativeness, innovativeness of selfless service, possession of expertise, information, skills for awareness building, troubleshooting and training skills to bring about development in a decentralized democratic manner. NGOs symbolize debureaucratization—one of the four forms of decentralization the rest being devolution, deconcentration and delegation. India’s dismal performance at the development front can be attributed undeniably to the lack of scope for peoples’ participation in development through decentralized structures in the past and rigid bureaucratization as opposed to democratization of the development process. NGOs participation can pave the way for more decentralized, mere democratic and less bureaucratized administration of development, supplemented by the role of the PRIs in development administration in the country.

Whether one calls them voluntary agencies or social action groups or non-governmental organizations in UN terminology, they epitomize the institutionalization

of the time-honoured practice all over the world of rendering noble, selfless community service on voluntary and non-profit basis by resourceful, enlightened, public-spirited, active citizens and social workers. The NGOs have a crucial role to play in the process of nation-building and planned socio-economic development everywhere, particularly in developing nations like India. Development plans, programmes or projects initiated by the government have little or no chance of success without the total involvement and full and active cooperation and participation of the people in the various development processes. Voluntary agencies as the dynamic instruments of the civil society should mobilize the participation of local people into the government/voluntary agency sponsored development processes in planning, implementing and monitoring development programmes. In short, they should serve as institutional mechanism for channeling peoples' (grassroots level) local initiatives, enthusiasm and resource into the development process on the hand and on the other as saviours of the democratic process. Studies have shown that NGOs are eminently suited to play the developmental role as catalysts of social change, as educators, as informers, enablers, project planners and administrators, as experimenters, as innovators, as awareness and citizenship builders, as motivators, as impact evaluators, as harbingers of silent revolutions, as national constructors (builders), as conscientisers, as friends, philosophers and guides of the people in general and of the weak, poor, needy, illiterate, ignorant, downtrodden and dispossessed sections of society in particular.

Based on the primary and secondary data, the study carried out in a multi-disciplinary, integrated, holistic perspective examines the ideal of citizen participation as basis of participatory democracy and decentralized democratic development. An analysis of the relationship between the State and NGOs in the 'various sectors of development administration, provides the following points of view:

- Despite all the assets and virtues they have, NGOs cannot and should not seek to supplant the state. They cannot only carry on their own welfare programmes but also have to supplement the developmental efforts planned, funded and carried out by the government agencies within the framework of the Constitution and Law.
- They should strive for protecting and promoting the national interest and safeguard the unity, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the nation and guard themselves against the sinister and subversive designs of foreign fund givers. They should submit themselves to government rules and regulations regarding foreign funding of their activities in the interest, of clean public life, for, corruption negates democracy and development.
- Government on its part should not let loose a reign of terror on these bodies since it needs their services to realize the twin objective of building a strong modern, dynamic, vibrant nation and a democratic, developed society. The NGOs thus occupy the centre-stage of democratic decentralized development in India and elsewhere.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

13. What are the first, second and third sectors of the sectoral paradigm?
14. State the concept of 'civil society' under political theory.

4.7 SUMMARY

- The concept of political development is derived from the liberal tradition of the West. It projects Western liberal democracy as the model of a developed society.
- The volume which undoubtedly played the major role in first focusing the attention of political scientists on developmental problems was *The Politics of the Developing Areas*.
- Political development itself was thought of primarily in terms of political modernization. The three criteria of political development were held to be, structural differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularizing factor.
- The definition of political development in terms of goals would not have created difficulties if there were clear cut criteria and reasonably accurate indices (e.g., the political equivalent of per capita Gross National Product) to measure progress toward those goals.
- The social process approach to political development starts not with concepts of the social system and the political system but rather with a focus on social processes such as industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, literacy expansion, occupational mobility which are presumed to be part of modernization and to have implications for political change.
- The political framework of modernization is essentially rooted in the changing sources of legitimation of authority and process of its diffusion and centrality in the social structure.
- Political modernization is the progressive acquisition of a consciously sought and qualitatively new and enhanced political capacity as manifested in the effective institutionalization of new patterns of integration and penetration.
- Modernization is a development that entails social change. It involves change in the society to make it better. New knowledge is an important part of modernization.
- Modernization has also a regional or a local dimension. Change in a society occurs taking into account the local conditions and culture. Change will be sustainable if it fits into existing conditions or values.
- Social differentiation refers to the recruitment of people, on the basis of achievement, to different structures with specialized functions. By economic change is meant increased use of technology, and development of secondary and tertiary sectors.

- Bill Warren was a British Communist, originally a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and later a contributor to *New Left Review*.
- Warren argued that imperialism plays a progressive role in fostering the spread of capitalism worldwide, which is a prerequisite for socialism.
- The origin of the Human Development perspective to measure development lies in the need for an alternative development model due to the shortcomings of the prevailing development approaches of the 1980s, which presumed a close link between national economic growth and the expansion of individual human choices.
- A revolution is popularly understood as a fundamental transformation of the socio-economic and political structures of any given society or nation-state.
- While political revolutions refer specifically to changes in the structure of the state, social revolutions are those that witness a change in societal structures.
- The term ‘social movements’ was introduced in 1850 by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* (1850).
- A social movement generally aims to bring in reform or change in the social structure. Social movements are born out of conditions of deprivation and exploitation in a society.
- Civil society is not identical to political power, but it only shapes a social space that is thoroughly public. People meet in groups and associations, and these are not meant to be secluded spaces.
- The civil society manifests itself through myriads of households, communities, associations, voluntary groups of different hues and kinds, social service workers, non-profit organizations, cooperatives, unions, women’s development groups and environmental NGOs.
- India has a great tradition of social service, social reform and voluntary community-based service from the times immemorial. The voluntary associations had launched mass-based social and political movements in the country to wrest independence from the colonial rulers and retrieve their civil, political and socio-economic rights.
- In order to function as a truly voluntary body, an NGO is expected to draw at least half of its resources (funds) from voluntary sources as donations, etc. Most NGOs are dependent on the government’s grants-in-aid or donations from external (foreign) donors like the World Bank or international NGOs.
- NGOs symbolize debureaucratization—one of the four forms of decentralization the rest being devolution, deconcentration and delegation.

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4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Social differentiation:** Social differentiation refers to the recruitment of people, on the basis of achievement, to different structures with specialized functions.

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- **Structural differentiation:** A concept associated with evolutionary theories of history and with structural functionalism.
- **Political modernization:** The political aspects of modernization refer to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political system of modernizing societies.

4.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The three criteria of political development were held to be, structural differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularizing factor.
2. Equilibrium theory has obvious limitations as a framework for exploring political change. As one sociologist observed, the theory does not attend to intrinsic sources of change, does not predict changes that have persistent directional (but only those that restore balance if that is disturbed), and thus does not readily handle past changes that clearly affect the current state of the system.
3. Typological political modernization refers to the process of transmutation of a pre-modern traditional polity into a post-traditional modern polity.
4. The indices of social mobilization are:
 - Exposure to mass media
 - Spread of literacy
 - Urbanization
 - Change in occupation
5. The most famous work of Bill Warren is *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism*.
6. According to Amartya Sen, ‘Human development, as an approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it.’
7. Five elements of post-modernism are:
 - It is a complex cluster concept
 - Rejects grand narratives
 - Anti-transcendental
 - Anti-universal
 - Rejects the sovereignty of reason
8. Although, non-Marxist theories agree with many of the Marxist analysis of the causes of revolutions, there are two significant differences. First, non-Marxists tend to diminish the economic determinism prominent in Marxist interpretations. Second, revolutions are not considered to be an inevitable part of the logic of history.

9. The term 'social movements' was introduced in 1850 by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* (1850).
10. The Telangana Movement or Vetti Chakiri Movement also known as Telangana Raithanga Sayudha Poratam was a communist-led peasant rebellion against the feudal lords of the Telangana region and later against the princely state of Hyderabad between 1946 and 1951.
11. This reform movement was basically aimed at:
 - Elimination of the Devadasis
 - Regaining their social space in the society
 - Reconfiguring them from being a morally-inferior fallen women to a dignified common woman in the society
12. The Santhals were a quiet unassuming people who worked under primitive agricultural conditions. Sir George Campbell paid tribute to them as being 'most industrious and even skilful clearers of the jungle and reclaimers of the soil'.
13. In terms of the sectoral paradigm, the public (government), private (business profit-oriented firms) and voluntary (cooperatives, voluntary associations, non-profit organizations, NGOs, popular movements, etc.) sectors are known as the first-, second- and third-sector, respectively.
14. According to political theory, 'civil society' is a term that gained importance and prevalence in the writings of modern philosophical thinkers like John Locke, Adam Ferguson, David Hume, Adam Smith, etc. from the late seventeenth century onwards. Accordingly, the civil society marked the outcome of a process of civilization in the European societies since the Renaissance.

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4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the various perspectives on political modernization?
2. State some of the features of political modernization.
3. Write a short note on social mobilization.
4. State some of the issues and themes considered central to human development.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the various theories and approaches of modernization.
2. Analyse some of the theories related to revolution.
3. Discuss some of the remarkable social movements and uprisings of India.
4. Describe the importance of non-governmental organizations.

4.11 FURTHER READING

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