



Accredited with NAAC **A** Grade

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Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics

BAPCC301

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION



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**INTRODUCTION TO
COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT
AND POLITICS
(BAPCC301)**

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MODULE - 1

Comparative Politics

From Comparative Government to
Comparative Politics

Module - I

Unit - 1 □ Transition from the study of Comparative Government to Comparative Politics

Structure

- 1.0 Objective
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Concept of Comparative Politics
- 1.3 Types of Comparative Politics
- 1.4 Different Phases of Comparative Politics
- 1.5 Recent Trends in Comparative Politics
- 1.6 Globalization and Gender in Comparative Politics
- 1.7 Conclusion
- 1.8 Questions
- 1.9 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objective

The present study focuses on the following:

1. The conceptualisation of Comparative Politics and its distinction from that of Comparative Government.
2. Tracing the journey of Comparative Politics through its distinct phases thereby highlighting on the different traditions of the discipline.
3. Analysing the recent trends and its influence on the subject.
4. Exploring how globalization and world economy dilutes the imaginary line of boundary of comparative politics with that of international relations.
5. The feminist critique of the discipline and the need to make it an all-inclusive approach.

1.1 Introduction

Comparative Politics as a disciplinary subfield of Political Science has a long and rich historical legacy. Though not a discipline if defined strictly in terms of a single substantive field of study yet its emphasis on comparison itself and on how and why political phenomena might be compared marks it out as a special area within political science. To locate its position in contemporary times it is essential on our part to peep into its past. The practice of Comparative Politics can be traced way back to the days of Aristotle but the modern study of the subject began much later. The journey from its practice of the earlier days till its matured formulation into a subject depicts the story of its evolution which still is a continuous one. In this long drawn trajectory it has enriched its mother discipline i.e. Political Science quite impressively as ‘comparing has been a particular way of connecting ideas derived from political philosophy and theory to empirical events and phenomena.’

1.2 Concept of Comparative Politics

Earlier, Comparative Politics is often used to mean simply ‘the politics of foreign countries.’ Precisely the study was restricted to the comparisons of governments and political institutions of various societies. This endeavour came to be characterised as Comparative Governments which, with the passage of time, came to be developed into a science of Comparative Politics. Here it is worthwhile to point out some of the differences between the two concepts. As against Comparative Government, the scope of the study of comparative politics is much wider. It includes processes and decision making as well as the use of authority. If Comparative Government highlights more on legal structures and institutions of the state, then on the other hand Comparative Politics covers political experiences, institutions and behaviour of not only constitutional but also extra-constitutional agencies having their immediate connection with governmental organs. In its contemporary form Comparative Politics involves an empirical and scientific analysis of non-institutionalized and non-political determinants of political behaviour such as the pattern of culture, or the socio-economic arrangements within which the political system operates while Comparative Government emphasizes on explanation and analysis of the relevant issues of the government. Comparative politics is more concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and in the patterns of political behaviour. In doing so it ultimately seeks to build up a scientific and valid theory of politics capable of explaining all phenomena of politics but there seems to be the primacy of values and philosophical

orientation in Comparative Government. Comparative Politics in due course of time adopted methods and issues from other disciplines notably Sociology, Psychology, Economics and so on. Comparative Government on the other hand did not share an interdisciplinary approach instead it had a much restricted outlook encompassing merely the institutions of the developed countries thereby limiting itself into a more descriptive understanding. Perhaps, a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of Comparative Politics was provided by Daniele Caramani. He viewed comparative Politics as one of the three main subfields of Political Science along with Political Theory and International Relations. To him, Comparative Politics deals with internal political structures (institutions like Parliaments and executives), individual and collective actors (voters, parties, social movements, interest groups) and processes (policy making, communication and socialization processes, and political cultures). From the definition it becomes clear that the ambit of Comparative Politics is not only wide but it includes almost all aspects of politics.

1.3 Types of Comparative Politics

The discipline of Comparative Politics includes three different traditions. They are: -

1. The first tradition is oriented towards the study of single countries. This reflects the understanding of Comparative Politics in its formative years where the study of a political system was done often in isolation from one another. There are numerous rich literatures on the politics of each of the major powers. Many of us are familiar with the works of Harold Laski and Ivor Jennings on Britain; Maurice Duverger on France; Franz Neumann on Germany; Arthur Holcombe and Clinton Rossiter on the United States; Merle Fainsod and Leonard Schapiro on the Soviet Union and so on. However, such study of individual political systems has serious drawbacks. It is the awareness of these limitations which has led to many later attempts to work out new approaches. Perhaps the basic weakness is that descriptive knowledge of foreign countries is not cumulative. Interesting information is acquired about select nations, but no effort was made to relate these systems to each other. So there was a huge gathering of information but need not necessarily helped in the understanding of the general problem. The result is as Brown puts 'one layer of knowledge on top of another, and so on until the observer runs out of countries, time or interest. This might be referred to irreverently as the "layer cake" approach.
2. The second tradition of comparative politics is analytical in which it combines empirical substance and method. The body of literature in this tradition is

primarily concerned with the identification and explanation of differences and similarities between countries and their institutions, actors and processes through systematic comparison using cases of a common phenomenon. The emphasis here, is often on theory building and theory testing, with the countries themselves acting as cases. Such an approach clearly constitutes a major component of political Science research more generally, and indeed has been the source of some of the most important landmark texts in the discipline as a whole like Almond and Verba in 1965 or Lijphart in 1977.

3. The third tradition within comparative politics is focused on the method of research. Here, it is concerned with developing rules and standards about how comparative research should be carried out, including the levels of analysis at which the comparative analysis operates. Precisely the act of comparison is itself so instinctive to both scientific and a popular culture that this tradition was sometimes assumed by researchers to be unproblematic and hence is neglected. To Mair this neglect, in turn, lies at the root of some of the most severe problems in the cumulation of research, on the one hand, and in theory building and theory testing, on the other hand. Jonathan Hopkins in his article on *Comparative Methods* however has highlighted on some of the limitations posed by the approach. One of the most obvious limitations is the paucity of the available cases and the even greater paucity of available data on cases. The recommendations by scholars like Przeworski and Teune to focus on individual level data is difficult to apply to research on many of the concerns of political science. Moreover, the available reliability of data is sometimes even misleading. Further problems are also posed by careless conceptualization.

So to sum up, like all scientific disciplines, Comparative Politics is a combination of substance and method. It involves the analysis of similarities and differences between cases. Like all sciences it is only by looking at more than one case some generalizations can be reached. Researchers do not always compare the whole of political systems, but sometimes just elements such as institutions like Parliament, or actors like political parties, or processes like policy-making. The 'comparative' label before politics was added to make a methodological point in a discipline that was not yet fully aware of the importance of explicit comparison. However, with the passage of time, analysis of political phenomena became comparative that is entails more than one case. Here one may follow Schmitter to point out rightly that if one forgets the obvious term 'comparative', the discipline of comparative politics simply becomes synonymous with the 'scientific study of politics.'

1.4 Different Phases of Comparative Politics

The development of comparative politics can be studied in different distinct stages or phases. Each of these phases though exhibit certain dominant features yet there are occasions when some overlap between phases is observable. The evolution of Comparative politics takes place through these stages and scholars seems to be divided in so far as terming them. Scholars like Thomas Kuhn classified it as pre-paradigmatic and paradigmatic which is to be followed by a crisis phase thereby finally ending in a 'phase of scientific revolution.' Chilcote subdivided it as Traditional, Behavioural and Post Behavioural which do not precisely fit Kuhn's definition of politics. A more general three-fold classification for the evolution of comparative politics was adopted by Von Beyme namely pre-modern, modern and post-modern. This classification is more precise and apt in enriching our objective to trace the journey of Comparative Politics from its inception to its present day. As such we would follow this classification in our discussion on the evolution of the discipline.

PRE-MODERN

The pre-modern stage or the traditional approach to comparison since Aristotle was highly speculative and normative, mostly ethno-centric used comparison but hardly ever attempted a systematic comparison over time. Aristotle made a comparative study of the constitutions of the city states in Greece. This provided the basis of observation on which he built up the core concepts and typologies about political systems. The scheme of classification of political systems which were based on two variables namely number of rulers and quality of rule as developed by Aristotle remains a model classificatory scheme even to this day. However, Aristotle was aware that none of the government exists in their pure forms. They were ideal types yet necessary for observation and analysis of actual government systems. Following Aristotle, the Roman thinkers like Polybius and Cicero transmitted his ideas in Roman thought and were involved in studies that were partly comparative. They tried to apply Aristotelian categories in formal and legal terms.

MODERN

It was Harry Eckstein who located the early source of modern comparative politics in Renaissance political thought particularly in the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli. During the Renaissance, Machiavelli came close to a social science approach, minimizing the philosophical normativism of former times. It was in Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*, that concern for comparative politics reached a new height. Unlike Machiavelli,

Montesquieu's concern was neither with statecraft nor the behaviour of the ruler rather he was interested in constitutional engineering. That is with questions like how governments should be constituted. Montesquieu's focus was on both, types and functions of government. He comes very close to modern approaches to comparative politics when he exhibited his interest in basing his analysis on the interconnectedness of a number of variables like economy, society and even ecology. He understood that in the development of theories and generalizations a crucial role is played by both observation and logic. The style that dominated political and social thinking during Montesquieu's time was soon replaced by historicism. History in the nineteenth century turned increasingly to historicism and the discipline developed more reservations to the comparative method than formal political theories in the age of Enlightenment. Every historical event and development was declared unique. This was indeed a permanent danger of the comparative sciences as relativism describing various historical solutions led neither to a conclusion nor even to a prediction about possible future historical developments.

Infact the approaches in the nineteenth century was said to be modernized when they turned away from static ontological classifications to historical theories of evolution. The most influential models were the evolutionary model of Darwin, and the historical materialism of Karl Marx. In comparative social science the two extremes were sometimes synthesize, as observed by Beyme in the evolutionary model of Herbert Spencer. The three authors presented approaches to theory building: Darwin's was a kind of early functionalism. Marx adopted from Hegel the dialectical method and Spencer established himself as the precursor of systems theory. However, for J.S. Mill the logic of social science implied two methods namely the 'Method of Agreement' and the 'Method of Difference'. If early comparisons were obsessed with finding similarities, then it was only in the twentieth century when primacy of the Method of Difference increasingly developed.

Comparative politics before the Second World War was mainly concerned with the analysis of the state and its institutions. Institutions were defined in a narrow sense overlapping with state powers (legislative, executive and judiciary), civil administration and the military bureaucracy. The traditional and narrow emphasis on the study of formal political institutions focused naturally on the geographical areas where they first developed, namely Western Europe and North America particularly. While the study of state institutions and bureaucracy remains important, the reactions against what was perceived as the legalistic study of politics led to one of the major turns in the discipline. This took place between the late 1920s and the 1960s i.e. a period often regarded by

many as the 'Golden Age' of comparative politics. It was in the mid-20th century when the behavioural revolution shifted the substance of comparative politics away from institutions. Pioneers of comparative politics such as Gabriel A. Almond— founder of the Committee on Comparative Politics in 1954 started analysing other aspects of politics than formal institutions, to privilege concrete aspects rather than legal ones and to observe politics in practice rather than as defined in official texts.

Early comparatists like James Bryce, Charles Merriam, Lawrence Lowell and Woodrow Wilson—all assumed the world would converge towards western models of political order. With this state in mind Comparative politics focuses on major western countries. However, the rise of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and later in China or the breakdown of democracy in most of Europe where fascist dictatorships came to power before the Second World War made it clear that other types of political order could exist and needed to be understood and explained. These divergent patterns could not be understood within the narrow categories of Western institutions. New categories and new concepts were required. The mobilization of the masses that took place in communist and fascist regimes in Europe as well as under populism in South America, turned attention away from institutions toward ideologies, belief systems and communication. The breakdown of democracies in the 1930s motivated comparativists to ask which were the favourable conditions for democratic stability and thus to look into political cultures, social capital and traditions of authority.

The 'broadening of the geographical scope and historical experiences had far reaching consequences on the discipline. For our convenience let us now very briefly examine them in the following manner: -

First, it increased the variety of political systems.

Second, it pointed out the agencies other than the institutions.

Third, it introduced a new methodology based on the analysis of real behaviour and roles, extensive global large scale comparisons, development of statistical techniques for the analysis and an extra ordinary effort of systematic data collection across cases.

Fourth, a new language and a new framework namely systemic functionalism was imported in comparative politics.

POSTMODERN

Post modernism in comparative political theory is not conceived as a completely new paradigm. Most reasonable post modernists accept post modernism only as a stage of modernity which implements its basic principles in a more consequential and a

systematic way than classical modernity. Post modernity is a set of theoretical assumptions rather than a clearly discernible new structure of society. Post modernism strengthened thinking in terms of constructivism. Durkheim's assumption that sociology is by definition comparative was most eagerly adopted in postmodern autopoietic theories of systems. But Durkheim was still a realist and not yet a constructivist. Social fact was his basic assumption but in spite of his realist way of thinking it was a kind of 'construct'. Post-modernist theories sometimes referred to Durkheim's approach to comparative social science.

Luhmann suspected comparative method as it aimed at a normative ontological framework. He emphasized instead that comparative aspects have to be kept variable. In autopoietic system theory comparisons were not compared with facts. It has been pointed out that systems and subsystems which evolve according to different codes can only observe but not influence each other. Adaptations from one system in another are hardly feasible. Thus the main impetus for comparative politics was given up.

Post-modern theories such as Foucault's Archaeology of Knowledge looked for variety. It aimed at further pluralisation of discourses. The critical approach to comparative politics in post-modern thinking was overdue but however thinking in fragments had given a new orientation to the subject.

Thus the evolution of comparative politics is not a clear evolution of subsequent paradigms. There is a constant change in the perception and a dominant mainstream can hardly ever be traced. The era of pre modernity, classical modernity and post modernism show differences in the application of comparative methods. Pre modern scholars mostly used comparison in an anecdotal way or deduced characteristics from human nature or certain forms of rule. Comparison was pre dominantly applied to 'polities', rarely to 'politics' and seldom to 'policies.' Classical modernity on the other hand developed rigorous scientific criteria for comparison. Post-modern theories aimed more strongly at variety and doing away with the remains of 'reification' of phenomena in classical modernity.

1.5 Recent Trends in Comparative Politics

When the study of comparative politics was dominated in prior times by the economically advanced democratic systems there were certain advantages. All of them were more or less characterized by an apparently sharp division between state and civil society and also that the state was composed of specific and comparable institutions- each playing its own specific role within the system. Global comparisons, in contrast,

implied not only the inclusion of the non-democratic regimes but also several under developed countries with so called primitive political system. In such countries it is not only difficult to establish the boundary between state and civil society but sometimes even impossible to identify specific political institutions with a specific purpose. Along with global ambition therefore, came the abandonment of an emphasis on the formal institutions of government and indeed the abandonment of an emphasis on the notion of the state itself.

A new wave of scholarship emerged in the 1980s which stressed the need to return to the study of institutions and to restore primacy to an analysis of the state. There were several reasons for such a development. In the first place, institutions and the state itself increasingly came to be seen as relevant “actors” in their own right. This is in the sense that they or those who occupied their offices were seen to have their own autonomous interests and were thus also a part of “real” politics. Second, most crucially institutions were also seen to have a major determining effect on individual behaviour, setting the parameters within which choices were made and through which preferences were both derived and expressed. Third, institutions and institutional variations in particular were also seen to have a major effect on outcomes with the capacity of actors to realize their ends being atleast partially determined by the institutional context in which they operated. So one appears to witness an almost cyclical process in which institutions and possibly even the state is initially privileged as the basis on which political systems might be compared. However, later these institutions were relegated as a result of the prioritizing of “realism” but then again acquire a new relevance as part of that real politics itself. Scholars often termed it as “neo-institutionalism”.

David Apter argues that “neo- institutionalism” combines older institutionalist concerns with developmentalism. Restoring political system to centre stage it combines an interest in what are now called less developed countries with interest in Europe. Neo- institutionalism can be said to have evolved out of a general concern with pluralist democracy. Particularly concerned with social welfare and social democratic alternatives to authoritarianism, neo institutionalists shifted away from the old institutionalist pre occupation with the Great Depression and towards the generalization of the social welfare state. Apter further went to the extent in arguing that where developmentalism stressed the need for growth as a way of contributing to democracy, neo institutionalism examines the way governments confronting the negative consequences of growth, including environmental and pollution problems, the absorption of immigrants and so on. It includes too, explanations for the reversal of the social welfare and social democratic state, and a return to the liberal state.

Another important strand in neo institutionalism is the use of rational choice theory, which is more and more frequently being applied to the questions of democracy in terms of what might be called the “double market”, the interaction between the economic market place and the political. In contrast to both the old institutionalists and modernity theorists like Huntington for example, this would assume that it is not necessary to believe in democracy in order to support it. What counts more for Przeworski is whether economic needs are being met, with this changing concerns not only institutions of government have become central again, but simultaneously also the questions about the proper role and scope of government and the limits of state intervention. Apter further points out that political economy has combined with institutional comparisons in Europe including responses by the political parties to changes in the economy, European integration, and of course the disappearance of socialism not only in Eastern Europe and Russia but also the decline of socialism and social democracy in the west. In fact, neo-institutionalism is less constitutional than the old and more prone to economic analysis in so far as it deals with fiscal and monetary policy, banks, market and globalization.

1.6 Globalization and Gender in Comparative Politics

Our discussion on the recent development of comparative politics would remain incomplete until and unless we take into account the issues of globalization and gender and its impact on the discipline.

Globalization;

There is hardly any in the field of academics who have not come across the term globalization these days. Scholars began seriously to be interested in the concept relatively recently. The catalyst was a series of developments, including both the end of Cold War in 1989 and the recent emergence of the global economy. Jeffrey Haynes in his *Comparative Politics in a Globalizing World*, highlighted on five of the far reaching changes in global affairs. For our convenience let us discuss them in the following manner:

First, there are now more countries than ever. What is worth noticeable is that most of the newly emerging countries grew from a number of ‘failed’ or collapsed states. In post Second World War most of the new countries emerged as a result of decolonization but recently it was the collapse of the existing states that led to new ones.

Second, from the mid-1970s democracy spread from southern Europe to Latin America and East Asia, by way of Eastern Europe, Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia

thus ending numerous dictatorships and other forms of non-democratic rule. This was Huntington's famous 'third wave' of democratization. However, such countries found themselves confronted not with a smooth passage to democracy and democratic consolidation but instead to often serious outbursts of religion, ethnic and nationalist conflict.

Third, there was the apparently universal triumph of capitalism. This encouraged the renewed focus on the economic and political power of forceful cross-border actors including transnational corporations such as Microsoft, McDonalds etc. and also international financial institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Fourth, political development focuses specially on the anti-globalization movement that emerged in the 1990s. The anti-globalization movement is an important example of what is known as 'transnational civil society'(TCS). It is widely accepted that the burgeoning of TCS is closely linked to globalization as it was much facilitated by the rapid evolution of cross border network in the 1990s that were able to exploit the technological revolution of the internet and email.

Fifth, there was enhanced regional integration, involving dozens of countries not only well established entities like the European Union (EU) but also the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Latin America's MERCOSUR (El Mercado Comun del Sur). In the EU, NAFTA and to a lesser degree in MERCOSUR, burgeoning cross border interactions are seen increasingly consequential for both domestic political and economic outcomes.

Analytically these five developments combined to challenge long held assumptions about the separatedness of domestic and international political analysis. In fact, Poggi suggests that the key challenge for these states is located in a 'complex of economic, technological, ecological and cultural structures' which collectively 'ignore or deny the relevance of any state's territory.'

Traditionally, comparative political analysis has been concerned almost exclusively with domestic political structures and processes. From there attention shifts to incorporate the impact of globalization on and in domestic political outcomes. It is here that comparative politics comes much closer to international relations. Douglas Chalmers in his extensive study on Latin America observes that attempts to bridge the gap between comparative politics and international relations. Infact the key aim is to bridge what is increasingly recognized as artificial disciplinary gap between comparative politics and International Relations. Though conventionally, Comparative Politics is concerned with

the comparative method, International Relations is an academic discipline which studies the international system yet convergence of both particularly in recent researches over economic issues are observable. So analysis needs to be informed by approaches that integrate domestic politics, transnational relations and the role of ideas. However, it is also worth here to note that comparative politics and international relations crucially differ in three respects namely their analytical realms, their core assumptions about the importance of domestic and international spheres and their perceptions of which actors are analytically important. Unlike comparative politics, international relation is interested in a very broad range of international and transnational conduct, focused on multiple levels of analysis. This is because no one image, explanation or model in any composite sense, could be expected to explain all of international behaviour. As a result, following Hay one may say that compared to comparative politics, international relation is somewhat more complex and contested.

Gender:

Pettman observes that both comparative political analysis and international relations have generally been taught and theorized as if women were invisible; as if either there were no women in world politics or as if women and men were active in and affected by world politics in the same way, in which case there would be no need to “gender” the analysis. However, there is an emerging area of feminist scholarship in relation to both analytical foci while gender issues are also a focus of transnational politics. Overall, ‘feminist understanding and women’s organizing provide us with perspectives that contribute a more inclusive view of globalization.’

Feminist concerns are increasingly reflected in political analysis as well. This has led to the growing number of political theorists who explicitly consider the issue of gender equality when assessing comparatively the nature of individual political systems. But they are yet much insufficient researches in numbers to exert their effective voice and visibility in the discipline. Feminist scholars still critique the mainstream majority of both comparative politics and international relation analysis for the high level of alleged ‘gender blindness.’ Gender blindness relates to the fact that some political theories have little or nothing to say about the participation of women in politics, including transitions to and consolidation of democracy. It is also related more generally to the gendered nature or lack of it within political structures and processes. Such neglect particularly looks odd and strikes our mind when since late 1980s women’s involvement in political processes are both extensive and varied.

1.7 Conclusion

Examining the different phases of the development of comparative politics one is forced to conclude that the evolution of comparative politics was not self-initiated development but one which is deeply influenced by political events. This amount of flexibility is perhaps needed to understand the present world and make it more adaptable to contemporary times. This would not only enable comparison to be much better suited to address different ranges of theoretical problems but also leaves option to develop an all-inclusive approach particularly in case of gender. It must be noted that each of the visions as envisaged by scholars of comparative politics at different times draws attention to significant aspects of contemporary political reality and hence therefore cannot remain to be isolated or rather avoided. In doing so the comparative understanding then can genuinely contribute to the development of comparative politics which still is an ongoing process.

1.8 Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. What is Comparative Politics? Trace its evolution from an academic practice to that of a discipline.
2. State the differences that had taken place in the approach of comparative politics in its transition from pre-modern to modern era.
3. Discuss the postmodern approach of Comparative politics.
4. Evaluate how the effects of globalization had a far reaching changes on Comparative Politics and how world economy dilutes the line of demarcation between comparative politics and international relations.

Short Questions

1. What are the differences between Comparative Government and Comparative Politics?
2. Narrate the major traditions within Comparative Politics.
3. Discuss the new wave of scholarship that emerged since 1980s in Comparative Politics. What were their arguments?
4. Write a short note on the alleged gender blindness of comparative politics.

Suggested Reading

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Unit - 2 □ Methods of Comparisons, Advantages of Comparisons and Comparisons of Similar and Contrasting Systems in Comparative Politics

Structure

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.2. Objectives, Subject-matter and Methodology of Comparison in Comparative Politics.

2.2.1 Objectives of Comparison

2.2.2 The Subject-matter of Comparison

2.2.3 Comparative Methods

2.2.4 Features of the Comparative Methods

2.2.5 Techniques of Comparative Methods

2.3 Comparing Similarities and Differences

2.4 Limitations of the Comparative Methods

2.5 Questions

2.6 Suggested Readings

2.0 Objectives

A study of this unit will enable you to have a clear, definite and thorough knowledge of the following topics :

- Objectives of comparisons in Comparative Politics
- Features and Techniques of comparative methods that are used in Comparative Politics.

- Use of Comparison of similarities and dissimilarities in Comparative Politics.
- Limitations of the Comparative Methods of Comparative Politics.

2.1 Introduction

Comparison is a natural instinct of human beings. There is reference to comparison in most of the statements we make daily. Whenever we say that a state is developed, we indicate two more types of states – underdeveloped and developing. Whenever we say that someone is short, we think of two more types of people – tall and medium height people. Comparative reference helps us to clarify the subject of our discussion. In our discussions of politics also the use of comparison has the same utility and effectiveness. So political scientists of all ages acknowledge the utility of comparisons. Peter H. Merkl had commented, “As a means for thorough understanding of politics at home, abroad and at the international sphere, sophisticated comparison has always been unsurpassed.” James S. Coleman thinks that one cannot be scientific if he is not comparing. Rajni Kothari said “If we are to study politics in a meaningful manner, we should better study it comparatively.” These statements indicate that comparison is basic to all political analysis. The discipline which specializes in comparative analysis of different forms of governments or political systems of different countries is known as Comparative Politics. With increasing emphasis on scientific study of politics in modern times Comparative Politics has become an important field within Political Science. A sociologist or a political scientist who wants to study the cause and effect relations must search for variations and only through comparison across national or other levels can one search for such variations. Again, when one intends to test a hypothesis or make generalizations, then comparison provides him with the only means for assessing the strength of the hypothesis or rightness of the generalization.

During the first part of the 20th century comparativists focussed their attention on the legal structures of governments and formal political institutions and, that too, only of West European and North American countries. This was then termed Comparative Government. In the second part of the 20th century our view of politics was broadened and government was considered as a part of politics. With this, the term Comparative Politics replaced the term Comparative Government as the name of our discipline. Comparative Politics compares government structures and formal political institutions as well as organisational structures of decision making processes in other areas of social life – like political parties, classes, interest groups etc.

In short, Comparative Government takes a narrow and formal view of politics and Comparative Politics assumes a broader, formal-cum-informal view of politics. The objective, subject-matter and the methodology of comparison among different political systems in modern Comparative Politics have now assumed a totally new character.

2.2. Objectives, Subject-matter and Methodology of Comparison in Comparative Politics.

2.2.1 Objectives of Comparisons

The main objective of Comparative Politics is comparison or comparative analysis, which is directed to a particular objective. The objective of the comparativist is to build up inferences through comparisons, which would prepare the theoretical structure of Comparative Politics or to gather data and facts in favour of the prevalent theoretical structure and to search for laws. Statistics and Mathematics, assist his discussion and analysis. According to experts in Comparative Politics, one can reach decisions or prove the validity of inferences only through comparison.

2.2.2 The Subject matter of Comparison

According to the experts in Comparative Politics, we have first to decide on the topics to be compared before starting comparative discussions. In Comparative Politics, comparative discussion is carried on between different nation-states, between nation-states and the United Nations and also between the units or divisions within the nation-state. There are comparative discussions between countries or units with similar political structures and also between countries with dissimilar political structures. Comparative Politics makes political analysis at the macro-level, i.e., the whole political system and also at the micro level, i.e. dividing the whole system into parts and then comparing the parts. In all cases the comparativist has first to decide and design his subject-matter.

There are many nation-states or political systems at the macro level. So it is rather impossible to make a comparative study of all of them. We have first to select the subject or subjects for comparison and then to decide the nation-states or the political systems which we would regard as relevant to the subject. The subject of comparison may be linked with some secondary issues indirectly. So the comparativist has to decide which of the secondary issues are to be included in the subjects for comparison. While comparing the system of authoritative allocation of values between two or more states

the comparativist has to take into account some secondary issues, like functions of interest groups, the method of political socialization, the rate of political participation etc. He would include relevant secondary issues into his subject of comparison and discard irrelevant secondary issues.

At the micro level, the comparativists compare parts of political systems, like the executive, the legislature, the party systems, the bureaucracy etc., e.g. comparison between the Prime Minister of India with the Prime Minister of Britain, comparison between British and American political parties, comparison between the fundamental right of India and those of China or comparison between American and French Presidents. While determining the scope of Comparative Politics, Philippe C. Schmitter stated, “As a subject, Comparative Politics is a special field of teaching and research within the discipline of Political science, that is customarily devoted to the politics of other countries or people. This statement of Schmitter does not specify the particular aspects of the politics that one must study in this field. So it may be any or every aspect. Despite the specific preference for comparative study in the post-World War II period, single country studies are still followed in Comparative Politics, e.g. David Truman's ‘Governmental Process’ is a study of the American group politics by an American political scientist, but it is included within the Comparative Politics course in American universities.

It is difficult to define or determine the wide range of subjects or issues that the comparativists can study or teach. The following publications express the vastness and variety of the issues, that had been studied so far in Comparative Politics– ‘Education and Political Development’ (1965) by James S. Coleman, ‘Political Opposition in Western Democracies’ (1968) by Robert A. Dahl, ‘Democracy’ in Plural Societies’ (1975) by Arend Lijphart, ‘The Politics of Oil in Venezuela (1975) by Franklin Tugwell, ‘Coalitions in Parliamentary Government’ (1976) by Lawrence C. Dodd, ‘Representation in Italy’ (1977) by S. H. Barnes, ‘Parties without Partisans : Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies’ (1984) by Russel J. Dalton, ‘Unions and Economic Crisis (1984) by Peter Gurevitch, ‘Corporation and Change’ 1984 by Peter J. Katzenstein, Regionalism, Business interests, and Public Policy’ (1989) by William D. Coleman, ‘Beyond the Miracle of the Market : the Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenia’ (1989) by Robert H. Bates etc.

2.2.3 Comparative Methods

The term method refers to how one goes about studying a particular issue. The objectives of Comparative Politics are to analyse and examine its subject-matter scientifically and then to take decisions and formulate theories. The means to reach these objectives are comparative methods.

According to the supporters of the comparative methods, any system or parts of a system prevalent in the world constitute the unit for discussion. On the basis of the comparative method, theories are formulated concerning the units of analysis, functions of the units are examined, deviations and problems are identified and the methods for solving them are decided. In the opinion of Philippe C. Schmitter, the method aspect of Comparative Politics involves “an analytical effort to exploit the similarities and differences between political units as a basis for developing grounded theory, testing hypothesis, inferring causality, and promoting reliable generalisations. Lijphart believes that comparative method is one of the fundamental and scientific methods for establishing general empirical propositions. But Harold Lasswell does not accept any methodological significance of the comparisons of Comparative Politics, because he thinks that comparisons are inevitable in any scientific investigation. Almond looks at comparisons as approaches and not as methods. Whatever be the point of debate or conflict of opinion in this regard, comparative method is of vital significance to the researchers of Political Science and specially of Comparative Politics.

The behavioural methods have enriched the methodological researches of Comparative Politics. The statements of Arthur Bentley and Graham Wallas, the leadership of Charles Merriam, the enthusiasm of Chicago group of researchers of USA and the support of the American Social Science Council and the American Political Science Association etc. have encouraged the development of behavioural methods and new kinds of researches. Since the end of the World War II new techniques, new methods and new directions of research had been used by the behaviouralists. They emphasized on theory-building and formulation of general laws on the basis of statistics, scientific techniques, measurements and value-free discussions. It brought about, indeed, a methodological revolution. So we find different kinds of methods and techniques and use of scientific tools by David Easton, Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Sidney Verba, James S. Coleman, Lucian Pye, Daniel Lerner, Karl Deutsch, Jean Blondel, Robert Dahl, David Apter, Arend Lijphart etc.

The comparative methods, which are generally recognized by experienced researchers of Comparative Politics are as follows :-

(1) The Scientific Method

According to this method models or theories are developed by using data, statistics etc. in Comparative Politics (like Physical Sciences).

There are various types of scientific methods, which are as follows :-

a) Experimental Method

Observation, experiment and analysis are the main characteristics of this method. Behaviouralists think that politics is a special field of experiment. In politics, after observation, experiment and analysis of political institutions or political processes, some decision is reached, theories are made and models are prepared. Some examples of the application of the experimental method in this field are surveys, theories etc. concerning democratic institutions, questions of political development, behaviour of the voters etc.

The features of the experimental method are :-

- (i) Two identical or equivalent units or groups would be used and both would be kept under identical controlled conditions (inside a laboratory) and then one of them would be exposed to a stimulus.
- (ii) Then both of them would be observed for some time.
- (iii) After the experiment period is over, the two units or groups would be compared (One is static and the other is stimulated).
- (iv) Any deviance from the original equivalence would be ascribed to the experimental stimulus.

For most of the natural sciences these assumptions would be correct, while they would be considerably approximate in biological sciences. For social and political sciences the application of this method may give rise to both practical and ethical difficulties. But in some cases, this method can reach nearer to cause and effect relations.

(b) Statistical Method

It is regarded as an alternative to the experimental method. This method depends on data and statistics collected from the prevalent conditions of the society and it analyses

government policy and activities on the basis of such data and statistics. These data and statistics are collected with the help of modern technology and they are presented in the form of graphs, charts etc. which explain the influence of government policies on the society and the people. They reveal the success or failure of government policies and activities. Some application of the statistical method by comparativists are visible in discussions on political socialization, political participation, political development etc.

This method requires two or more cases so that the variations among them with reference to the variables under examination can be found through statistical manipulation. If education, occupation and gender are expected to influence voting behaviour, it is possible to find out the effect of each of them on voting behaviour by controlling the effects of the other two variables. This method can carry out successful surveys on both the macro level and the micro level of the political system. This method is used extensively in political analysis, because this method does not require, controlled experiments in laboratories, but explains society, politics, political process, human behaviour etc. with the help of statistics and other data.

(c) Observation Method

Comparative analysis by collecting primary data, observing and examining such data and reaching general conclusions by way of inductive method is known as observation method. Interviews, research surveys etc. are examples of the application of this method.

(d) Empirical Method

According to this method, all comparative discussions are analysis of actual events—events that happen, are happening or found to happen. Comparative discussion on the basis of experiences about them is known as the empirical method. This method gives importance to issues or happenings experienced through the five sense organs, not to imaginations or metaphysical issues.

(2) Comparative Method

According to Arend Lijphart, Comparative Politics can and does use experimental method as far as practicable, statistical method generally in a wide manner and comparative method as a third alternative.

If the unit of comparison is a small geographical area (district), then the statistical method is used for comparison. This method can be applied for comparing many nation-

states also, but the presence of a variety of diversities among nation-states would make any generally accepted conclusion practically impossible. Comparative method examines the relationship between selected sets of variables intensively and the selection is done in such a way as to maximize the variance of independent variables and to minimize the variance of control variables. In comparative method the number of cases to be compared is small.

The features of the comparative method are :-

- (i) Social and political issues, which are relevant and which can be compared are selected for comparison, e.g. comparison between interest groups, functions of opposition parties or processes of political socialization, decision making etc.
- (ii) The method of selection of units could be based either on grounds of similarity or of difference. Lijphart, however prefers similarity.
- (iii) Comparative method compares a small number of cases. It cannot be used when the number of cases are large.
- (iv) Comparisons are done with the help of documents, data etc. It tries to find out the causes—why two similar political systems with similarities at many points have differences at others or why two different systems, despite many differences show similarities at some points.
- (v) It investigates the regional differences within a national political system.
- (vi) The task of the comparativist does not end with their findings of similarity within different political systems or differences within similar political systems. He tries to find out the cause of such similarity or difference and to establish cause and effect relations among events analyzed.

In addition to traditional comparativists like Max Weber, Toqueville and Marx, we find in recent times many sociologists and political scientists who applied the comparative methods. The important writings and books in this field are :- “Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy” by Barrington Moore, “States and Social Revolutions” by Theda Skocpol, “The State in Capitalist Society” by Ralph Miliband, “Class, Status and Power” by R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, “Inequality among Men” by Andre Beteille, “Pluralism in Africa” by M.G. Smith, “Civic Culture” by G. A. Almond and S. Verba (ed.), “Communication and Political Development” by Lucian Pye “Democracy in Plural Societies by Arend Lijphart etc.

There are some problems for the comparative method :-

- (i) collection of data may be difficult,
- (ii) orderly arrangement of data may create problems,
- (iii) tendency to select some chosen data may hamper impartial analysis.

But this method offers scope for intensive study of a few events or issues. The researcher is also less worried about the validity and reliability of data, as they are small in number.

(3) Case Study

Case study in comparative Politics implies the study of a single case or the study of a single country. We must distinguish here between configurative study or study of a single unit and case study. A configurative study begins and ends with the study of a single unit and does not have scientific significance. Science is not concerned with knowledge of the particular, but with general knowledge. Case study is always a case of something, because a case does not stand by itself. This is why case study is different from configurative study. A case study can be a generalising activity, though all case studies are not so. In this context Lijphart talks of six kinds of case studies :-

The first two types- (i) Atheoretical case study and (ii) Interpretative case study are concerned mainly with the description or explanation of only one unit, not with any generalization or theory-building. So they belong to the traditional configurative study category. But by providing many facts or issues about a single unit, they serve a useful purpose. Facts and descriptive study of these two approaches may help theory-building at a later stage and may be the basis of comparative study of the units described.

The next four types of case studies are more closely linked with theoretical concerns and are about theory formulation. They are

- (iii) Hypothesis - generating case study,
- (iv) Theory - confirming case study
- (v) Theory - infirming case study
- (vi) Deviant case study.

The third one analyzes and describes a definite unit, but it aims at reaching at least one or more general hypothesis or propositions, which would help research in the area later. We may cite the example of the book ‘‘Modernity and Traditions : Political Development in India,’’ written by Lloyed and Susanne Rudolph. It was a study of one

country—India—but there was a hypothesis concerning the relation between tradition and modernity, which suggested that they influence each other and are not contradictory to each other.

The fourth and fifth types—theory-confirming and theory-infirming case studies – examine a single case within a particular theoretical framework—the fourth one for strengthening and the fifth one for challenging the established theory. We can also cite the example of the book ‘‘British Politics in the Collectivist Age’’ by Samuel Beer, which examines the relationship between political culture and democracy. It established the proposition that British political culture played a crucial role in developing bourgeois democracy and opposing revolution in England.

The sixth type—deviant case study—deviates from the established general ideas or theories and expresses something new. They sometimes indicate the limits of any theory or general ideas or suggest some new variables into the theory, which was not there or try to answer some unusual questions. ‘‘Union Democracy’’ by Lipset, Coleman and Trow and ‘‘The Politics of Accommodation : Pluralism and Democracy in Netherlands’’ by Arend Lijphart contain relevant discussions in this respect. The first book disproves the famous thesis of Robert Michels's iron law of oligarchy and the second one shows how Netherlands's democracy functioned successfully despite social conflict and inequality in Holland. This deviant Dutch case inspired Lijphart to formulate the consociational model of democracy.

The six types of case studies enumerated by Lijphart can be regarded as ideal types; in real practice one type may be mixed with the other one or more than one types.

Configurative studies or studies of one unit has generally been rejected by modern thinkers of Comparative Politics but case study, though a study of one unit, remains attractive still today in comparative discussions.

(4) Inter-disciplinary Research Method

According to this method Comparative Politics is studied by applying methods of different social or natural sciences. Three such methods are as follows :-

(a) Sociological Method – This method makes comparative discussions of political life, political system and political process from the perspective of the whole society. Discussions on political culture, political socialization, political participation, political development etc. are examples of discussions carried on with the help of this method.

(b) Psychological Method – This method analyzes politics from the standpoint of the individual and the collective psychology of the citizens. Public opinion poll, electoral behaviour analysis etc. are examples of the application of this method in the study of Comparative Politics.

(c) Biological Method – This method discusses the origin, development and functions of the state, the political system etc. by comparing the state or the body politic with the human body. The biologists try to find out similarities between the two in their discussions. One example of the application of the biological method in the discussion of Comparative Politics is the Systems Theory of David Easton.

(5) Marxist Method – Marx discussed the patterns of social development and social change with the help of dialectical materialism. Marx does not follow the tradition of liberal democracy, which analyzes politics on the basis of law, constitution, political institutions, political power, authoritative allocation of the value, systems approach etc; He discusses politics from the perspective of the economic aspect of the society and on the basis of the real or actual relations between the society and the state. Marx gives importance to class structure, class-struggle, socialist society etc. in his analysis of politics.

2.2.4 Features of the Comparative Methods, as discussed in Comparative Politics

The features of the comparative methods, used in Comparative Politics are as follows :-

a) Definition of Conceptual Units–

The units of discussion in Comparative Politics are known as conceptual units. The comparativist can compare the whole political systems or the collective whole and also the units of the collective whole. For examining the whole political system one must have knowledge about the small units composing it and to know the small units of the political system, one must have some concepts of the collective unit. Examples of comparison of the collective whole is the comparison between the parliamentary systems of Britain and India or comparison between the Parliamentary system of Britain and the presidential system of America. Comparison between the interest groups of India and those of America or between the party systems of socialist China and those of capitalist America are comparisons about the small units of the political systems. The conceptual unit is very important in Comparative Politics. Comparative analysis is undertaken on the basis of the definition of the conceptual unit or units.

(b) Classification

The conceptual units which are compared must be classified into different categories and decisions about the nature of the complicated units are taken on the basis of such classification. Charts, graphs etc. are the means of classification. Formulation of laws and building up of theory become possible on the basis of such classifications. Some generally accepted fields of classification are classifications into —

- (i) democratic and dictatorial political systems on the basis of the presence of freedom and fundamental rights of the citizen in the political system.
- (ii) federal and unitary systems based upon the criterion of the division of power between the central and regional governments of the polity.
- (iii) parliamentary and presidential political systems on the basis of the type of relation between legislative and executive branches of the government. Perfect knowledge about the conceptual units can be possible only on the basis of classification of the said units.

(c) Hypothesis, Formulation and Testing

Comparative Politics searches the answers to a host of questions while analyzing the methods of functioning of a political system like—

- (i) how much sympathetic the political system is to the demands of the people?
- (ii) how does the political system tackle internal crisis and external pressures?
- (iii) how much support can the political system expect from the citizens during times of crisis? To find answers to such questions Comparative Politics formulates hypothesis and investigates their validity. Only after the validity of the hypothesis are proved, can one formulate laws or build up theories of Comparative Politics.

2.2.5 TECHNIQUES OF COMPARATIVE METHODS

There are three types of techniques for comparative analysis in Comparative Politics :-

(i) Sample Surveys

Sample Surveys are done to examine a political system as a collective unit or the different small units of that system. Sample surveys about a country or any one of its small units cannot be viewed as comparative, but many issues for consideration in Comparative Politics are collected through sample surveys. To make comparative discussions of the

political parties of different countries we have first to collect facts about them through sample surveys and then do the comparative explanation. Rajni Kothari's 'Politics in India' is a book of this type.

(ii) **Statistical Analysis** - The area of consideration of issues in statistical analysis is larger than those in sample survey. We can include all the countries of the world, all socialist countries or all countries of the third world into the arena of statistical analysis. In case of statistical analysis, the number of samples must be many, the data and facts gathered are examined through a complicated procedure and the differences among the changeable or variable elements are identified. On the basis of the differences, relations among the elements are established and laws are formulated. The book 'The Rebellious country : 1830 - 1930' by Charles Louis and Richard Trilli compares many countries. It explains how modernization and industrial life have affected collective life.

(iii) **Focussed Comparison**

Focussed comparison is comparison between the political systems or units of political systems of two or a few number of states. Here comparative analysis is concentrated on a few selected elements of the political system or their units.

The issue for analysis is one in case of sample surveys, many in statistical analysis and a few in case of focussed comparison. So focussed comparison is placed in between the two methods—sample survey and statistical analysis. The books—'Economic growth in France and Great Britain' by Charles Kindleyburger and 'Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey' by Robert E. Ward and Dank Wart, A. Rustow are examples of comparisons of two countries.

2.3 Comparing similarities and differences

Before beginning any kind of comparative study, we have to decide the issues we would compare – similar issues or dissimilar issues.

When we compare two similar units, or two similar countries, we can identify the uniqueness and specialities of each. Similar units or systems also contain some differences. If we compare two capitalist states or the interest groups of two capitalist states we would find some differences between the two similar systems or units. There are apparent similarities among the countries of South America, but if we compare them intensively, we would discover some differences among them. There had been

similarities between the socialist system of China and that of former U.S.S.R, but there were many differences too. Former USSR was a federal state, while China was a unitary state. India and USA both are capitalist systems and the constitutions both the states include a list of fundamental rights, but the fundamental rights of both the states are not the same. The constitution of India guarantees the right against untouchability, but that is not there is the American constitution.

Most similar strategies try to widen the area of inter-systematic similarities, which are then regarded as ‘controlled for’ and focus on some systematic differences which are regarded as ‘‘explanators factors’ for the dependent variables. The principle on the basis of which cases are selected for comparison is ‘‘maximizing similarities and minimizing differences.’’ Since similar conditions cannot be responsible for variance between the two units, these can be considered as constants and hence ‘controlled for’ and kept out of analysis. S.F. Nadel in his ‘‘Studies of African Tribes’’ found Nupe and Gwari tribes to be similar in their environments, economy, political organizations, religions, kinship systems etc. but different in their witchcraft systems. In Nupe tribe all the witches were females, while in Gwari tribes they were both males and females. The differences in their witchcraft systems could not be explained with the help of the similarities and so they were eliminated as possible explanations. Nadel then concentrated on a narrower number of variables for searching the correct explanation. He ultimately found the cause for differences of the witchcraft systems of the two tribes in the relative difference in the economic status of women of the two tribes.

Some important comparative studies concerning similar units are found in the following books —‘‘Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa’’ by James S. Coleman, ‘‘Communication and Political Development’’ by Lucian Pye, ‘‘Political Systems in Latin America’’ by Martin C. Needler, ‘‘Regimes and Opposition’’ by Robert A. Dahl etc.

Comparative discussions of similar countries have so far compared the structures, geographical specialities, history, stages of development, election behaviour, party systems, coalition politics etc. But most of such comparative studies were studies of one region or one geographical area.

In comparative politics there are comparisons of dissimilar or different elements also. Different systems also contain some similarities. U.S.A follow the presidential system, while India introduced the parliamentary system. They are dissimilar systems, but have

similarities also – both are federal systems and both guarantee fundamental rights to citizens. China and Britain are also different systems–China follows the socialist economy, while Britain accepted liberalism and capitalism, both have one similarity– both are unitary states.

In comparative discussions of different systems the strategy or the principle of maximizing difference among units is emphasized.

Studies of different units in comparative politics follow the following different kinds of patterns :

First, comparative discussion of opposite political worlds, e.g comparisons between USA and former USSR - the ideology, political structure and systems of government of the two societies are different,

Secondly, comparative discussions of nation-building,

Thirdly, comparative analysis of traditional systems with modern secular systems,

Fourthly comparative study of democratic and totalitarian systems and

Fifthly, comparative discussion of developed and underdeveloped or developing countries.

Books relevant in these respects are ‘‘Nationbuilding and Citizenship’’ by Reinhard Bendix, ‘‘Revolution and Democracy’’ by Hans Kohn, ‘‘Non-Western Political Process’’ by Lucian Pye etc.

Democracy had not been stable in many third world countries. There may be different reasons for such failure of democracy, there may also be some similar reasons. There has been military upheavals in some Latin American or Afro-Asian countries. In many countries the military captured state power. In some cases the failure of non-military civil government inspired revolution, in some cases the powerful capitalist countries helped the military upheaval. By comparing the political systems of the third world countries we can reveal the inability of non-military civil government and also the interference of big capitalist countries. By comparing the South African countries we can find out the differences in the degree of their economic development and then investigate the causes behind such differences. We can know, through comparative surveys, the causes of the behavioural differences among the voters of two or more states in case of the application of their right to vote. While discussing different systems we must give attention to their socio-economic systems, history, religions, environments,

political cultures, political structures etc. in addition to their political systems.

When the comparativist discusses similarity, then he must not ignore the dissimilarities behind the similarity. Again, when he is investigating dissimilar systems he must not forget the similarities. No two systems are fully similar or fully dissimilar. So we cannot consider UK and USA as similar because of the existence of liberal democracy in both, nor can we view them as dissimilar because of the presence of the parliamentary system in UK and presidential system in USA. Similarity and dissimilarity are two sides of a coin. Any two cases have similarities as well as dissimilarities. Whether we consider systems as similar or dissimilar will depend on what characteristics of these cases we want to identify as relevant and what sort of research question we want to follow.

2.4 Limitations of the Comparative Methods

Practical application of the comparative methods creates some problems and so the comparative methods suffer from some limitations too. These are as follows :-

- (i) There are different types of political systems, political processes and political behaviour-patterns. They have different functions also. In many cases they cannot be explained by some definite rules. Political systems or processes do not always follow reason and rational path. Political systems or processes of complicated nature cannot always be explained scientifically.
- (ii) Many political scientists believe that the main objective of Comparative Politics is to maintain the status quo or to preserve the prevalent political system and not to encourage social change.
- (iii) Comparative method focusses on some select institutions, analyses some particular and preferred elements of the political system and neglects all other elements or institutions.
- (iv) Comparative method emphasizes on value-free discussions. But it is difficult to be fully value-free in the discussions of politics. Conceptual units of Comparative Politics are explained in different manners in the two opposite kinds of ideologies—Marxism and liberalism. They explain the words freedom, equality etc. with different meanings and each theory sticks to its own explanation pattern. So it is not possible to be fully value-free.
- (v) It is not easy to collect information, data, statistics etc. about political systems or

units of political systems. It is also difficult to organise and classify them. Political systems or processes or behaviour-patterns cannot be experimented in a controlled manner in laboratories as can be done in case of scientific issues. It is difficult to measure many elements of the political systems.

- (vi) Some problems crop up in the process of the formulation of conceptual units of the comparative method. The meanings of conceptual units are different in different political systems and also at different periods of time. This gives rise to some misconceptions, which hinder the application of the comparative method. Comparative Politics offers no scope for experiment in the laboratories and so its power of prediction is very limited.

It is true that the application of the comparative method create some problems, but it is not fully impossible to apply them in practice. Rather in recent times there has been increasing application of comparative methods in Comparative Politics. There has been very high standard researches on mass media, religion, opposition party, military etc. of Africa and Latin America, good analytical studies were made on electoral participation, eagerness for party membership etc. of western European countries and mediterranean regions, discussions concerning language, religion, culture etc. of the middle East and political systems and units of systems of European countries and America were carried on by many Comparativists. Comparative discussions of old and modern systems were undertaken and attempts were made to determine the relation between them. Comparative study of developed and underdeveloped or developing nations were pursued also and on the basis of comparative analysis of the different systems and units of systems some theories were built in Comparative Politics.

2.5 Questions

Essay answer type Questions

1. What are the different methods of Comparative Politics?
2. Discuss the different types of scientific methods that are pursued in Comparative Politics.
3. Discuss the comparative methods of Comparative Politics.
4. What is a case study and what are its different types?

5. Why comparison of similar and different units or systems are important in Comparative Politics?
6. What are the utilities and limitations of Comparative Methods?

Short Questions

1. What are the objectives of comparisons?
2. What do you mean by macro-level and micro-level comparisons?
3. What do you mean by comparative method?
4. Name three inter-disciplinary methods of Comparative Politics.
5. What are the features of the Marxist Method?
6. Discuss three features of the comparative methods pursued in Comparative Politics.
7. Mention the different techniques of comparative methods.
8. What do you mean by sample Survey?
9. What is the meaning of Statistical Analysis?

2.6 Suggested Readings

1. Blondel, Jean, *An Introduction to Comparative Government*, Wiedenfield Nicolson, London, 1969.
2. Blondel, Jean, *Comparative Government*, Macmillan, London, 1969.
3. Chatterji, Rakhahari, *Introduction to Comparative Political Analysis*, Sarat Book Distributors, Kolkata.
4. Curtis Michael, *Comparative Government and Politics : An Introductory Essay in Political Science*, Harper & Row, New York, 1968.
5. Finer, S.E, *Comparative Government*, Penguin Press, Great Britain, 1975
6. Johari, J.C, *Comparative Politics*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1999.

Unit - 3 □ Different Approaches to the Study of Comparative Politics : Systems Approach and Structural-Functional Approach

Structure

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Systems Approach

3.2.1 The concept of a system

3.2.2 Features of the Systems Approach of Easton.

3.2.3 Criticisms of the Systems Approach

3.3. Structural - Functional Approach

3.3.1 Introduction

3.3.2 Structural - Functional Approach of Almond

3.3.3 Criticisms of Structural functionalism of Almond

3.4 Questions

3.5 Suggested Readings

3.0 Objectives

Study of this unit will empower you to understand and know the following topics :

- Existence of different Approaches to the study of Comparative Politics.
- Systems Approach and the Meaning of a System.
- Easton's Analysis of the Systems Approach.
- Criticisms of the Systems Approach.
- Meaning of Structures and Functions of the Structural Functional Approach.
- Almond's Exposition of the Structural Functional Approach.
- Criticisms of the Structural Functional Approach.

3.1 Introduction

The words “approaches to the study of Comparative Politics” mean a definite pattern of analyzing and explaining a particular political event or issue. The approach may be wide, e.g. international politics covering the whole world or it may be narrow, e.g. containing any subject or event of local or national politics. In both cases relevant information relating to the topic for discussion are gathered, they are explained and analyzed and necessary statistics, data etc. are collected for helping the analysis. In the field of Comparative Politics there is a standard for the selection of problems for consideration and also for the collection of information and statistics. This standard is different in different kinds of comparative studies. So there are many approaches in Comparative Politics. When the political analysts present their concepts in the form of a particular approach, then they take resort to different methods of comparative discussion. So these different methods of discussions are complementary to the comparative approaches. According to V. V. Dyke, comparative approach is the standard for selecting problems, data and statistics and comparative method is the means or technique of the collection and application of such data. So different comparative methods are used for the collection and application of data in comparative discussions.

Different approaches to the study of Comparative Politics are closely connected with different theories. Functions of a theory are generalisations, predictions, formation of laws, establishment of cause and effect relation etc. Theories are formed on the basis of the nature of the approach. So approaches may be considered as the creator of theories. When the functions of the approach extends to generalisation, formulation of laws etc. and makes predictions possible, then the approach gives birth to theories.

The approaches prevalent till the world war II were known as traditional approaches.¹ They were idealistic, descriptive and value-laden. Their discussions were based on philosophy, history, law and institutions.

Since the World War II discussions based on descriptive analysis of the traditional approaches were replaced by scientific enquiry; idealism and value judgement of traditional politics were changed into value-free discussions based on actual problems; discussions centring round philosophy, law and institutions of traditional politics were turned into discussions of political behaviour, political processes, political systems etc, which gave importance to the psychological perspectives, uses of measurement and

1. Some traditional approaches were Philosophical Approach (Plato & Hegel) Historical Approach (Michael Oakshott) Legal Approach (Austin, Dicey) and Institutional Approach (Herman Finer and Ivor Jennings).

statistics, behaviour-patterns of individuals and groups, concepts of development and modernization etc.

These brought about revolutionary changes with regard to the subject matter, methods and approaches of Comparative Politics and thus appeared in Comparative Politics thus modern approaches² in place of traditional approaches.

In Comparative Politics there is one more approach, different from both the traditional and the modern approaches – it is known as the Marxist approach; it explains the superstructure containing politics, society and culture on the basis of production-relations and analyses politics in the light of historical materialism.

3.2 Systems Approach

3.2.1 The concept of a system

The aim of Systems Approach is to develop generalised theoretical understanding of politics. So it is generally regarded as falling within the field of political theory, yet, the basic assumptions of Systems Approach, the definition politics on which it stands, the propositions that it formulates, the concepts and the conceptual framework that it develops are of great help to the comparativists to organize, interpret and enrich their studies.

After World War II German biologist Von Bertalanffy defined a system as “a set of elements standing in interaction with one another.” Wilfred Pareto first talked of a social system in his books on Sociology. According to him, a social system is an interdependent collective within the society, whose parts are dependent and related. In recent times James N. Rosenau, Morton A. Kaplan etc. applied the concept of system in their discussions on politics. But the person who is regarded as a pioneer in the discussion of politics on the basis of systems or Systems Approach is David Easton. His Systems Theory was first published in the book “Political System” in 1953. His two other books published in 1965 “A Framework of Political Analysis” and “A systems Analysis of Political Life” expanded his ideas to a new height.

The concept of system is taken from Biology. According to the biologists, each human organ represents a system, which is a combination of complex types of elements, that interact with the whole and also with each other. So each part of human organ is dependent

2. Modern approaches are—Systems Approach, Structural Functional Approach, Communication Approach, Group Approach, Development Approach, Behavioural Approach, Neo-Behavioural Approach etc.

not only on the whole system or the human organ, but also on each other. According to the Systems Approach, different systems of the society like those of the human organ are related to each other and sub-systems or parts of the system are also not isolated units, but integrally connected with the whole system. Systems Approach can be applied to all systems—from a small one to a larger one. So the concept of political system can be helpful in the analysis of political events of all categories—small or large. Easton's Systems Approach analyzes political institutions, their functions, political events etc. on the basis of their practical relations and mutual interactions. Almond regards the System Approach as a strong step in the establishment of scientific outlook in political science.

3.2.2 Features of the Systems Approach of Easton.

Systems Analysis of David Easton has some important premises :

(1) Political System –

Easton views political life as a system of behaviour. So political interactions in a society, wherever they take place, whichever form they assume or by whatever unit (individual or group) they are expressed can be considered as having some relationship with each other and constituting a whole. He considers political interactions as those varieties of activities that influence significantly the kind of authoritative policy adopted for a society and the way it is put into practice. All human interactions, when they relate to authoritative allocation of values for society, become political. Authoritative allocations signify decisions of those individuals who are seated in positions of power and so they can apply their decisions compulsorily on others. The word value used by him do not imply any ethical meaning; it implies only cost or eligibility, as in Economics. So Easton opines that eligibility or cost is allocated among individuals by persons in power and that politics is authoritative allocation of values of desired objects. Game of power thus is revealed in the process of allocation of values.

(ii) **Environment** – The political system does not exist in a vacuum. It operates within a greater social environment composed of other systems like economic, religious, cultural etc. within the same society and also of all systems in other societies. The former is internal environment and the latter is external environment. When the acceptance or rejection of a policy or law create political conflict within the society, then it is an example of internal environment and state of war with other countries or with another country is an example of external environment.

Easton thinks that the political system is open, because elements coming from different aspects of environment influence the political system and the political system also has

its impact on environment. The interaction between the political system and the environment is not the same in all cases.

(iii) Response – According to Easton, a political system, which is open to environment, has to respond to problems arising from the environment, both internal and external. Each political system has its responsive and self-regulatory mechanisms, with the help of which the system maintains its continuity, despite changes in the environment. A political system is therefore dynamic and not static. Any crisis in the political system is cured by the system itself automatically and the system maintains or brings conformity with the environment. So the structures and methods of activities are different in different social systems.

(iv) Input - output – Two components of the interaction of the political system and the environment are input and output. Input has two parts - demands and supports. Demands are expectations, opinions, interests etc. of the people coming from national or international environments. Demands made on the system are usually of three types – (a) economic or desire for higher living standards, better employment opportunities or welfare benefits. (b) regulatory or demands for specific legislation for maintaining order, improving community relations etc. and (c) political or demands for greater participation in politics. Support means the abilities of the political community, the regime or the government on the one hand and the habits of obedience to law, payment of tax, respect for government, participatory tendencies etc of the citizens on the other..

Decisions made by the authority on basis of the demands and the support are known as outputs. Outputs are therefore, the authoritative allocation of values or decisions of the authorities concerning allocation of values. The nature of outputs depend on the capacities of the political system. The process through which inputs are transformed into outputs are known as the political processes. Two gatekeepers are important here (a) Structural mechanisms like the activities of political parties, interest groups, mass media etc. and b) Cultural mechanisms like norms, communication channels, administrative bodies etc. Outputs or decisions of the authorities may be of the following types–a) regulative (law), (b) allocative (allocation of public funds between alternative uses and (c) Judicial (decisions, treaties, administrative decisions etc.)

v) Feedback – Outputs are communicated to the public by means of feedback mechanisms. Feedback is the information about the reaction of the members of the public to the decisions that have emerged within the system. It is a dynamic process, by way of which information about the functions of a political system is sent back to the system. It influences future output of the system. It is a complicated mechanism and has two orientations–

(1) negative orientation, which is used for correcting the mistakes in the functioning of the system and

(2) objective-changing orientation, which is directed to new objectives. Feedback is an important element in the political system and it controls the system. It helps to cope with reactions of the public in such a way as to ensure the persistence of the system.

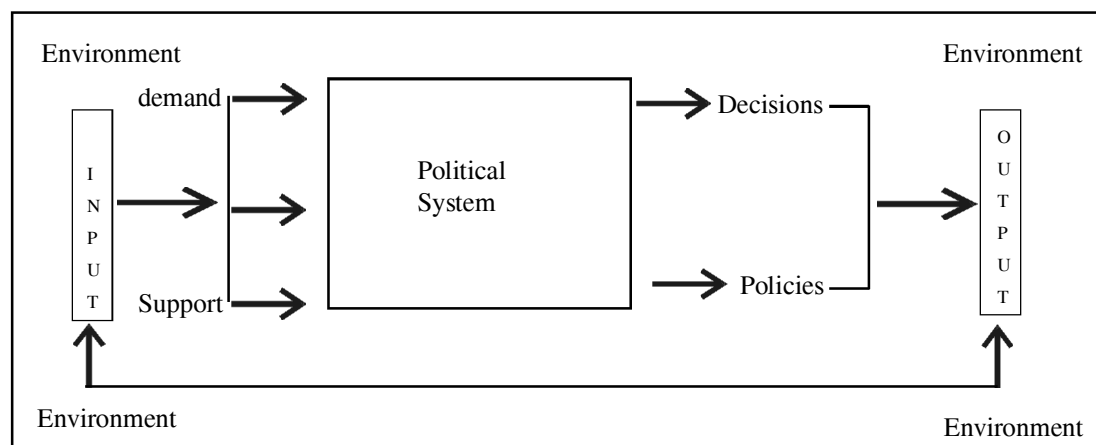
(vi) Capabilities – The ability of the political system to convert the inputs into outputs successfully is known as capability. In this respect governmental control of the behaviour of individuals or groups or allocation of services or goods to them by the government is important.

(vii) Equilibrium between input - output and demand input overload -

There is a limit in the political system upto which it can fulfil pressures of demand and support. If there is capability in the system for them, then there is equilibrium between input and output in the system. If the political system cannot fulfill the pressures of demand and support, if some demands remain unfulfilled, if support for the system is reduced or if the feedback mechanism stops functioning, there is more pressure on the political system than what it can handle. This is called demand-input overload. If this overload is too much, then the system breaks down or faces crisis. Easton prescribes some structural or methodological changes before the appearance of crisis in the political system. These prescriptions help the preservation of the system in the face of challenges. These are :

- (i) **Structural Mechanism :-** Demands to be placed before the political system are sought to be controlled with the help of different structures like political parties, interest groups, mass media etc.
- (ii) **Conversion Mechanism :** Governmental authority may seek to change the demands while converting inputs into outputs with the help of new constitutional arrangements or constitutional amendments.
- (iii) **Communication Channels :-** Demands of the individuals and groups may be lowered by way of increased communication between the government and the people.
- (iv) **Cultural Inhibitions :** – In each political systems individuals have to follow some cultural inhibitions. Through such cultural intibitations political authority may try to lessen the number of demands of the people.

Easton's model of the political system is shown diagrammatically below :-



According to Easton, the political system consists of all those institutions and processes involved in the authoritative allocation of values for the society. The system takes inputs from the society, which are demands for particular decisions or policies and expression of support. The political system converts these inputs into outputs – authoritative decisions and policies. The output then comes back to the society by way of feedback mechanism, which affect the next cycle of inputs. Easton's Systems Approach thus informs us that the citizens are involved in the decision-making or policy-framing functions of the government. He conceived of the political system as analogous to a computer which processes and thereby converts inputs into outputs.

Easton analyzed the structures of the political system, relationship among the fundamental elements of the system, the force which controls them, situations when crisis appear in political systems, the steps to be taken by the political system to come out of the crisis, the methods to preserve the system etc. and thereby he emphasized on the need for the maintenance of the stability of the system. But his systems analysis has some dynamic qualities too. He is not against change of the system, but wanted such change to be peaceful, slow and constitutional, so that the system does not become burdened or does not break down.

He applied scientific techniques in his political analysis and made the study of politics scientific in character. His system analysis deals with general political processes to and is held to be applicable to different kinds of polities. It can be applied to highly developed countries and also to underdeveloped countries of the third world, tribal societies of Africa and even to the international society and also for comparative discussion of different political systems.

It provides the theoretical equipment for looking at political phenomena on a macroscopic level and also at the setting in which microscopic analysis can be carried out. His model of the political system shifted the concern of Political Science from exclusively with government institutions to the study of the elements in society which jointly produce authoritative allocation of values. His notion of the political system refers to all the factors which influence collective decisions, even if these factors are not formal parts of government, such as processes of socialization, attitudes of parties, behaviour of voters, social movements etc.

3.2.3 Criticisms of the Systems Approach

Despite the popularity and the scientific and practical value of the Systems Approach, it has been criticized by political scientists on several grounds.

(1) The Eastonian model is regarded as complex by many political scientists. This model claims that it can be applied to all political systems, but critics say that it cannot be applied in many spheres, e.g. in states where political conflict, crisis or civil wars are common or where there is chance of breakdown of the government machinery at any moment. Critics also point out that many states have maintained their existence despite continuous crisis in the political system. Easton's model cannot explain them also. Moreover, many of them express doubts whether the conditions for survival of democracy in western democracies can show the way for solution of the problems of or for development of the third world countries.

(2) Many political analysts think that Easton's systems approach is too much mechanistic and human behaviour and human societies cannot be explained correctly by a mechanistic approach. The approach puts too much emphasis on statistics, measurement, Mathematics, scientific techniques etc. But Comparative Politics is a social science. It cannot be discussed properly with them.

(3) Easton's approach cannot explain political events like strike, bandh etc. which happen often in the underdeveloped or developing countries of the third world. So this approach is called an elitist one.

(4) Easton's approach with emphasis on slow and peaceful change and eagerness for maintenance of the status quo is known as a conservative one. It is opposed to all kinds of revolutionary activities.

(5) Easton's approach gives no importance to abstract concepts. Critics say that real and practical political systems do not conform to these abstract concepts.

(6) According to Leslie Lipson, the systems analysis, as applied to human societies,

explains what groups are and how they behave. But they don't, he says, tell us anything new. Lipson mentions here that both Plato and Aristotle conceived of the state or the society as the combination of individuals, who by their combination produce an organic whole which is different from its constituent parts. He also says that the concept of a complex whole consisting of interrelated parts can be traced in the organic theory of the state.

(7) Marxists explain politics from the angle of dialectical materialism. In their opinion, Easton has talked of the maintenance and persistence of the system, but he has not said anything about the necessity of a struggle against an exploitative system and has not thrown any light on the methods to be pursued for the abolition of exploitation in the society. So Marxists think that Easton has ignored the central point of politics or political systems.

Despite many criticisms of the Eastonian approach we have to acknowledge that his concept of 'political system' is very important in present-day political analysis. Political scientists recognise that every society has a political system within which political activities occur, struggle for power takes place and allocation of values is done by political authority.

3.3. Structural - Functional Approach

3.3.1 Introduction

Structural-Functional Approach is a widely known general approach to the study of Comparative Politics. The name of Gabriel A. Almond is closely associated with this approach. Other tinkers of this approach are G. Bingham Powell, James S. Coleman, Sydney Verba etc.

Initially the structural-functional model was formulated by some anthropologists and sociologists, specially British anthropologist Radcliffe Brown and French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Radcliffe Brown presented the concept of functionalism and found the concept of social function to be based on the analogy between social life and organic life. Any organism is a whole consisting of parts which are functionally interdependent and they together perform the function of maintenance of the organism, which is also the function of the organism as a whole. Brown regards the society also as an organism, that is as a whole, which is composed of parts, that are functionally interdependent and oriented to the goal of the survival of the society. Durkheim's ideas on religion or division of labour were based on functional assumptions too.

B. Malinowski, Marion Levy, Robert Merton, Talcott Parsons etc. were also functionalists and they said that any activity or process that contributes to the goal of survival are functional.

The functional approach is based on the following assumptions :-

- (i) The whole system is the unit of analysis
- (ii) Certain functions must be performed for the maintenance of the whole system
- (iii) Structures within the system are functionally interdependent.
- (iv) All the parts of the system perform the necessary functions contributing to the functional unity of the systems.

Functional analysis seeks to identify the structures and the processes within system, describes the functions of these structures and processes and show how they contribute to the overall functioning of the system, i.e. the survival of the system.

Like an organism, every society must perform the required functions for its survival, but the structures and processes for performing such functions are not the same everywhere. There are simple organisms like an amoeba and complex organisms like human beings. Similarly there are simple societies as well as complex societies. The simplicity or complexity of society is decided in terms of functional specialization and structural differentiations.

According to Talcott Parsons, a society, in order to keep its continuity must perform four requisite functions. They are :-

- (1) Pattern maintenance
- (2) Goal attainment
- (3) Adaptation with new environment
- (4) Integration.

The stage of a society is determined on the basis of the functions performed by the society.

3.3.2 Structural - Functional Approach of Almond

Most notable among the political scientists who applied the structure functional analysis in Political Science is Gabriel A. Almond. The book ‘‘The Politics of Developing Areas’’, written by Almond and James S. Coleman is an attempt to understand politics by coming out of the legal and institutional framework. It analyses the structures, functions and

systems of the governments of developing countries. In the book ‘‘Civic Culture’’ Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba explained the different kinds of political systems on the criterion of political culture. The book ‘‘Comparative politics : A Developmental Approach’’ written by G. A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell contains a full analysis of the Structural- Functional approach.

Before embarking on a discussion on Structural-Functional approach, we would first clear the meanings of terms—structure, function and political system. Political system, according to Almond, is the system of interactions to be found in all independent societies, which perform the function of integration and adaptation, both internally and vis-a-vis other societies, by means of employment or threat of employment of legitimate physical compulsion. So any political system is the legitimate order for the use of or threat of the use of physical compulsion on citizens. Both inputs and outputs of the political system are in some ways connected to legitimate physical compulsion.

There are three features of a legitimate system :-

- (i) **Comprehensiveness** – Political system is comprehensive and it includes all inputs and outputs affecting the use or threat of use of physical coercion.
- (2) **Interdependence** – Political system is interdependent. Change in one subset of political interactions affects other subsets and also the whole system.
- (3) **Existence of boundaries** – Political System is confined within a boundary. At some point the other systems of society end and the political system begins.

Almond includes within his concept of political system different types of political entities outside western Europe, extends the boundary of Comparative Politics and encouraged comparative discussions among different varieties of political systems on the basis of some common properties among them. He said that political systems may be different in terms of language and culture or system of governance, but all of them do the same functions. In this respect he mentions four kinds of functions :-

- (i) All political systems, from the simplest to the most complex, have some political structure, but the degree and form of structural specialization are not the same. So different systems can be compared with regard to their specialization patterns.
- (2) All political systems perform the same functions, but they may be performed by different structures, with varying styles and in different frequencies in different systems.
- (3) All societies – developed or underdeveloped are multi-functional, but some are more specialized than others in terms of functions.

(4) Culturally all political systems are of mixed character. No system is purely modern, no system is purely traditional also. But the presence of tradition or modernity may vary from system to system.

The term structure refers to a set of legitimate, stable and patterned interactions of social units or social organisations by means of which functions are performed and order is maintained in the political system. Such interactions may be occasional, may also be continuous, but cannot be altogether absent. Absolute randomness cannot be the characteristic of any political system, primitive or modern.

According to Almond, functions are political activities of the units of the social system. Functions are present in all political systems, but functional differentiation and structural specialization are greater in western political societies than those in simple societies.

We can differentiate between structure and functions by saying that the activities of individuals or groups connected with the political processes are functions and that the social organisations which perform the functions are known as structure. Legislature is the structure and legislation is the function.

Functions may be manifest or latent. Manifest functions are those functions which are intended or recognised, and functions which are neither intended nor recognized by the participants are called latent functions.

All political systems, whatever may be the differences between them, Almond says, must perform two basic sets of functions – input functions and output functions, if they want to continue and survive.

Almond speaks of four kinds of input functions and three types of output functions.

Functions of the Political System

Input function	Output function
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political Socialization and Recruitment 2. Interest Articulation 3. Interest Aggregation 4. Political Communication 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rule Making 2. Rule Application 3. Rule Adjudication

Input functions

1. Political Socialization and Recruitment –

Political systems want to perpetuate their political cultures and structures through time.

So every political system invents its process of political socialization. It is actually a process of “induction into the political culture”, whereby common attitudes, values and beliefs are created in the members of the political system. In the early stages the process of socialization was particularistic, ascriptive and diffuse. As the society develops it becomes universalistic and instrumental. But political socialization is not only a means for continuity of the society, it may also be a means for change. A new political system or a transforming one will try to adopt itself to new patterns of political culture through the process of political socialization. Family, church, educational institutions, office groups, voluntary associations etc. act as important agencies of political socialization. The end product of political socialization is a set of values, attitudes, feelings etc. towards the political system, its various roles and role incumbents, towards inputs and also towards authoritative outputs.

Political recruitment moulds the people into political role-players, e.g voters, party members, party office bearer, member, of legislature, minister etc. Political systems recruit individual members and inducts them into specialised roles through political recruitment. This function begins where socialization function ends. Recruitment process is a continuation of the socialization process. Functions of continuity and development of the political system are carried on by giving roles and responsibilities to persons recruited.

2. Interest Articulation

The function of interest articulation connects the society with the political system. Claims or demands that are generated in the society need to be articulated and placed as inputs to the political system. Decisions regarding the inputs depend on the political authority of the system. Different political systems vary in terms of the structures that perform this articulation function and also in terms of the styles of this function. Interest groups are the main structures doing this function. Almond mentions in this respect four kinds of interest groups–

(a) Institutional interest groups, which have institutional structures like the armies, the bureaucracies, the church etc.

(b) Non-associational interest groups, which are based on kinship, lineage, ethnic, regional or caste ties or identities and operate informally, e.g regional groups, kinship groups etc.

(c) Associational interest groups, which are specialised structures of interest articulations e.g. trade unions, students’ unions, human rights groups etc.

(d) Anomic interest groups, which are generally temporary groups and are involved in riots, demonstrations etc.

In a political system there may exist different types of interest groups and organizations and the methods they apply for placing their demands to the authority are also different.

(3) Interest aggregation – When a number interests are combined together and placed before the authority in the form of alternative policy options, then that function is called interest aggregation. In developed countries this function is performed by political parties; in many developing and backward societies racial, religious, caste, or tribal groups generally do this function. There are different methods and styles for performing this function.

Interest aggregation and interest articulation are not the same. In case of the former a combinatory process or a process of aggregation of interests is at work, but the latter is only narrow expression of interests.

(4) Political Communication

It is the means through which input-output functions are performed, e.g. Political socialization, placing of demands before the authority, aggregation of demands etc. Political communication keeps the political system orderly and gives it mobility. This function is important in modern states because of the increasing importance of media in recent times. Modern comparative analysis focuses on the structures and styles of communication in different political systems.

Output functions

(1) Rule making – It means formulation of authoritative rules, which is done mostly by the legislatures of modern states. In ancient times divine law, customary law, discussions in the books on rules etc. were obeyed. The rules and structures to frame rules were there, but they were not legitimately accepted by the society explicitly.

The ancient structures for rule-making were the village leaders, magicians, assembly of the elders etc. Later on the tribal head, the king or the council become important. After a long conflict between the king and the parliament the parliament gained recognition at the end of the middle age; then came constitutions, the idea of democracy and the legislature became the legitimate authority for passing authoritative laws.

(2) Rule application – This refers to the process by which authoritative decisions or rules are applied and enforced. Now this function is performed by the bureaucracy and the executive. There had been no definite structure or institution for rule application in

the past. In paternalistic systems laws were passed by the rulers. The King or the ruler applied the rules, the staff of the king had no role in this respect. This arrangement was practised even in the 13th century. Gradually the role of the bureaucracy became important and the executive department of the government and the bureaucracy were accepted as the legitimate institutions for applying the laws passed by the legislature. In recent times brueaucracy has gained tremendous importance in the case of application of rules

3) Rule adjudication–This refers to the function of resolving disputes over the meaning or interpretation of rules. Now-a-days the judicial department perform this function. This function is very important for just application of the laws and for ensuring protection of law. The function of rule application requires impartiality, independence, and autonomy of the judges. But because of the presence of class relations in the society it may be difficult to maintain impartiality.

Almond finds the existence of two functions–input functions and output functions–in each political system. He puts the general public on the input side and the government or the authority on the output side. The general public articulates and aggregates demands and communicates them to the authority or the government. The public becomes socialized by the political culture, in which it operates and learns to formulate demands in certain ways. The public is also the recruiting ground for future public servants. It also supports the government with material things, obedience, participation etc. The government, in turn, makes, applies and adjudicates rules. It tries to be responsive to the demands of the public.

3.3.3 Criticisms of Structural-Functionalism of Almond

Almond’s Structural-Functional approach has been criticised by many. The criticisms are as follows :-

- (1) It puts emphasis on the methods of maintaining or continuing the political system. Many critics point out that it is an attempt to preserve the status quo of the capitalist system. It does not tell us anything about change, modernization or development of the system. So this approach is regarded as conservative and opposed to change. Stability and survival appear to be the centre of this approach.
- (2) Many critics say that Almond has talked of structures and functions so many times that make the approach repeatative in nature.
- (3) Almond has mentioned four input functions and three output functions. Blondel

says that these seven functions of Almond cannot be applied to all political systems. These functions cannot be found in totalitarian regimes.

(4) Newly independent states, where the winds of change blow heavily, cannot be studied with the help of this approach, because this approach pinpoints on stability and status quo and not on change.

(5) This approach discusses only the present context, but does not make any historical analysis or analysis of the future.

(6) It presents a mechanical view of politics and political systems. But human behaviour cannot be explained by mechanical view.

(7) This approach regards the society as self-regulated. Marxists comment that this theory does not give any importance to class struggle, mass movements or revolutions. They also point out that the approach neglects the economic aspect of the society or the relation between production force and production relations.

(8) This Approach fails to explain the causes of social crisis and social problems.

Despite criticisms the Structural Functional approach has some significance. It analyses the complexity of interrelationships among social and political phenomena, draws attention to the whole social system and analyzes the functions of political factors. It has made political scientists sensitive to the complexity and significance of numerous variables in a social system. It has shown that interacting variables are, in various ways, interdependent. In this way it has broadened the scope of research in Political Science. It has provided a classificatory scheme for comparative analysis. It supplied a set of standardized categories that can be and has been applied to compare widely different political systems. It has developed different terminologies suited for comparative discussion, like political system, political culture, political functions, political communication, political socialization etc. and enriched the discussions of comparative politics conceptually.

3.4 Questions

Essay answer type Questions

1. Discuss Easton's Systems Approach with diagram.
2. Make a critical estimate of Easton's Systems Approach.
3. What are the input-functions as stated by the structural functional approach?

4. What are the output-functions of structural-functional approach?
5. Discuss the structural-functional approach of Almond.

Short Questions

1. What is the meaning of approaches to the study to Comparative Politics?
2. How are approaches and methods of Comparison related to each other?
3. What is the meaning of a social system?
4. What is the traditional approach in Comparative Politics?
5. What do you mean by modern approaches of Comparative Politics?
6. Write three criticisms of Easton's Systems Approach.
7. Mention the names of three supporters of the structural-functional approach.
8. Mention three criticisms of the structural-functional approach of Almond.

3.5 Suggested Readings

1. Apter David E, *Introduction to Political Analysis*, Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi, 1978.
2. Chatterji Rakhari, *Comparative Politics : History, Methods and Approaches*, K. P. Bagchi & Co Ltd., Calcutta, 1998.
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Unit : 4 □ Theories of Development and Modernisation : Neo-Liberalism, Dependency and World Systems Theories

Structure

- 4.1. Objectives**
- 4.2. Introduction**
- 4.3. Development and Modernisation : Key Issues**
- 4.4. Neo-Liberalism : A brief Outline**
- 4.5. Dependency Theory**
- 4.6. World Systems Theory**
- 4.7. Summary**
- 4.8. Questions**
- 4.9. Suggested Readings**

4.1. Objectives

The major objectives of the unit will be to understand the major theories on how the nations develop and modernise themselves and became a part of the community of states at the global level. The theories elaborated in this unit represented principal explanations to interpret developments carried out especially in the developing world particularly in the post-Second World War period. It may be noted in this connection that while the neo-liberal theory represent the western perspective of development, both the dependency theory and world system theory are primarily concerned with explaining the impact of capitalist penetration into the relatively poorer countries of the third world. It may also be noted that the major distinction of the last two vis-a-vis the first lie in their insistence on maintaining a difference in regard both to the dominant modernisation framework of the west as well as the classical Marxist perspective.

4.2. Introduction

The perspectives on development and modernisation came into prominence and are linked up with the growth of comparative politics during the post Second World

War period. As we all know that the major events following the great war were, among others, the rise of the United States as the Superpower and the relegation of the traditional powers like Great Britain, France and Germany as the second grade power. Mention may also be made in this connection of the efforts of the United States 'to reconstruct the war-torn western Europe' with the implementation of the Marshall Plan. The second most important event was the spread of communism under the leadership of the erstwhile Soviet Union not only in the eastern part of Europe but also to China, Korea and in some other parts of the globe. The third major stream of events was the disintegration of the erstwhile colonial empires in Asia, Africa and Latin America—giving birth to many new nation-states which came to be known later as 'Third world'. These nascent states were in search of a model of development to promote their economy and to strengthen political independence. It was very natural that the concern of the developed countries in the West were very different from the concern of these newly independent countries, Hence, it was the varying concern for development particularly of the 'third world' countries that has acquired much significance during the post-war years and as such theories of development came to the fore.

Accordingly, the material context for the new intellectual discourse was provided by the emergence of the newly independent nation-states where development was the crying need both for historical as well as for socio-economic and political reasons. Be it noted that, besides the long history of colonial domination, those countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were very poor, basically agricultural, lowly industrialised and politically inexperienced. Added to it were the post-war scenario in which due to the advent of cold war and 'new kind of super-power rivalry', it was imperative for the United States to develop a thorough knowledge about the 'third world' in order to provide a 'non-communist alternative' for shaping the politics and policies of these newly independent states.

It was under this backdrop, the perspectives of development became very important in the studies of Social Sciences in general and Comparative Politics in particular. The very concept of modernisation was also associated with it as it involved a process featured by industrialisation, urbanisation, economic growth and allied socio-cultural advancements. Two important academic institutions, viz the *University of Chicago* and the *Social Science Research Council* (SSRC) became very much instrumental in this regard. Some leading political scientists, very active in the institutions as stated, like Gabriel Almond, James Coleman, Lucian Pye, Sydney Verba and many others came forward to give the discipline a new direction. Gabriel Almond was the chairman of the Committee on Comparative Politics constituted by the SSRC in 1954, and the Committee had undertaken several research initiatives and published numerous titles to set a new

trend in this regard. Two pace-setting works in this connection were *The Politics of Developing Areas* edited by Gabriel Almond and James Coleman (1960) and *Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach* by Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell (1966). As such, the very idea of political development got currency in the discourse of Comparative Politics. While explaining the concept of political development, Lucian Pye in his seminal work, *Aspects of Political Development* reminded us of the comprehensive nature of the concept of development and categorically described it as the political pre-requisite of economic development.

Hence, it is very much important to remember that the concept of development is multi-dimensional—Political development and economic development are the two different but interdependent aspects of it. To put it very simply, while political development involves the issues like democracy, stability, legitimacy etc, economic development deals with the questions of industrialisation and allied issues. It has prompted Lucian Pye to observe that political development is the pre-condition of economic development. A polity is said to have achieved political development when all the conditions for economic growth are ripened. As such, this multi-dimensional perspective of development gained much importance in the study of Comparative Politics and a plethora of policy prescriptions and academic exercises began right from 1950s. Again, as already stated that the very idea of development is also associated with the idea of modernisation, It is also said that there are certain universal standards of modernisation which all societies in modern times must try to achieve in their course of development. Hence, the discussions on development and modernization are going hand in hand to each other giving birth to what is now called as theories of development and modernisation.

4.3. Development and Modernisation : Key Issues

4.3.1. Defining Development :

By development we usually mean advancement or improvement of existing conditions which also indicate the process of unfolding of the inherent potentialities —of going a step forward—of coming out of any form of ‘backwardness’ prevalent in a given period of time etc. It is often understood as a systematic process involving complementary changes in the demographic, economic, political, communicative and cultural sectors of a society. It denotes a major societal transformation, a change in the system along the continuum from peasant to pastoral to industrial organisation and affecting the values, behaviour, social structure, economic organisation, and the political process. Gabriel Almond sees development as the acquisition of new capability in the system in the

sense of a specialised role, structure, differentiated orientations, which together give the system the possibility of responding efficiently and more or less autonomously to new range of problems. Lucian Pye, La Palombara, Riggs and Hahn-Been Lee also emphasise the capability dimension as the fundamental aspect of the syndrome of development. To Goulet, life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom of choice are the three core values of development. Taking a broad view, Todaro describes development as a multi-dimensional process involving change in structure, attitudes and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of poverty. The *World Development Report* considers development as the improvement of the quality of life calling for higher income, better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a clear environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom and richer cultural life.

4.3.2. Different Perspectives of Development

As stated, the concept of development is multi-dimensional and it may be viewed from different perspectives. A major trend of looking at the concept of development in this context is from a binary of the two different perspectives: *the Western and Non-Western*. The Western position in this regard is popularly known as 'modernisation' perspective. It views development as positive change covering the social, economic and political fields of the system while retaining the basic structure intact. It is said to take place when an index of those factors which are deemed desirable and relatively preferable increases in magnitudes. The scholars from Asia, Africa and Latin America, however, questioned the western perspective of development as "ethno-centric", "Self-limiting" and historically distorted. They also question the wisdom of applying the theoretical framework built around the American paradigm of systems approach, structural functionalism and behaviouralism to explain the economic and political scenario of developing societies, besides questioning the basic assumptions of that framework. Accordingly, alternative perspectives on development gradually began to take roots and some non-western perspectives like 'dependency' has gained ground. Scholars adhering to this perspective see in the western model a sinister design to legitimise evolutionary growth and diffuse people's revolutionary urge for large-scale socio-economic transformation. The dependency perspective assumes that dependency is a situation in which certain number of countries has their economy conditioned by the development and expansion of another placing the dependent countries in a backward position exploited by the dominant countries.

Within the dependency perspective, however, there emerged a number of variants.

The most representative among those are the theories of unequal exchange of Emmanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin and the theory of world system of Wallerstein. Wallerstein and Amin show that every transaction between the developed and underdeveloped countries means a transfer of value from the underdeveloped country to the developed one, which means that the rate of accumulation of capital is reduced in the underdeveloped country and enhanced in the developed, and thus this unequal exchange results in uneven development. For Wallerstein all the states within the capitalist system cannot develop simultaneously because the system functions by virtue of having unequal core and periphery regions. Another variant of the dependency perspective is that of the associated dependent development of Cardoso and Faletto. Combining classical Marxism with dependency, they reject the notion of dependency exclusively as an external cause and suggest that the changes occurring in the capitalist world system do not produce similar automatic changes all over the periphery, but find a concrete expression through local interests, state policies and class struggles. Thus they observe that capitalist development can occur in dependent situation. It is very natural that these perspectives may also be criticised from different angles. The most important among those is the trend through which the entire responsibility for underdevelopment is being placed on the capitalist developed countries without taking into account the internal and domestic constraints of development.

4.3.3. Changing dimensions of Development

With the changing world scenario, In view of the inadequacies of the existing development perspectives, there have been newer experiments in discourses on development and as such the concepts like “alternative development”, “Human development”, “neo-liberal development” “Post-development” etc. got currency both in serious academic exercises as well as in policy prescriptions. In the mid 1980s, came the perspectives on human development, the declared primary focus of which is ‘enabling’ the masses in different spheres of life and the ‘enlargement of people’s choices’. The neo-liberal thinking of development has also been renewed, and it is stated that economic growth is to be ensured through structural reform, deregulation, liberalisation, privatisation—all of which indicate toward rolling back of the state and reducing market-distorting interventions. Accordingly, it is said that the neo-liberalism is an ‘anti-development perspective’, not in terms of goals but in terms of means. Finally, ‘post-development’ along with ideas of ‘anti-development’ and ‘beyond-development’ has been a radical reaction to the complexities and dilemmas of development. The historical conditions that brought the idea of development in to prominence have vanished and thus development has become outdated. Here enters the discourses on “post-

development". However, in spite of intense debates on the nature of development and of the dynamism involved in it, the concept of 'sustainable development' emerged as a very important theme since 1987 following the Report of the Brandtland Commission on Environment and Development, the main thrust of which is equity and justice. In a sense, it is participatory in nature, it accepts nature as resource for development of mankind, it is eco-friendly, comprehensive and holistic. Finally, a few words on the impact of globalisation on development discourses are essential. It is very clear that both the terms globalisation and development are very broad. It is also very natural to believe that globalisation has the potential for promoting economic development. The developments in early 1990s registered the validity of such perceptions. The development in some Latin American countries during the period marked the pointer in this regards. However, from mid-1990s, a reverse swing, following a series of crisis and consequent stagnation and recession, questions arose as to whether it was reform or globalisation, which has failed in Latin America. Many questions arise out of the process of globalisation and its impacts on different parts of the globe, both the positive and negative aspects are being debated with utmost seriousness. Particular emphasis is being given on the role of the state in this regard. Finally, one should remember that the very idea of development is contentious and contentions over different theories and practices of development are unlikely to end in near future.

4.3.4. What is Modernisation ?

Modernisation refers to a process of change towards economic , political and social advancement of a society. In a very broad sense, it indicates a 'progressive' transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. It is believed that industrialisation and economic development lead directly to positive social and political change. To be a bit more specific, one has to concentrate on the economic aspects of social transition and concentrate on the transformation of an agrarian society into an industrial one and the consequent socio-political changes. As such, modernisation in the political sense may only be understood in the context of economic development and social mobilisation. It involves rationalisation of authority, differentiation of structures and expansion of the scope for political participation. It is claimed that the process of modernisation fosters democratic spirit as against traditional values and accordingly the political system can acquire a new kind of stability. Thus, the process of modernisation represent a kind of contrast and transition from a 'traditional' agrarian society to a kind of 'modern' industrial society. Again, a further contrast is that whereas in traditional societies we find a single and unified system with a single system of power, a modern

society is composed of a plurality of autonomous systems which interact with each other, influence each other, but do not absorb each other.

4.3.5. Emergence of Modernisation theory : Historical Context

By the end of the Second World War, it had become very clear that despite exposure to capitalism in varying degrees many of the countries of the world, particularly in the South, remained very poor and there arose the possibility to explore alternative paths of development. In such a context attempts were made to find out the reasons as to why poorer countries have failed to develop by focussing on the cultural and economic aspects that might have been instrumental as 'barriers of development'. The new theoretical explanations ascribe some cultural and economic backwardness as the factors preventing traditional societies from becoming 'modern'. As such, there arose the theory of modernisation aiming at some sort of a non-communist solution to poverty –eradication in the developing world through economic changes following capitalist path of development and introduction of western values and culture. Needless to say, that the very idea of westernization lies at the very core in the theory of modernisation. The modernisation theorists argue that the 'cultural barriers' are internal to the country concerned, and hence it is essentially 'their' fault for being backward. Western culture is seen as 'modern' as against traditional / indigeneous values that prevent economic growth and social change. To them, this is equally true both in regard to socio-cultural values and politico-economic arrangements. As regards economic barriers to development, the factors like lack of infrastructure, lack of technology, lack of skills in the work force, lack of capital etc are highlighted. The question of political stability and allied issues are also given serious importance in this regard.

4.3.6. Basic Assumptions of the Theory of Modernisation :

The core assumption of the modernisation theory is that there exists one and only one unilinear path of development. The whole world is divided into traditional and modern societies and it is assumed that the traditional society at one point of time would progress toward 'modernity'. The question as to how the traditional agricultural societies would transform themselves into industrialised societies became the main focus of discussion. It tries to bring home the point that industrialisation and economic development lead directly to positive social and political change. So, as regards a perspective of social change, it advocates a unilinear path with the aim to provide a model of development that may incidentally help them to come out of the newly established socialist block.

It is said that the foundation text of modernisation theory was provided by Seymour Martin Lipset in one of his article published in the *American Political Science Review* (Vol.53, No 1, 1959) which was elaborated later in his celebrated work, *Political Man* (1963), where he has made the observation that ‘the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy’. He claimed that economic development sets off a series of a profound social change that together tend to produce political democracy. It actually set the stage for a new trend of research on modernisation in social sciences.

Giovanni E. Reyes suggested three basic assumptions regarding modernisation :a) Modernisation is a systematic process. The attributes of modernity forms a consistent whole, which should be understood in a cluster rather than in isolation to one another; b) it is a transformative process—in order for a society to move into modernity, its traditional structures and values must be totally replaced by a set of modern values; c) It is an imminent process due to its systematic and and transformative nature, which builds change in to the social system.

4.3.7. Rostow’s Five-stage Model of Modernisation

The name of Walt Rostow is inextricably linked with the advent of Modernisation theory. He was a US economist and special assistant to President Johnson. His idea of free trade and modernisation was very influential in the 1960s. His book, *Stages of Economic Growth : A Non Communist Manifesto*, received worldwide attention. To him, modernisation is a phased process. His five-stage model of economic development , generally known as Rostow Model, is very important in this connection. These stages are : i) Traditional Society; ii) Pre-conditions for Take-off; iii) Take-off; iv) Drive to Maturity; and v) Age of Mass Consumption. In the traditional stage, agricultural is the dominant activity and it is difficult to expand production due to the lack of scientific and technological advancement. Conditions for take-off may be created in the second stage as the scientific knowledge was developed in the west and scope for its dissemination was there in the second stage. In the third stage the actual take-off occurs when companies generate extensive profits , reinvest a large parts of it , demand more inputs and employ more workers. The fourth stage is a period of sustained growth accompanied by the application of modern technology which ultimately led a society to the fifth stage viz, the stage of mass consumption. A decade later, Rostow added another stage , which he has called “the search for quality” as the sixth stage in his treatise on *Politics and Stages of Growth*. Rostow has found a possible solution to the problems related to the promotion of the third world modernisation. Be it noted in this

connection that it has generally been assumed that the western countries are modern and the countries in the 'third world' is traditional.

4.3.8. A Critique of the Theory of Modernisation

Modernisation theory was very popular during 1950s, but it has to come across serious challenges in the 1960s despite rapid initial acceptance. Questions were raised against its too linear, too teleological and too optimistic nature. The authors like Samuel Huntington in his seminal work, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, expressed his doubt with the theory's relatively 'unproblematic picture of social change'. To him, modernisation theorists were right in seeing economic development as unleashing profound social changes but wrong in assuming those changes would necessarily be benign or progressive. As such, while advocating the positive aspects of the thesis, he warned against any kind of over simplification in this regard. Another major challenge came from dependency theorists who took issue with the main thesis of the modernisation theory as it overlooked the very position of the non-western societies in the international economy particularly in respect of their underdevelopment and dependence. Some scholars tried to point out as to how the type of development proposed foisted on many third world countries and specifically on many Latin American countries led not to democracy but to 'bureaucratic authoritarianism,'

Thus, the basic arguments put forward by the critics are : i) Development is not necessarily unidirectional as suggested by the modernisation theorists; ii) Modernisation perspective only proposes one possible model of development and ignore other alternatives. As regards the need for eliminating traditional values, questions arise as to whether the traditional and modern values are mutually exclusive or not. Indicating the realities prevailing in the third world countries, it is also said that they do not have a homogeneous set of traditional values. Again, it is also argued in some quarters that the tradition may not always be regarded as obstacle to development.

In this connection, we should remember that equating development with modernisation and modernisation with westernisation, as many did, was seriously flawed. It led to the thinking that whatever was not modern in this sense was traditional and hence, obstructive of development, identifying modern with rational also led to the wrong view that everything traditional was irrational. How this could be misleading was seen in the modernisation theory's assessment of ethnicity as primordial. It missed 'the very modern reasons' behind ethnic movements , e.g. economic disparity, political discrimination, internal colonialism etc. Moreover, the ethnocentric interpretations given in support of

the model tend to exclude contributions from thinkers within the developing world. It actually ignores the “crisis of modernism” prevailing both in the developed and the developing world. Many developed countries have also huge inequalities and other allied social problems. The negative aspects of ‘modernism’ has conveniently been forgotten and an unilinear model of development is suggested where it is conceived that all the inputs of development may be injected from outside. This amounts to downgrade not only local knowledge and initiative but also potentialities inherent in the indigeneous culture .

Finally, modernisation theorists also completely ignored the overwhelming fact of colonialism and its responsibility for backwardness of the ‘third world’. Dependency theorists like Andre Gunder Frank or Immanuel Wallerstein have drawn attention to the benefits of colonialism for the west, which had made the path to modernisation and development so much easier for the colonising West and making it equally difficult for the third world.

It was in the face of such severe attacks, modernisation theory actually became outdated in the 1970s. However, it was revived once again in the late 1980s and 1990s with the process of ‘global democratisation’ in the aftermath of the collapse of Soviet Union and in view of the advent of the process of globalisation albeit in a more nuanced form. Scholars like Adam Przeworski, Fernando Limongi, Ronald Inglehart, Christian Welzel, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens , Carles Boix and many others participated in the debates on the ‘new wave of modernisation theory’. Going back to Lipset’s original thesis, scholars are now trying afresh to grapple with the relationship between economic and political development.

4.4. Neo-Liberalism : A Brief Outline

4.4.1. The Changing Perspectives

Neo-liberalism is a term which has been used in the development discourse since the 1950s, but the meaning and implications of it has been changed over time with the changing world scenario. It originally represented an economic philosophy that emerged among the European liberal scholars in the 1930s in their attempt to trace a so-called “third” or a “middle way” between the conflicting ideas of classical liberalism and socialist planning. The immediate impetus for such a development perspective arose out of the need to avoid repeating the economic failures of early 1930s. In the decades that followed, the use of the term neo-liberal tended to refer to theories at variance with

the more *laissez faire* doctrine of classical liberalism and promoted instead a market economy under the guidance and rule of a strong state. In the 1960s onward, however, the appeal of the term neo-liberalism gradually declined. But, when the term was reintroduced in the 1980s, it actually acquired a new meaning representing a more 'radical' and *laissez faire* capitalist set of ideas. It now advocates extensive economic liberalisation policies through privatisation and consequent reduction in government interferences. As such, neo-liberalism is defined now as a form of 'radical economic liberalism' representing the ideology of minimal state and self-regulated market. It is also famously associated with the economic policies introduced by Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States. The seminal works of the scholars like Frederich Hayek and Milton Friedman are also associated with this development. Thus, neo-liberalism in its changed perspective became the hegemonic ideology in the last two decades of the twentieth century. However, with the turn of the century, questions are being raised about its 'intrinsic irrationality' and its 'failure to ensure expected economic growth rate'.

4.4.2. Neo-Liberal Perspective of Development

Neo-Liberalism replaced modernisation theory as the official approach to development in the 1980s. It focuses on economic policies and institutions which are seen as holding back development because they limit the free market. The agreement by the World Bank and IMF that neo-liberal policies were the best path to development is referred to as the *Washington Consensus* following a meeting in Washington by world leaders in 1989. Neo-liberals argue that governments prevent development – When governments get too large they restrict the freedom of dynamic individuals who drive development forwards. Neoliberals are also critical of the role of Western aid for development. They preach the idea that universal development can be achieved only through the promotion of the dictum, "Trade-not Aid". Neoliberals insist that developing countries should remove obstacles to free market capitalism and allow capitalism to generate development. The argument is that, if allowed to work freely, capitalism will generate wealth which will trickle down to everyone. The policies proposed in this direction are :i) privatisation; ii) deregulation; iii) rolling back the state; iv) reduction in social sector spending; iv) Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as suggested by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank.

Thus, it was since the 1980s, development perspectives have been dominated by neo-liberal thinking. It gained ascendancy due to many reasons. However, it is primarily a result of the process of globalisation, which have occurred with the collapse of the

erstwhile Soviet Union and also the East European 'socialist' regimes. With the fall or decline of socialism in these countries, capitalism has become more confident and had emerged as the only alternative. The policy measures that have been suggested has come from the international financial institutions like the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF). The theories which have emerged in the process advocate that government should limit its activities to sound macro-economic management and supply of public goods while other economic activities should be left to private sector and free market competition. The World Bank and the IMF since the early 1980s has insisted on *Structural Adjustment Programme* (SAP). The financial institutions has asked the governments that policy reforms as stated above was a necessary condition for qualifying for getting credit for overcoming their economic crisis.

It was reasoned that economic crisis in the developing countries was not a temporary phenomenon but it was likely to persist and this crisis was largely due to government failures and not so much because of external factors. It asked governments to go for removing restrictions for the development of the market. The government must not spend much on public goods. It should spend only that amount within the limited available revenue. Hence the World Bank and the IMF asked for policy changes as a condition for providing credit to the developing countries.

4.4.3. Critique of Neo-Liberal Theory

Neo-Liberal theory has been criticised from different angles. Although most of the governments adopted some sort of dictates of the IMF and the World Bank, but there are common criticisms against those policies and the thinking regarding development. One criticism is directed against the view that economic growth will lead to the tickle down of wealth in the society but it actually does not. What is actually happening as a result of the policies was the increasing gulf between the rich and the poor. Dependency theorists argue that neo-liberalism is merely a way to open up countries so that they may be more easily exploited by Transnational Corporations. Again, some empirical studies reveal that those countries that have adopted free market polices have developed more slowly in comparison to countries that protected their economies. It is reported that compared the period from 1960 to 1980, when most countries had more restrictive and inward looking economies, to the period 1980 to 2000, the period of onset of neo liberal ideas, the progress was greater before the 1980s on both economic and social grounds. It has also been pointed out in some quarters that the neo-Liberal "Trade not aid" approach to development ignored past lessons. It is a very common practice, and natural also from business perspective, that transnational corporations do not tend to invest in the poorest countries. With the passage of time, beliefs are being strengthened

in some quarters that the neo-Liberal development policy was in a sense radical and abstract, but it is uncompromising—and as such it may prove dangerous for the real world.

4.5. Dependency Theory

The concept of dependency is widely used in the comparative analysis of the political systems of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It represents a school of thought that explains the underdevelopment of poor countries and regions as a product of capitalist development in wealthy countries. The approach originated in the writings of the Latin American scholars, especially in the decades covering 1960s and 1980s. Dependency theory is a broad approach with several variants sharing three main ideas. First, the process of capitalist growth in Europe, North America and elsewhere generates further poverty for the impoverished countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Second, that the process of ‘developing underdevelopment’ operates through capitalism’s global economic relations, the ‘world market’, which have historically been dominated by Europe and the United States. Third, the global economic relations have a definite spatial structure, for the periphery (underdeveloped countries) is exploited by the metropolitan centres (advanced capitalist countries). Thus, the Centre-Periphery model is also used to describe the structure of economic relation within countries; the wealthy urban centres are metropolises exploiting the rural hinterland as the periphery. In this connection it may be noted that both the liberal and Marxist writers have propounded their own versions of the phenomenon of development and underdevelopment resulting in considerable theoretical confusion about the very nature of dependency and its implications. Hence, we should be aware of the different usages of the term at the very beginning.

4.5.1. Diverse Origins of Dependency School

The differences and nuances within these common positions partly relate to the diverse origins of the dependency school, since some writings grew out of a Marxist tradition while others emanated from a Latin American structuralism which reflected struggles to achieve national economic development. The writings of Marx-Engels on Colonialism and ‘pre-capitalist modes of production’ led some Marxists to believe that the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa would follow paths of capitalist development partly mirroring North America and Europe’s. Colonialism itself could be seen as facilitating this by its destruction of old social structures. However, within classical Marxism, such

view of development as evolutionary linear progress was challenged by Rosa Luxemburg, who saw capitalism's reproduction and accumulation in terms of a global system of exploitation, and Lenin, who conceived of the system as imperialism

Marxist perceptions of a global system of imperialism were one impetus for dependency theory, but a particular feature of Latin American dependency theory is its definition of 'exploitation' which owed much to the unorthodox concept of surplus. Latin American structuralism, another progenitor of dependency theory, was a theoretical rationalisation of the development and trade strategies, pursued by Latin American countries during post Second World War period. As a development strategy, attempts were made to escape from dependency, and the efforts were linked both to populist political movements as well as in the working of the *Economic Commission for Latin America* (ECLA) under the leadership of Raul Prebisch. In the English speaking world, the best known dependency theorist is Andre Gunder Frank. Frank's work has strong parallels with Immanuel Wallerstein's World System theory.

In this connection, it may be said that V.I. Lenin was the first to refer to the concept of dependency as part of his general theory of imperialism in his famous treaty: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. He understood capitalist imperialism as the manifestation of the struggle among the colonial powers for the economic and political division of the world. Although the colonial powers were sharply distinguished from colonial countries, formally independent yet dependent countries also existed. These dependent countries, Lenin said "are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency".

4.5.2. Contemporary Perspectives of Dependency

Contemporary perspectives of dependency, however, took contrasting forms of dominance and dependence among the nations of the developed and the developing world. It generally refers to a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. Thus, the issue of foreign penetration into the internal economies of the subordinate nations is very important in this connection. It assumes that the external economic and political influence affect local development and support local ruling classes at the expense of the masses. It may be noted in this connection that several Marxist thinkers explained underdevelopment of the dependent countries by referring to domination of the third world countries by monopoly capitalism. These writers argue that today corporate world has replaced the finance capital as the instrument of dominance in the dependent countries.

The foundation of the dependency theory may be traced back to the research of the *Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean* (ECLAC) and Raul Prebisch was one of its most representative spokesman. The principal points of the Prebisch model are that in order to create conditions for development within a country, it is necessary a) to control the monetary exchange rate, placing more governmental emphasis on fiscal rather than monetary policy; b) to promote a more effective governmental role in terms of national development; c) to create a platform of investments, giving a preferential role to national capitals; d) to allow the entrance of external capital following priorities already established in national plans for development; e) to promote a more effective internal demand in terms of domestic markets as a base to reinforce the industrialisation process in Latin America; f) to generate a larger internal demand by increasing the wages and salaries of workers, which will in turn positively affect aggregate demands in internal markets; g) to develop a more effective coverage of social services from the government, especially to impoverished sectors in order to create conditions for those sectors to become more competitive; and h) to develop national strategies according to the model of import substitution, protecting national production by establishing quotas and tariffs on external markets. Thus, the Prebisch model and the ECLAC's proposal formed the basis for dependency theory at the beginning of the 1950s. Added to it were the contributions of Falleto and Dos Santos. The names of Andre Gunder Frank, Enrique Cardoso and Samir Amin are also very important in this regard.

The theory of dependency combines elements from a neo-Marxist perspective with Keynes' economic theory—the liberal economic ideas which emerged in the USA and Europe as a response to the depression years of the 1920s. From the Keynes' economic approach, the theory of dependency embodies four main points : a) To develop an important internal effective demand in terms of domestic markets; b) To recognise that the industrial sector is crucial to achieving better levels of national development , especially due to the fact that this sector , in comparison with the agricultural sector, can contribute more value –added to products; c) To increase worker's income as a means of generating more aggregate demand in national market conditions; d) To promote more effective government role in order to reinforce national development conditions and to increase national standards of living.

It is said that there are three main differences between the classical orthodox Marxist viewpoint and the Neo-Marxist positions, the later providing a basis for the dependency theory. First, the classical approach focuses on the role of extended monopolies at the global level, and the Neo-Marxists providing a vision from peripheral conditions. Second,

while the Classical Marxism foresaw the need for a bourgeois revolution at the introduction of national transformation processes, from the neo-Marxist position and based on current conditions of the third world countries, it is imperative “to Jump” to a socialist revolution, mainly because it is perceived that national bourgeoisie identify more strongly with elite positions rather than with nationalistic ones. Third, the classical Marxist approach perceived the industrial proletariat as having the strength and vanguard for social revolution; the Neo-Marxists emphasised that the revolutionary class must be conformed by peasants in order to carry out an armed revolutionary conflict.

4.5.3. Dependency Theory : A Critique

Dependency theorists criticised the modernisation theorists. It argues that the origin of persistent global poverty cannot be understood without reference to the entire international economic system. Underdevelopment is not a condition – it is an active process of impoverishment linked to development. Some parts of the world is underdeveloped because others are developed. They are not separate processes, but two aspects of the same process. However, dependency is also not a homogeneous and unified theory—serious analytical differences persist within the school of thought.

It is said that the Centre-Periphery model of the ECLA correctly traced the underdevelopment in relation to the international system and thus formulated the basic assumption of the dependency theory. However, it neglected a close scrutiny of the policies of dominant countries and their needs. It wrongly attributed backwardness to traditional or feudal factors and assumed that a progressive national bourgeoisie was capable of promoting national economic development.

4.6. World Systems Theory

The very idea of a ‘world system’ was there and not there at the same time in classical Marxist thought. As we know that the Marxists usually explain capitalist economic order in international terms. But no concrete analysis of how the ‘world market’ operates was there in classical texts. This is, however, not to say that the ‘international ‘ dimension was ignored. Conversely, in the wake of the colonial expansion in the last third of the nineteenth century , ‘imperialism’ became a central object of analysis. In fact, Lenin’s discussion on imperialism may be viewed as part of a significant awareness of and debate about ‘world structures’ or ‘world systems’. The contributions of the thinkers like Hobson, Luxemburg, Bukharin and Hilferding may also be regarded as very important in this regard.

However, it was under the backdrop of the reality of the world political developments following Second World War—the US hegemony, the growing role of international corporations, the creation of a ‘socialist block’, the Sino-Soviet split, and the emergence of a ‘Third World’ collective presence in the political arena—forced back on the Marxist agenda the issue of capitalism as a ‘world system’. As such, the key theoretical aspects of the international implications of the development of capitalism were developed by the Latin American Dependency theorists in which the very notion of core and periphery gained much importance. It was under the background of the new world environment created in the aftermath of the Second World war and also out of the spate of new kind of intellectual exercise contemporary world system theory have emerged.

4.6.1. Key Features of World Systems theory;

The key features of World Systems theory may be outlined by concentrating on the works of Immanuel Wallerstein as he is regarded as the chief protagonist of the theory. To him, “world system’ may be regarded as the dominant form of social organisation. He believes that history has witnessed two types of world systems; ‘world empires’ and ‘world economies’ The main distinction between a world empire and a world-economy relates to how decisions about resource distribution are made. In a world empire, a centralised political system uses its power to redistribute resources from peripheral areas to the central core areas. By contrast, in a world economy, there is no single centre of political authority, but rather we find multiple competing centres of power. Resources are not distributed by central decree but rather through the medium of a market. However, in spite of the differences as mentioned the net effect of both the system is the same and that is the transfer of resources from the periphery to the core. To Wallerstein, modern world system is an example of world economy. This system emerged in Europe at around the turn of the sixteenth century and subsequently expanded to the entire globe. The driving force behind this seemingly relentless process of expansion and incorporation has been capitalism.

The modern world system has features which can be described in terms of space and time. The spatial dimension focuses on the differing economic roles played by different regions within the world economy. To the core-periphery distinction, he has added another economic zone –semi-periphery- in his description of world economy. To him, this semi-peripheral zone has an intermediary role within the world system displaying certain features combining the characteristics of both the core and the periphery.

According to the World system theorists, the three zones of the world economy are linked together in an exploitative relationship in which wealth is drained away from

the periphery to the centre. However, if the zones are described in isolation, they may simply represent a static portrayal of the world system. What is most important in this connection is the understanding as regards the dynamics of the interaction between and among the zones. World Systems theory eventually came in to being following this basic dictum. Immanuel Wallerstein in his work entitled *Modern World System* examined the capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy. Samir Amin in his work entitled, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, followed a similar approach. His theory of accumulation on a world scale is a theory of capitalist formations between the centre and the periphery of a world system.

World systems theory consists of three basic elements : i) a single market; ii) a series of state structures called nations that influence the working of the market; and iii) three levels of Core, Semi-periphery and Periphery involving the appropriation of surplus labour. Class struggle grew from the relationship among three levels. It is actually an approach to development that tries to explain that there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited. It tries to understand the global economic process through a model that may be represented through core-periphery, and semi-periphery.

The theory was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in his famous book : *The Modern World System : Capitalist Agriculture and the origin of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, Academic Press, 1974) . In his book, he has developed a theoretical framework to understand the historical changes involved in the rise of the modern world. To him, the modern world system, essentially capitalist in nature, followed the crisis of the feudal system and helps explain the rise of western Europe to world supremacy between 1450 and 1670. He claims that such formulation makes possible a comprehensive understanding of the external and internal manifestation of the modernisation process during the period and makes possible analytically sound comparison between different parts of the world. Exploring the medieval prelude and also the dawns of capitalist development in Europe, Wallerstein tries to establish the point that the new capitalist system was based on an international division of labour that determined relationship between different regions as well as the type of labour conditions within each region. In this model, the type of political system was also directly related to each region's placement within the world economy. As a basis for comparison, Wallerstein proposes four different categories : Core, Periphery, Semi-periphery and external areas into which all regions of the world can be placed. These categories describe each region's relative position within the world economy as well as certain internal political and economic characteristics. To him, the core regions benefited the most from

capitalist world economy. Peripheral zones lacked strong central governments or were controlled by the other states, exported raw materials to the core, and relied on coercive labour practices. The core expropriated much of the capital surplus generated by the periphery through unequal trade relations. Between the two extremes lie the semi-peripheries. These areas represented either core regions in decline or peripheries attempting to improve the relative position in the world economic system. They often also served as buffers between the core and the peripheries. As such, semi-peripheries exhibited tension between the central government and a strong local landed class. External areas maintained their own economic system, and, for the most part, managed to remain outside the modern world economy.

To Wallerstein, the development of modern world economy lasted for centuries during which different regions changed their relative position within the system. He divided the history of the capitalist world system into four stages. Stages I&II indicate the period follows the rise of the modern world system between 1450 and 1670; Stages III & IV — 18th Century and beyond—industrial rather than agricultural capitalism represented the era. To him, the although the capitalist world economy is a dynamic system which changes over time, certain basic features remained unchanged. He sees the development of capitalist world economy as detrimental to the interests of the large proportion of the world population. Through this theory, Wallerstein attempts to explain why modernisation had such wide ranging and differential effects on the world. He shows how political and economic condition after the breakdown of feudalism transformed North West Europe into the predominant commercial and political power. The geographical expansion of capitalist world economy altered political system and labour condition wherever it was able to penetrate. Although the functioning of the world economy appear to create increasingly larger disparities between various types of economies, the relationship of the core its periphery and semi-periphery remains relative not constant.

4.6.2. Critique of World Systems Theory

Wallerstein actually expanded the centre-periphery model that originated with Raul Presbisch. He came close to the formulation of the main thesis of Samir Amin who, however, attempted to give importance to the productive process of capitalism as well as the market. Wallerstein also tried to move beyond conception of class within nations, thereby escaping some of the problems in a class analysis of internal colonialism or in the attention to national bourgeoisie found in the writings of both Marxists and non-Marxists related to the question of development. It is also said that Wallerstein has

provided a theory of global capitalist economy as a world system, not a theory of development of national economies. Wallerstein's theory has also been widely criticised for its attention to market rather than production as a basis for analysing class relations in the contemporary capitalist world.

4.7. Summary

1. The concept of development and its different perspectives-- both the western and non-western—are very important in the study of Comparative Politics today. It was from the aftermath of the Second World War, the issues relating to development, particularly of the 'third world' countries, came to the fore and it became an imperative for both the policy makers and academicians to develop some insights on different theories on development and modernisation.
2. Modernisation usually refers to a model of a 'progressive' transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. It ascribes cultural and economic backwardness as the factors preventing traditional societies from becoming 'modern' and aims at some sort of a non-communist solution to poverty—eradication in the developing world through economic changes following capitalist path of development and introduction of western values and culture. Rostow's Five-stage model is very important in this regard.
3. Neo-liberalism is a term which has been used in the development discourse since the 1950s, but the meaning and implications of it has been changed over time with the changing world scenario. it now acquired a new meaning representing a more 'radical' and *laissez faire* capitalist set of ideas advocating extensive economic liberalisation policies through privatisation and consequent reduction in government interferences. It preaches the idea that universal development can be achieved through the promotion of the principle 'Trade-not aid'.
4. The concept of dependency has been widely used in comparative analysis of the third world political systems, particularly in Latin America. It stressed that the underdevelopment of the backward areas is the product of the same historical process of capitalist development that shaped the development of the advanced areas. Some key words to explain dependency are : imperialism, monopoly capitalism, development of underdevelopment, new dependency etc.
5. The concept of World System is based on the concept of capitalism as a unified

world order. It emphasises that the modern capitalist world is organised on the basis of three basic characteristics : a) a unified world market; b) a series of state structures that affects the working of the market; c) Operation of the system through three levels – Core, Periphery and Semi-periphery. It assumes that class struggle arised out of the relationship between and among all the three levels.

4.8. Questions:

Essay-type Questions:

1. Define Modernisation. How far the theory of modernisation may be regarded as a tool for managing de-colonisation ?
2. Give a brief outline of the stages of development as propounded by Rostow and indicate the major criticisms against it.
3. Write a note on the neo-liberal theory of development and add a note on its implications for the economy and politics of the third world countries.
4. Analyse the concept of dependency as an explanatory tool for the phenomenon of underdevelopment.
5. Narrate the basic assumptions of the World System Approach and their relation to comparative political analysis.
6. Write a note on Rostow's model on the process of modernisation.
7. Attempt a critique of the Neo-Liberal theory of development
8. Write a note on the basic assumptions of Dependency theory.
9. Elaborate the key features of World Systems theory.
10. Assess the contribution of Immanuel Wallerstein in developing World System theory.
11. Indicate the similarities and differences between Dependency and World System theories.

Short Questions:

1. Define Development.
2. Write a short note on different perspective of development.
3. Indicate the changing dimensions of development.

4. What is Modernisation?
5. Write a short note on Centre and Periphery.
6. How useful is Wallerstein's notion of a 'semi-periphery'?
7. What did Wallerstein mean by external areas?

4.9. Suggested Readings

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4. BerchBerberoglu, *The Political Economy of Development : Development Theory and the Prospects for Change in the Third World*, New York, 1992
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6. David E. Apter, *Rethinking Development : Modernisation, Dependency and Postmodern Politics*, Sage Publications, New Delhi,
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10. N. Smelser, *Towards a Theory of Modernisation*, Basic Books, New York, 1964
11. Peter.W.Preston, *Theories of Development*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982
12. Rakhahari Chatterjee, *Comparative Political Analysis*, Sarat Books Distributors, Kolkata

13. Raul Prebisch, *The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems*, United Nations , New York, 1950
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15. T. Dos Santos, *The Structure of Dependence*, Extending Horizons, Boston ,1971
16. Tom Bottomore (ed) *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Maya Blackwell/Worldview, Second Edition, Indian Reprint New Delhi, 2000
17. Walt W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, Cambridge, 1960.

PAPER - V

MODULE - 2

Comparative Politics

Politics in the East and the West :
Comparative Assessment

Module - 2

Unit - 1 □ Nationalism and Nation-Building in Britain, France and China

Structure

1.00 Objectives of Study

1.01. Introduction

1.02. Concept of Nationalism and Nation Building

1.02.01. Nationalism

1.02.02. Nation-Building

1.02.03. Nationalism and Nation Building: Historical overview

1.03. Nationalism and Nation Building

1.03.01. Nationalism and Nation Building in Britain

1.03.02. Nationalism and Nation Building in France

1.03.03. Nationalism and Nation Building in China

1.04 Questions

1.05 Suggested Readings

1.00 Objectives of Study

1. Conceptual understanding of Nationalism and Nation Building
2. Overview of British, French and Chinese nationalism
3. Recognise evolutionary, revolutionary and socialist as well as civic, cultural and class based nation building
4. Problems and limits of nationalism and nation building

1.01 Introduction

The ideas of nation and nationalism have crucial importance in the evolution of the modern world dominated by self determined nation states. However the concepts have

remained contested since inception in the eighteenth century. Many wars, conflicts, genocides have been or justified in the name of nationalism and nation. The idea has received renewed attention with the political instability in Eastern Europe, Middle East, Russia, Africa and European heartland with the issue of European integration. The purpose of the brief discussion is to introduce the student to ideas about nationalism and nation building in Britain, France and China with the aim of locating the diverse theoretical positions about nationalism. But before we delve into the specific case studies it is important to discuss the ideas of nation, nationalism and nation-building.

1.02 Concept of Nationalism and Nation Building

1.02.01. Nationalism

The term nationalism broadly refers to the idea of a common identity shared by the inhabitants of a geographical space on the basis of which they seek or achieve self-determination. Such a common identity (national identity) is often attributed to ethnicity, history, common origin, cultural similarity or shared civic values. Once a community sharing national identity achieves self-determination (question remains whether self-determination is full statehood or something less) it constitutes itself as a nation. Thus a nation is distinct from state in terms of its emphasis on national community (cultural-ethnic) while a state is a political unit with sovereignty. Like all forms of identity, one that is based on nationalism is a double edged sword, uniting many by positing and distinguishing the other. Nationalism and struggle for national liberation have *been both heroic and cruel as the formation of national state often responds to deep popular sentiment but sometimes yields inhuman consequences, from violent expulsion and “cleansing” of non-nationals.*

1.02.02 Nation-Building

The task of nation-building is basically the construction of the national identity on the basis of which the nation can claim supreme allegiance of its citizens. The achievement of full sovereignty i.e. statehood becomes a crucial part of the process. An important debate in this context concerns the nature and composition of the constructed nation-state. Whether the nation-state should dominantly be constructed on the basis of ethno-cultural identity (revivalists) or something else (shared values) remains a contested terrain even now. As the discussion suggests the idea of nation, like nationalism is not amenable to any universally acceptable definition. For example Renan (1882) and Weber (1970) suggest that a nation is a civic construction. It is a product of a group of people

aspiring a common political state. In contrast another definition suggests that construction of common political state requires non-voluntary community of common origin, language, tradition and culture. A revised version of this idea emphasizes on cultural similarities rather than ethnic similarities as essential for nation building (Miller 1992, Seymour 2000).

1.02.03 Nationalism and Nation Building: Historical overview

The conception of national community is a product of modernity during early 18th century Europe. Prior to this, community was conceived not as nation but as parts of kingdoms and empires. The literature on nation and nationalism points out certain important changes that led to this transition and emergence of ideas of nation and nationalism.

First Enlightenment and Romantic movements offered an alternative viewpoint to the prevailing absolutist and dynastic order. Thinkers like Rousseau and Kant, provided the foundation for the new idea of the nation by emphasizing on popular consent, freedom of the individual, secularization and new democratic forms of government. This new philosophical world view stressed that political power should rest in the people, who were deemed to share a common interest and identity. This was absolutely antagonistic to the existing hierarchical, authoritarian and rigid socio-political order. History is replete with examples of early nationalist movements that were based on the call for removal of monarchy, liberation of people and construction of a nation based on certain principles that mirrored enlightenment world view.

Second, commercial, industrial, and agricultural revolutions dramatically restructured societies in Europe. The industrial and scientific revolution signaled the emergence of modern age along with a new class- the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie emerged largely due to economic transformations primarily involved in trade and associated professions. This class had virtually no power but often had more wealth than aristocrats. The idea of the nation was an attractive proposition for this class since it promised a redistribution of power from the aristocracy to the general population. The industrial revolution also led to large-scale shift of population from rural to urban areas, from rural subsistence farming to mechanized agriculture and from family craftsmanship to specialized industrial production. As a result of these, traditional social ties were severed; a society stratified by classes emerged and the idea of nation emerged to meet the challenges of the new society.

Third, politically the emergence of absolutist monarchies with assertion of state power led to a commensurate increase in resistance and demands for liberation. As economies

and societies expanded, empires were challenged to centralize control over industries, commerce, financial systems, and their populations. As state surveillance and control increased, so did resistance. Increasing state involvement in the educational system was an important factor. The need for a better-educated workforce and a uniform language for an efficient economy and army meant centralization and homogenization of the curriculum. Considering that empires and states included populations speaking various languages and practicing diverse religions, this standardization created a sense of unity and engendered resistance, particularly when the dominant language and culture favored a small minority.

Fourth, advances in communication especially development of print media intensified social interaction, and allowed effective dissemination of information. Newspapers and other literature disseminated through an improved transport system, led to spread of ideas and knowledge of events. Greater dissemination of the printed word also provided language with a fixed form and helped establish a dominant national language. Printed language became the vector for the national idea, and its spread was unstoppable.

Although the four important dimensions are mentioned separately, in reality they are interconnected and it was a complex interaction of factors that led to the transition from empire to nation.

1.03 Britain, France and China

With this brief overview let us discuss the process of nationalism and nation building in Britain, France and China. Interestingly while England and France typify the origin of nationalism in Europe, they have significant divergences in the trajectory of nationalism. China on the other hand represents the development of nationalism in a post-colonial revolutionary context. The distinct ideological underpinnings of nationalism in the three instances make them interesting cases of study.

1.03.01 Nationalism and Nation Building in Britain

As part of an imperial kingdom, the nation of Great Britain had been in existence for a long time with statehood, independence and influence within the international system. However nationalism and nation building in Britain is a complex subject as Britain or United Kingdom is an agglomeration of distinct nationalities namely Scottish, Welsh, English and Irish.

The idea of nation and process of nation-building in Britain was an outcome of the maintenance and perfection of the preexisting British and imperial institutions in the

face of various political challenges, both domestic and external. Politically, British nationalism and nation-building constituted a project to transform the aristocratic state in response to socio-political changes. At another level it was to create a sense of national identification among social groups and nationalities that made up the English nation.

As one of the first modern nation states, the emergence of nationalism and nation building in Britain can be traced back to the time between the 1770s and 1880s. The period between the 1770s and 1880s marked the profound and rapid social transformation in Britain in the shape of Industrial revolution. The Industrial Revolution was a truly British phenomenon and Britain was the center of a global trade and manufacturing network that linked it both to the formal empire (such as India) and to areas under the sway of its economic power (such as the southern states of the United States). All the elements combined to generate a sense of national belonging intimately bound up with notions of Britain and empire.

The term British or Britishness was first coined in the 1870s and reflected on, attributes of British national identity, specifically, Protestantism, monarchy, empire, constitutionalism, and simply not being French or Catholic Irish. Its meaning varied over time, and ideas such as industriousness and race were also part of what it meant to be British during the long 19th century. One reason that British identity subsumed other regional identities like English or Scottish identity was the sharing of symbols of nationhood. For example, many other nationalities could claim English as “their own” language; Protestantism and even Anglicanism were not unique to England; and the monarch was not just king or queen of England but also ruled over Scots, Canadians, and a host of other nationalities.

The changes in economy as a colonial power and site for industrial revolution also created new social groups. In the 1780s, Britain was governed by an unpopular aristocracy, but by the 1880s, Britain was becoming a more recognizably modern democracy. During this period, Britons did not experience revolution in the same way that their American and European contemporaries did. The conflicting groups in the early part of the period were, broadly, the conservative aristocracy, the liberal middle classes, and the radical working classes. Thus the principal political demand, especially of the emergent bourgeoisie was for rights as “freeborn Englishmen” and to restore their “ancient liberties.” In this the ‘Magna Carta’ the earliest written curb on regal power was the fount of “English liberties” and became a central part of the national story.

Political contest was focused on reforming the British state to make the institutions of government more representative of Britain’s changing society. Until the 1850s, these

contests usually pitted the middle and working classes against the more conservative aristocracy. The push for reform was quelled until 1832 when a reforming government attempted to widen the franchise in the face of opposition from the aristocratic House of Lords. National politics were profoundly affected by the increase in the voting public between 1832 and 1884 when the franchise was widened on three occasions: in 1832 (the Great Reform Act), in 1867 (the Second Reform Act), and in 1884 (the Third Reform Act). The 1830s also saw the creation of the first working-class movement in the world, named the Chartists. The Chartists employed the language of English liberties, and suggested the “Six Points” of their Charter: manhood suffrage; voting by secret ballot; payment of Members of Parliament (MPs); annual Parliaments; abolition of property qualifications for MPs; and equal electoral districts.

Thus nationalism in Britain was not concerned with creating a new nation-state, as was the case in Germany and Italy, but was instead focused on reforming the existing one. Although events such as the American and French Revolutions gave a great boost to supporters of “democracy”, the path adopted for democratization was one of negotiated change. In an era of unprecedented social and political upheaval, British institutions was justified by those in control of them as above mere nationality and as serving the best interests of the wider British community.

The consolidation of the British empire as a colonial power also played its part in constructing a national imagery. The dominant national narrative of this period was very much focused on creation of the Anglo-British state. As Britain experienced the pinnacle of its global power and influence military heroes like Nelson, whose spectacular naval victories against France secured British dominance of the seas for over a century, Duke of Wellington, victor of Waterloo in 1815, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh received heroic stature. Industrialization and social achievements created its own heroes, like Isambard Kingdom Brunel. The figures of nationalism were equally drawn from imperial past like Queen Elizabeth I lauded for presiding over England’s “Golden Age” when the seeds of greatness were sown, King Richard the Lionheart portrayed as a paragon of good government, King Alfred the Great (reigned 871-899) credited with laying the foundations of the English state, and the legendary King Arthur.

In addition, the notion of about Britain and England’s civilizing mission through its colonial greatness was used as a focal theme of national imagination. Macaulay provided the intellectual justification of British political development and imperial power as a force for good in the world, bringing the light of civilization and free trade to benighted parts of the world.

Thus it was the Imperial state that reflected and produced a sense of English nationality, characterized, according to its exponents, by toleration and a tendency for compromise

as opposed to extremism and ideology. This emphasis on the relationship between national character and the state's institutions allowed the English to subsume other nationalities into their own historical narrative.

1.03.02 Nationalism and Nation Building in France

A colonial power rivaling Britain and a site of Enlightenment, France followed a different trajectory to nation and statehood. The emergence of the French nation can be historically traced to the end of the 18th century, marked by radical upheavals. Perhaps the single most important event was the French Revolution of 1789 which marked the demise of the three estates system, brought out the declaration of the Rights of Man and created the first republic.

The French revolution was the political expression of liberty and democracy against a monarchical system and reconstitution of France into a nation. The immediate impetus for the revolution came from the severe inequality of political and economic power that existed under King Louis XVI, who exercised final authority over the state, administration and law. Beneath him lay the hierarchy of the three orders or estates; the church; the nobles, and the third estate consisting of rest of the population from poorest day laborers to the richest proprietors.

However the roots of the revolution could be traced back to certain connected but distinct developments. First, the closing period of 18th century marked the Enlightenment movement which brought wide-ranging assault on injustice, intolerance and irrationality. In France the Enlightenment critique to existing socio-political order culminated in the publication of the final volumes of plates of Diderot's Encyclopédie in 1772. In this work and other publications, philosophers propagated ideas subversive of the authority of church and monarchy and of the social, political and economic privileges of the first two orders. One of the most determined reformers of this period was a churchman, Abbé Grégoire, who campaigned for the rights of all citizens, as well as for equal rights for Jews and the liberation of slaves.

Second, this period also witnessed the emergence of a new concept of citizenship. There was an explosion in the use of the terms "nation" and "patrie" in the last decades before the revolution. The "nation" came to be increasingly used as the motive for reform and the source of political legitimacy. Patrie carried an additional connotation: it referred to that ideal country where the citizen would find freedom and happiness.

Third, the Seven Years' War and the French intervention in the American War of Independence had dramatically undermined the state's finances. During 1770 the French economy, particularly agriculture, was in crisis with bitter weather and bad harvests precipitating many millions of peasants into hunger and despair. One must remember

that the meeting of the Estates General in 1789 was with the purpose of approval for tax reform.

The French revolution led to the end of Louis XIV's reign and creation of National Assembly by the delegates of the Third Estate who swore an oath not to part until they had given the nation a constitution. Their appropriation of the term 'national' was the culmination of a century of contestation of privilege and an assertion of the equal rights of all to citizenship in the nation.

These rights were defined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which laid the ideological and political foundations of the modern French nation. Proclaiming in its first article the Rousseauistic principle that men are born free, it enshrined the fundamental rights of freedom of religion and of expression, and of equality before the law. It abolished the legal basis of the three orders, declaring that social distinctions were to be based solely on utility. Most significantly, it declared that legitimate authority could derive only from the nation. The declaration also reflected the concerns of the emergent bourgeoisie by incorporating the right to own property, a provision that, in the context of the sale of church property, was beneficial to wealthy and entrepreneurial members of the third estate might. It is important to point that the declaration in practice excluded many such as rights of women, and slaves.

The period was also marked by enhanced de-Christianization, with violent attacks on church property and belief. The republican nation became the object of a quasi-religious cult, celebrated with imagery taken from nature and the ancient world. A new array of symbols to replace those of church and monarchy were developed during the revolutionary period: the tricolor, which officially became the national flag in 1794, the red bonnet or Phrygian cap, and the "Marseillaise." These symbols, finally consecrated by the Third Republic, remain as the symbols of the modern French nation.

On the administrative level also, the revolution and early years of the Republic laid the basis for the modern nation. The traditional provinces were replaced by a rational division of the country into 83 of similar size, designed to facilitate communication. The new structure was more centralised and, created a powerful administrative structure that successive regimes, of whatever political hue, found too useful to abandon. The early years of the revolution also saw the introduction of a single currency (the franc and centimes) and a standardized system of weights and measure (the metric system), that imposed national uniformity on regional disparity and encouraged the trade and industry that were to lay the basis for France's economic modernization.

The revolution despite the social and political advance degenerated into politically extreme, savagely repressive reign of terror instigated by Jacobin Committee of Public Safety. The success of the revolution and the First Republic was short-lived but when

the nation became the Republic in September 1792, it marked the founding a new era for France. Although the era of the Directorate (1795-1799) saw a retreat from militant republicanism, Napoleon (1769-1821) exploited the association of nation with revolutionary fervor to represent the conquest of Europe as both a patriotic duty and a fight to liberate oppressed people.

The Napoleonic years (First consul after the coup d'état of 1799, and emperor in 1804) contributed to the process of nation-building through the Civil Code which ratified certain basic rights, including the abolition of social privilege and the right of equality before the laws and a new Penal Code in 1810. However it also entrenched the relegation of women to the status of second-class citizens, and the power of employers over workers. Under Napoleon's control, the civil administration was organized along quasi military lines, staffed by public servants trained at the new secondary schools.

Art and culture also played a crucial role in the construction of national identity. Aware of the importance of cultural images, Napoleon oversaw the program of the Comédie-Française and theater, painting, arts was marshaled to instruct the public and instill devotion to the Republic. Literature and art continued to celebrate French nationhood under the Restoration (1815-1848), and historical events were the subject of popular novels, poetry, and theater, as in the works of Victor Hugo (1802-1885), Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863), historians like Edgar Quinet (1803-1875), Henri Martin (1810-1883). Under the Second Empire, in 1863, Minister of Public Instruction Victor Duruy introduced the teaching of history into public schools and in the Third Republic (1875) free, obligatory and secular primary schooling for children between 6 and 13 years was introduced. The school was at the very core of the national project to form patriotic citizens instructed in their rights and duties.

Nationalism and nation building in France has undergone significant development and changes since the revolution of 1789. Broadly one can identify association of nationalism with the patriotic fervor of the defenders of the Republic and its legacy of universal human rights. Over the course of the 19th century two main currents of nationalism have emerged. The dominant liberal current approved the revolution and many of its gains, and adopted an universalist, forward-looking, predominantly secular and inclusive outlook. Republican nationalism also includes within its ranks those who subscribed to the emerging socialist ideologies. This was opposed from the end of the 18th century by a counter-revolutionary and conservative current of thought first articulated by Bonald and de Maistre, which placed the monarchy and the church at the heart of French national identity. Both strains of nationalism however shared the view that France had a special mission, whether to defend Catholicism or universal human rights. Both currents attached great importance to the army and military glory as constitutive of French

identity. The idea of a common Gallic ancestry and the dictates of natural landforms provided the spatial imagination of the French nation. Finally in spite of the century long attempts to unify the French nation and encourage patriotism, the country was marked by deep political divisions as well as by marked regional differences.

1.03.03 Nation and Nationalism in China

China may be one of the oldest civilizations of the world but is a relatively new modern nation having emerged only in the 20th century. Chinese nationalism is unique to the extent that it is post colonial nationalism significantly imbued with Marxist and Maoist political ideas.

China was a monarchy till 1911 under the Qing Dynasty. By the end of the 19th and early 20th century the high and mighty empire encountered social, economic and demographic pressures from within and foreign encroachments. By the end of the 19th and early 20th century a consensus within China developed concerning the severity of domestic and foreign challenges facing the country but no consensus emerged about proposed solutions. Some, like the Self-Strengthening movement, advocated importing Western technology while steadfastly maintaining the essence of Chinese culture. Others advocated modifications to cultural and political institutions as well as the use of Western technology. The Manchu ruling elite could not agree on the feasibility of efforts to restore China's former world order, nor did they agree on whether reforms should lead to Westernization or a preservation of traditional Chinese national identity. The political atrophy of the imperial government was used by local provincial elites, provincial governors, and leaders of the Chinese military to acquire power.

The deep pessimism over China's status and a general desire for rapid and comprehensive national change also took the form of revolutionary groups formed abroad and at home. Chinese anarchists were organized by overseas students in Tokyo and Paris and in 1905 Sun Yat-sen formed the Revolutionary Alliance, an umbrella group of anti-Qing revolutionaries. In 1911 a revolution overthrew China's imperial dynasty led by revolutionary groups and disaffected sections of the government and the army. A national government was established in Beijing, yet China continued to be paralyzed by fragmentation and perpetual civil war. Eventually Sun Yat-sen's party was exiled from the Beijing republican government that they had helped to establish, and eventually ended up in a southern enclave in the Guangdong province. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was founded in 1920 and added another militant voice to the national debate over the fate of the nation.

The political chaos created by the 1911 Revolution and perceived failure of parliamentary democracy, different groups and leaders sought to save the nation through radically different strategies. Sun Yat-sen sought aid and advice from the Soviet Union and reorganized his Nationalist Party along Leninist lines. Others such as New Culture intellectuals Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi sought a thorough cultural revolution departing from Confucian social order and embracing universal values of science and democracy. By the end of the 1920s, three main forces existed in China: Sun's modified socialism, the New Culture intellectuals, and the newly founded Chinese Communist Party.

In 1924 the reorganised Guomindang in alliance with the CCP planned for radical social and economic changes. After Sun's death in 1925 Chiang K'ai-shek the head of the party's military academy, emerged as the paramount leader of the GMD. Chiang sought to consolidate his leadership over the GMD, embarked on the Northern Expedition, to reunify China under GMD rule, formed an alliance with the conservative wings of the party and purged the Chinese Communists in a bloody coup. By 1929, the communists had been driven underground, local warlords had either been defeated or co-opted by the GMD, and the Chinese Nationalists announced the formation of the Chinese Nationalist Government in the city of Nanjing. China was nominally unified under the leadership of the Nationalist government from 1928 to 1949.

The Nationalist government faced external and internal threats in the 1930s from Japan's ambitions as a regional and world power. Japanese imperialism soon encroached upon Chinese territories, culminating in the loss of the northeastern provinces (Manchuria) in 1931. Domestically, the GMD faced intraparty disunity, rising disenchantment over incessant civil wars and the lack of human rights, and student protests. The Guomindang, composed of a motley collection of party elders, regional leaders, and co-opted former warlords remained fragmented. The Sino-Japanese war of 1937-1945 posing severe threat to China momentarily unified the nation under Nationalist leadership and temporarily halted the conflict between the two Chinese Leninist parties. The Sino-Japan war gained the communists nationalist credentials and peasant support that eventually helped them to emerge victorious in the country's civil war.

The establishment of People's Republic of China under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party PRC brought dramatic political change to China. Apart from Marxist-Leninist ideas the thoughts of Mao Zedong had tremendous influence over the project of national construction. In the socialist state the CCP was the dominant political institution and embodied the "revolutionary classes" of the people guiding the "correct thinking" of the population. The CCP embarked on an ambitious agenda of changing traditional social and ethnic relations, to unite the people under the common communist purpose. The primary definition of "the people" in the new China was based on the

communist notion of the revolutionary classes. Mao defined the citizens, or the “people,” based on communist ideas of the four revolutionary classes: the workers, the small-business owners, the peasants, and the national business class.

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) attempted to provide a new answer by relying on the communist ideology of class struggle, but its legitimacy rested to a great extent on popular ideas of anti-imperialism and national self-strengthening. Mao blended long-standing feelings of national humiliation with the ideas of a national collective will, which served to mobilize people behind the goal of a classless, modern, and strong country. In addition to creating a socialist narrative of national strength, the national unification project also involved the revision of China’s ethnic history,

This nationalistic impulse to become a strong modern nation was a common theme underlying the efforts of the CCP to achieve a number of nation-building goals, including rewriting ethnic boundaries in abroad multicultural land, cultivating a common socialist belief system, and modernizing the economy. The CCP instituted a political view of the nation that sought to define China as a unitary multiethnic nation. This was clearly viewed as the best means to create a strong country and maintain an aggressive stand against imperialism. It is important to note that the term “nationalism” (*minzu zhuyi*) was not used by the government because of the danger that it would alienate the minority ethnicities. Instead, the concept of patriotism (*aiguo*) was constantly evoked by the ruling party to justify policies, most often in the context of external threats.

Thus the nation and citizenship were defined primarily by political—not ethnic—criteria. Political allegiance and territorial integrity were the primary rules used for determining the composition of the people and therefore the nation. The state also tried to promote ideas of a single Chinese civilization that would unify the various ethnicities within the country.

It is worth noting that while the term *zhonghua minzu* referred to a general concept of Chinese nationalism, one that was modern and multiethnic, in fact, one ethnic group, the Han, has been promoted as the leading ethnicity.

1.04 Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. What is Nationalism? How does it emerged in the modern world?
2. Enumerate the changes brought about by the concept of nationalism.
3. How does the process of nation building took place is Great Britains?

4. Narrate the significant changes brought about since the revolution of 1789 in France particularly with respect to nationalism & its process of nation building.
5. Do you think Chinese nationalism in the post colonial period is significantly imbued with Marxist & Maoist political ideas? Justify.

Short-Answer-type Questions

1. What does the term nation building imply?
2. What was the basic objective of nationalism & nation building in Great Britain?
3. Discuss the new concept of citizenship that emerged in France in the post Enlightenment period.
4. Write Short notes on :
 - (a) Manchu Dynasty
 - (b) Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
 - (c) Guomindang

1.05 Suggested Readings

1. Woolf, Stuart (ed.). 1996. *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to the Present : A Reader*. Routledge : New York.
2. Delanty, Gerard & Krishan Kumar (eds.). 2006. *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*. SAGE Publication: New Delhi.
3. Herb, Guntram, H. & David H. Kaplan (eds). 2008. *Nations and nationalism : A global historical overview*. Vol 2 &3. ABC-Clio Inc: California.
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Unit - 2 □ The State and Civil Society in the East and the West

Structure

1.00 Objectives of Study

1.01 Introduction

1.01.01. Ideas of Civil Society

1.02 Civil Society in the East and the West

1.02.01 Civil Society in the West

1.02.01.01 Scottish Enlightenment and French Intellectualism

1.02.01.02 German ideas

1.02.01.03 Features of Civil society

1.02.02 Civil Society in the East

1.02.02.01 Civil Society in India

1.03 Conclusion

1.04 Questions

1.05 Suggested Readings

1.00 Objectives of Study (Learning Outcomes)

1. To develop conception of Civil Society
2. To understand the theories of civil society
3. To distinguish between civil society of East and West
4. To elaborate on the features of civil society

1.01 Introduction

The idea of civil society has received immense currency in contemporary socio-political debates and theoretical analysis. Khilnani (2004) points out that this currency and myriad

use of the idea has made conceptions of civil society diverse and indeterminate in terms of meaning, conditions and features. According to Mukhopadhyay (2005) the various conceptions can be traced back to the underlying assumptions of civil society that are often overlapping. The political conception of civil society is embedded in liberal democratic theory which identifies civil society through modern interest based sociability based on equality, citizenship and rule of law. On the other hand the sociological conception of civil society identifies it as the realm between the state and the family marked by autonomy and voluntary participation.

1.01.01 Ideas of Civil Society

The literature on civil society may be broadly classified into different strands which reflect the distinct conceptions of civil society.

First, civil society is considered as organization of social life separate and distinct from the state. Civil society is perceived from as the sphere of social life—the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction—which is organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the direct control of the state.

Second, civil society is viewed as a site of democracy. It is a normative political idea that public sphere should be strengthened at the expense of the state. The radical notions of democracy have often emphasized on civil society or associative initiatives at the social level of non-state actors.

Third, civil society is the site of new social movements, distinct from old forms of political mobilization. Since the 1980s civil society, increasingly refers to the existence of self-organized groups or institutions (NGOs, International donors, apolitical mobilisation) capable of preserving an autonomous public sphere.

Fourth, civil society is the sphere of political interaction that leads to creation of civic virtues. That is, the civil society cannot be excessively particularistic and must lead to the creation of commonly shared valued values or what Jurgen Habermas called ‘the public sphere.’ As Seligman notes civil society draws its sustenance from the notion of equality of citizens, integrity of a person and freedom of belief.

The brief discussion suggests that the concept of civil society is diverse, and often unclear in terms of meaning, conception, conditions and features of civil society. This multiplicity of connotations can be attributed to the historical diversity in the

conceptualization. As such a proper understanding of the notion of civil society requires a historical understanding of the concept both in the West and the East.

1.02 Civil Society in East and West

Given the multiplicity of connotations any discussion on civil society is fraught with problems. As Khilnani (2001) points out the term civil society suffers from indeterminacy. Such a problem is compounded when civil society is juxtaposed with categories of West and the East. The categories of the West and the East symbolising the Anglo-American world and the rest of the world respectively is much contested. The terms East and West essentialise diverse array of nations and societies which some may argue cannot be lumped together into a mass. Despite such difficulties, it is possible to highlight some of the distinct features of civil society in the west specifically Anglo-American context and the east represented by India as a specific case. As Sunil Khilnani points out the disillusionment with given boundaries of politics and restrictions in the increasingly decrepit processes of party politics has provided interest in civil society in the West. In contrast, in the East civil, society has come to mean political and civil liberties, property rights and markets.

1.02.01 Civil Society in the West

Any discussion on civil society must begin with the acknowledgement of the western origin of the concept. The term *civil society* can be traced back to Aristotle's *Politics* where it refers to a 'community', marked by a shared set of norms and values commensurate with the Greek polis. To the Greeks, the emergence of such a community was due to the nature of man as a political (social) animal and the purpose of civil society was common well being. Thus the concept of communal living towards a good life signified something akin to civil society. The classical philosophers like Plato and Aristotle believed that 'civility' and good life was only possible in the polis and they did not make any distinction between the state and society. Roman thinkers like Cicero also mentioned some ideas about civil society. However the ideas outlined about the nature of human associations were at best rudimentary.

The concept of civil society as a sphere distinct from the state however emerged only in the late 18th and early 19th century. The period of Enlightenment marked by Renaissance, Humanism, and the scientific revolution challenged the concept of absolutist state. The Enlightenment thinkers opposed the alliance between the state

and the Church as the enemy of human progress and well-being because it curbed individual liberty. With the dissolution of feudal relations, the two areas of social life: political and civil became more clearly demarcated as 'society' and 'state'. Civil society was defined, by the emergence of a distinct political economy in which individuals related to each other as independent agents rather than as people who filled prescribed social roles. It distinguished a sphere in which social relations were based on the free association of individuals, rather than a fixed hierarchy of legal institutions.

This process of segregation between civil and political marked by several intellectual traditions in the West. The three most prominent traditions that influenced the development of civil society in Europe were, Scottish Enlightenment, French intellectualism and German ideas. Some individual thinkers made seminal contributions to the idea of civil society such as Locke's contractarian division between state of nature, civil society and state, Hegel's, understanding of civil society as a form of market society, Marx's idea of civil society as the base for productive forces and social relations and Gramsci's ideas of hegemony in the civil society. These different strands of thought, occurring at different historical-social contexts combine without assimilation leading to several difficulties in conceptualizing civil society.

1.02.01.01 Scottish Enlightenment and French intellectualism

In the Scottish and French ideas, the concept of civil society referred to conditions of civility as opposed to barbarism, state of nature or despotism. As such the distinction between civil and political was articulated in terms of rights, constitutionalism, rule of law among others.

The Social contract theory is a typical example of the Scottish and French ideas where civil society referred to conditions of civility. Hobbes underlined the need of a powerful state to maintain civility in society. For Hobbes, human beings are motivated by self—interests which are often contradictory in nature. Therefore, in state of nature, there was a condition of a war of all against all. It was rationality and self-interests persuaded human beings to combine in agreement, to surrender sovereignty to a common power, i.e the Leviathan. For Locke, the fundamental contrast, defining civil society from the state of nature was that it enabled collective action and determination of collective good through mutuality of consent and contract. Locke did not distinguish between civil and political society but conceptualized civil society as a limited government deriving its powers from the consent of the governed.

Interestingly both Hobbes and Locke (social contractarians) had set forth a system, in which peaceful coexistence among human beings could be ensured through social pacts or contracts. They considered civil society as a community that maintained civil life, the realm where civic virtues and rights were derived from natural laws. However, they did not hold that civil society was a separate realm from the state. Rather, they underlined the coexistence of the state and civil society.

A more secular, less philosophical response to civil society that emphasized on the individual and society was proposed by theorists of Scottish enlightenment. The emergence of commercial society during the eighteenth century provided new impetus for community created by interdependencies of need. To the Scottish enlightenment thinkers individuals were a priori sociable due to inherent interdependence of satisfaction of needs. Adam Smith, Hutcheson, Ferguson argued that the interdependencies of humans necessitated society and this process reflected progressive development of human capacities and manners. Crucial to the success and viability of such a human society was a commitment to an effective system of justice, rule of law, property rights and stable political authority. This governed the possibility of effective markets, which fulfilled existing needs while constantly generating new ones, and whose dynamism allowed a steady refinement of civility.

For Smith the egoism of individual is primarily manifested in profit seeking behavior that energized the social order and gives rise to civilized society. Similarly Ferguson attached tremendous importance to economic liberty as a source of bond for discrete individuals and the dynamic progress of society itself.

The idea of social order as a creation of humans living together was endorsed by writings of David Hume. Hume argued that the whole edifice of civil society takes its rise from human conventions and does not flow from any natural principles. Thus the Scottish enlightenment theorists replaced the assertions of natural law thinkers that civil society was a product of institution of natural instincts.

Referring to Scottish enlightenment, Chandoke (1995) argues that civil society emerged as a system of want satisfaction and as the home of self-conscious individual. Civil Society was this realm of the market. However the civil society was not merely held together by relations of utility and rational self-interest. This was also the realm of private friendship.

Free interpersonal connections, of morals, affections, sentiments and voluntary choice. It was the realm of the market but also an ethical space in which the individual was

constituted and individuality was fashioned through free exchange with others. Thus for Scottish Enlightenment civil society meant a solidarity of moral sentiments and natural affections binding society together and a political association which put all members under the control of law. In this civil society the bonds among individual was not based on exclusive and non-voluntary relations but rather based on indifferent co-citizenship. The dissolution of the older intense and exclusive ties by universalism of sympathy paved the way from barbarity to politeness. The private and the public, the particular and the general were hence united through the universal sociability of independent social self cohesive, consistent collectively beneficial and self regulating social order.

1.02.01.02 German Ideas

To the German idealists, the civil society was not merely a commercial society or system of needs, but equally a sphere of recognition. According to Kant, individual civic freedom and political equality were articulated through reason and participation in political activity in the public sphere led to realization and recognition of this autonomy. As such, the civil society was the realm of reason and civic engagement.

In the German tradition, however, civil society represented the space in opposition to either the state or the community. For Georg Hegel and Karl Marx, civil society was an inclusive concept of “society minus the state”.

For Hegel, the civil society enabled the possibility of identification between persons and interests based on rationally grounded norms of conduct. The rational self that inhabited civil society was not natural or engendered by relations of the market, rather created by cultural and historical processes of interaction and social recognition. It was the community that created self-conscious rational beings. However as a sphere of mutual interaction, the civil society is marked by particular interests that can lead to degeneration into a sphere of un-freedom. Being the realm of capitalist interests, there is a possibility of conflicts and inequalities within it (ex: mental and physical aptitude, talents and financial circumstances).

Hegel argued that these inequalities influence the choices that members are able to make in relation to the type of work they will do.

The way out for Hegel is the creation of corporation where the actions performed in civil society are divided into different branches according to their particular nature - the selfish end which pursues particular ends and expresses itself at the same time as a

universal end as members of civil society are member of the corporation with universal ends. It is through the corporation i.e. the state, individuals in civil society acquire ethical ends that go beyond their self interest. Thus Hegel in his analysis goes against the classical notion of civil society as a distinct sphere from the state and merges the two into a unity.

Marx followed Hegelian way of using the concept of civil society but disagreed that state could resolve the contradictions of civil society. To Marx, the civil society revolved around construction of the isolated individual and social relations. For Marx, civil society was the base where productive forces and social relations were taking place, whereas political society was the superstructure. Agreeing with the link between capitalism and civil society, Marx held that the latter represents the interests of the dominant class in capitalism i.e. the bourgeoisie. For Marx the political realm epitomised freedom due to communal nature of political life whereas the civil society was innately individualistic where private individuals regard others as a means, degrades himself into a means and becomes plaything of alien powers. Therefore, the civil society under capitalism is the sphere of property relations, material competition, atomisation of individuals and the domain of the bourgeoisie.

Marx disagreed with Hegel about the role of the state in universalizing particular interests. Rather, he depicted the state as the defender of the interests of the bourgeoisie. The civil society acts as a limit to the political possibilities of the state. As such for the realization of the full potential of human beings both civil and political society must be abolished through a revolution. Such a view of civil society was furthered and transformed by Antonio Gramsci. Departing from Marx, Gramsci did not consider civil society as coterminous with the socio-economic base of the state. Rather he argued that 'between the economic structure and the state stands civil society'. It was a set of institutions through which society organised and represented itself autonomously from the state. Although representative institutions of the economic sphere, such as employers' associations and trade unions, were among the institutions of civil society, there were also churches, parties, professional associations, educational and cultural bodies. To Gramsci the opposition between civil society and state was a clash of two opposing principles, hegemony and domination, with the former depending on the consent of the governed and the latter on domination. He underlined the crucial role of civil society as the contributor of the cultural and ideological capital required for the survival of the hegemony of capitalism.

Even mainstream theorists, like Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba have identified the role of political culture in a democratic order as vital. Element of political organizations facilitates better awareness and a more informed citizenry, who make better voting choices, participate in politics, and hold government more accountable as a result. Robert Putnam has argued that even non-political organizations in civil society are vital for democracy. This is because they build social-capital trust and shared values, which are transferred into the political sphere and help to hold society together, facilitating an understanding of the interconnectedness of society and interests within it.

1.02.01.03 Features of Civil society

The brief discussion suggests that the notion of civil society is subject to diverse interpretations. The writings on civil society in the west have varied from Locke's "civil state", Hegel's "ethical life" and De Tocqueville's 'associational life' that loosely incorporated all types of citizens' groups in the platform of civil society.

Civil society has also been conceived as social capital, i.e. James Coleman and Robert Putnam who argued that civil society provides a breeding ground for democratic values as it contributes to the strengthening of mutual trust and horizontal linkages within a given society.

For the Scottish Enlightenment theorists, it was the outcome of commercial society and marked by co-citizenship, rule of law and other conditions that effectively protect citizens from state arbitrariness. The society would be inhabited by strongly organized non-state groups capable of checking abuse of power by those in control of administration and the existence of balanced pluralism among civil society interests so that none can establish absolute dominance. As an integral part of liberalism, posited as the vehicle through which organized citizens can challenge the authoritarian state in order to widen bottom-up participation and protect civil and political rights.

Hegel, has viewed civil society as an instrument of cultural permeation replicating the order imposed by the state throughout society, rather than an independent actor while the Marxists view it as an outcome of transformation of state and society from feudal to capitalist world. Karl Marx focuses on the economic sphere as the reason for the emergence of civil society, which reinforces the societal control while Gramsci believes that civil society can be the site of political change by elaborating and propagating a new conception of the world.

Implicit in these ideas of civil society was the notion of it as a sphere of peaceful civility in contrast to the domination, authoritarianism and violence. Its meaning gets complicated since it is a new phenomenon to rename as civil society to those associations which were conceptually dealt with distinct meaning as interest groups, pressure groups, professional groups. The notion of civil society also varies in different parts of the world. As Khilnani points out In the West, civil society is a means of rejuvenating public life; in the East, it means — besides political and civil liberties - private property rights and markets; and in the South, it refers to those forces and agents which oppose the state and its efforts at regulation.

1.02.02 Civil Society in the East

According to Khilnani and Kaviraj (2001) discussion on civil society in the third world (East) is fraught with several problems. First the context of civil society has varied across West and East and within East varying between modern interests based sociability to reliable legal order. Second the problem is compounded by the multiplicity of connotations of civil society in literature (the previous section illustrates some of the various connotations). Third Sudipta Kaviraj (2001) points out that to understand political modernity in non-western world (East) one has to take recourse to western social theory.

The introduction of modernity in the East largely occurred through European political rule that created new political institutions, introduced political ideas of state and civil society. As Khilnani points out two processes played crucial role; first the use of the idea of civil society by colonial rulers to justify social action and second, the disruption of traditional social power by colonial rule required conceptual distinction of non-state and outside state realm. However despite the use of such conceptual categories such as civil society, the actual political processes or practices were different. The context of the use of language of civil society is different in the east and mirrors different intellectual culture, history and trajectory of state. As Partha Chatterjee points out “civil society is demographically limited in most of the world.

Finally parallel to the historic differences, the advent of globalization has added new dimensions to discourse of non-state actors and consequently civil society. The surge of interest in civil society in the east has corresponded with certain socio-political developments. Samuel P. Huntington defined the period of global politics since 1974 as the “third wave” of global democratization. It was the period of transition from authoritarian to more democratic forms of government. The spread of democracy was

associated with renewed interest in civil society as the essential precondition for spread and maintenance of liberal democratic order. Democracy is seen as involving not merely the formal establishment of certain rights, institutions and procedures but also the consolidation of the social relations and a framework of civil institutions which can support democracy.

Another dimension of renewed attention to civil society has been the disenchantment with the transformative potential of the state. In much of the Asian and African countries citizens have a low opinion of parties, politicians, and parliaments; due to failure of the state to fulfill promises of democracy and development. As Gupta (2000) has argued in the context of India, the failure of the Indian state to deliver on its promises, of constitutional democracy, self aggrandizement of the state ignoring the demands of the majority has led to disenchantment with the state. He points out two distinct demands as a response to such developments, namely, recall of a nostalgic glorious past and strengthening of civil society institutions to strengthen democracy.

According to Gupta, the trend of glorifying the past has led to demands for privileging community identity over other ties. The sense of community is tied to common tradition, fraternal values, culture; qualities that are generally marginalized by modernity. This tendency of creation of non-state civil society sphere through traditional community is distinctive. The emergence of civil society in the West inaugurated a break from traditional feudal ascriptive ties that were hierarchical and rigid. Civil society introduced the idea of equal co-citizenship, constitutional rights and free interaction. Thus the search for civil society through the community identity is something distinct.

A similar debate can be witnessed in the background of democratization in many East Asian countries. Many supporters of the Asian values hold that liberal democracy is an acceptable institutional design as there are set of core values which are distinctively Asian and entails a political-social practice other than the Western style of liberal democracy. Whereas the Western experience of “democratization” emerged as a response to a growing demand for autonomy on the part of groups and classes in civil society, the dominant and intrusive role of state power in most aspects of East and Southeast Asian social life channels political change to serve the managerial and technocratic ends of the state.

The prominent features of such a societies is the idea of a well-controlled rather than an energetic and critical public space and civil society. However these societies are

marked by relatively high involvement of non-state providers: the family, civil society (NGOs, associations), employers and so on. In this model contrary to conventional idea of civil society the lines between public and private, political and personal, formal and informal, official and non-official are all blurred.

The second trend in the societies of the East has been creation of civil society modeled along the Western experience i.e. civil society driven by legal rational considerations. Andre Beteille (2000) argues that autonomy of civil society is necessary for the maintenance and furtherance of socio-political institutions such as universities, hospitals, local governance institutions, political parties, associations that are crucial for the democratization of the society.

The return of civil society to political vocabularies has also been the result of neo-liberal projects such as privatization, de-nationalization, deregulation and destabilization which seek to roll back the state. The emphasis on governance rather than government and withdrawal of state functions has meant greater space to private actors (NGO, individuals, corporate bodies) who inhabit civil society.

1.02.02.01 Civil Society in India

Sunil Khilnani is of the opinion that in the case of India discussion on civil society does not move around on the same plane as there is an absence of a common conceptual map which inhibits the construction of universal or general features.

A major problem has been the particular configuration of the individual, who is mutable, able to conceive interest as temporary and autonomous in political loyalties and public affiliations. He is of the opinion that excessive emphasis on individual as in liberal tradition may not be in the interest of civil society due to instability. The other side of the coin is the situation where the individual is subservient to community or other traditional identities. In such contexts loyalties to community inhibit the development of autonomous co-equal individuals aimed at maximization of interests. The Indian caste system with its ascriptive, hierarchical principles makes the individual subservient to the community and determines social and occupational opportunities.

The origin of the idea of civil society in India, as in most of the East, can be traced back to experiences of colonialism. In the aftermath of nationalist freedom struggle it was assumed that that post colonial societies would take the path of western modern development and make transition to modern nation state characterized by strong civil

society. However such unilinear trajectories of development have been illusory. The developmental project undertaken by the post colonial state have more often than not failed to be inclusive, effectively inhibiting the formation of a strong civil society outside small enclaves of modernity. The historic bias in the formation of civil society institution has led to two definite consequences; preponderance of community based relations and strong statist orientation.

According to Mukherjee (2005) the reasons for such development in India can be traced back to certain historical-institutional developments. First the bourgeoisie hegemony required to create and sustain civil society was missing in the context of India. The idea of right bearing individuals freely and mutually interacting with like individuals and the state did not develop as colonial modernity did not adequately penetrate society and politics. Secondly the state emerged as an inhibiting factor in the formation of strong civil society as the state was privileged over society. The model of state led development and modernization facilitated top down approach and not depend on popular mobilization. Thus organic construction of civil society based on equality, freedom and reason could not replace existing hierarchical and traditional social order.

Thus, given such a situation the search of civil society in non-western society like India remains elusive and complicated matter. Yet the search remains relevant due to increasing disillusionment with the state and government and increasing demands of the population for democracy and individual rights. Most interesting is the increasing contestation between the communitarian society and modern civil society as reflected in the incidents of Khap panchayat dictates over love and marriage and consequent popular outrage. The location of both are in the realm of civil society and the contest between the primordial and modern identities in the civic space has assumed importance, The vacant space left by the state was thought to be occupied by the civil society to fulfill promises of justice and equality but civil society has itself become a site of contestation.

1.04 Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Do you think that the concept of civil society is diverse & often unclear in terms of meaning, conditions & features? Explain with reasons.

2. Distinguish between the civil society of the East & the West.
3. Discuss the three most prominent traditions that influenced the development of civil Society in Europe.

Short Answer Type Questions :

1. What is a civil society?
2. Examine the key features of a civil society.
3. What are the consequences of the formation of a civil society in India.

1.05 Suggested Readings

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Unit - 3 □ Political Parties and Pressure Groups in Comparative Perspective: USA & UK.

Structure

1.00 Objective of Study

1.01. Introduction

1.02. Political Parties

1.02.01 Origin of Political Parties

1.02.02 Structure of Political Parties

1.02.03 Behaviour and characteristics of Political Parties

1.03 Pressure Groups

1.03.01 Typology of Pressure Groups

1.03.02.01 Organization of Pressure Groups

1.03.02.02 Operation of Pressure Groups

1.04 Questions

1.05 Suggested Readings

1.00 Objectives of Study

1. Explain and elaborate the features of political party vis-a-vis Pressure Groups
2. Compare UK and USA Parties and Pressure Groups
3. Analyse the structural and political factors responsible for divergence

1.01 Introduction

Political parties and pressure groups are collective organizations found in all modern political societies. They occupy the space between individuals and the state and perform at large and perform indispensable and important functions. As philosophical pluralists like G. D. H. Cole and Harold Laski point out, the society is occupied by numerous groups that are akin to the state in so far as their associational character and receive

loyalty of the individuals. The formation of such groups can be traced to social but differential nature of man that provides commonality as well as conflict of interest.

The notion of such group is found in James Madison's Federalist Papers where he emphasized the existence of such groups or factions who are united by some common interest. According to Madison these groups emerged due to nature of man and although the struggle between factions is undesirable, it constituted the essence of politics. Tocqueville in his visit to America perceived the role of associations more positively as the bulwark of democracy. To him the voluntary, egalitarian, and temporary nature of such associations ensured civic participation in democratic processes.

1.02. Political Parties

Political parties are collective organizations for the achievement of certain goals within the political system. Parties are primarily associated with democratic political systems marked by mass political participation, electoral competition and presence of certain fundamental freedoms like freedom of association. However political parties are also present in non-democratic or revolutionary regimes performing functions of political communication, recruitment and control.

Parties are collective organization that seeks to acquire state power to implement certain programs and policies. From a functionalist perspective, parties aggregate various interests and demands articulated in society. From a systemic point of view, parties act as gatekeepers standing between the political authority and citizens. Thus political parties articulate, mobilize and organize interests of various groups, classes and communities with the aim of occupying authoritative decision making bodies (government). Parties provide opportunities for popular mobilization and participation, they act as channels of communication between government and citizens, form government, act as agenda setter, agent of political socialization and create patterns of interaction between society and the polity or the state.

1.02.01 Political Parties in UK and USA: Origin

Both UK and USA are stable democracies where political parties perform set of important functions. In both countries parties organize political competition by choosing candidates, registering and mobilizing voters, form governments through democratic alterations. However important differences can be identified among parties in terms of their origin. The USA has an unambiguous two party system with the Republican Party and Democratic Party as the principal political competitors. The origin of political parties

in the US can be traced back to around 1790 when the Constitution of the USA was adopted and ratified. The division between federalists and anti-federalists on the relation between federal government and constituent states has been identified as the precursor to competing political parties.

According to Eldersveld and Walton the history of US party system can be divided into several major periods. The period between 1788-1824 was the period of party building with division between federalist and anti-federalists. The second period between 1824-1854 was marked by mass mobilization and democratization. During this phase stable two party competition between Democratic party and Republican Party emerged. The period since 1860-has been marked by political stability and alteration between the two major parties. In this two party competition, there have been periods of third party prominence. However, such third parties have secured significant but inadequate popular votes in Presidential elections.

The UK, although a multiparty system, broadly resembles a two-party system. The two major parties, the Labour and the Conservative party reflect left of centre and right of centre positions respectively like the Democrats and the Conservatives. UK can be considered largely a two party system, although, presently, the third party -Liberal Democrats are in coalition government with the Conservatives.

Like the US, UK follows a first past the post system. However given UK is a parliamentary democracy and unitary system important differences exist among the parties and the party system. Parties in UK unlike the US are well organized, cohesive, programmatic and ideological.

Parties in UK, emerged in the beginning of the 19th century as response to growing demands for democratization of parliament resulting from social transformations like industrialization and creation of new classes in society. These changes enabled the Whigs (group supporting constitutional monarchy and opposed to absolute rule) to push for the Reform Act of 1830 that extended the electorate. Subsequent Reform Acts of 1867, Ballot Act of 1872, Representation of People's Act of 1884 expanded franchise, introduced single member constituencies, made elections difficult for individual candidates and increased the demands on and functions of the government. These changes necessitated organized political parties that were cohesive and united on a common programme. As Chatterjee (2006) points out it was changes in the size and nature of electorate coupled with changes in the status and role of parliament that led to the growth of cohesive, organized and programmatic parties in UK. The Tories (landed gentry and aristocracy) and the Whigs (non-landed rising bourgeoisie) emerged from

being clientelistic groups to mass membership parties. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Conservatives and Liberals emerged as the two major parties. At the turn of the twentieth century the Labour party was formed by the British Trade Union Congress decision to have a parliamentary group for providing representation to working class in parliament. The Labour party rejected class war and adopted parliamentary democracy and after the split in the Liberal party in 1916, Labour emerged as the second major party in Britain.

1.02.02 Organisation of Political Parties

In terms of party organization, major parties in the US follow similar organisational pattern with national party conventions, national committee, state committee and campaign committees. The national party conventions are national meetings of party delegates elected by respective parties congressional caucuses (meeting of congressional party leaders), state committees and party primaries. The national convention meets for four days every four years to nominate the presidential candidate and to ratify party programs. The national committee is the executive body of the party at the national level with a chairperson. There is senatorial and house campaign committee that decides upon distribution of party funds among candidates. The state committee is headed by a state chair followed by congressional district committee, county, city, ward and precinct committees. Each party has auxiliary bodies like organization of youth, women or labour. However the organization outlined is generic; with significant variations across states, cities and counties. Local parties are largely autonomous in the absence of regular connection to national or state party.

In contrast to USA, parties in UK are well organized and cohesive. The Conservative party is organized along constituencies and traditionally individuals become member of the party at the constituency level. At the top is the parliamentary party constituted by party MPs. The parliamentary party elects the party leader who is aided by full time professional. There have been organizational changes in the party such as creation of a Conservative Political Centre in 1945 and Governing Board in 1997 to be elected by parliamentary wing and party organization. Although the constituency party remains important, leadership of the party is determined through elections by all members of the party.

The Labour party is characterized by the annual party conference and the national executive committee. The Conference is the highest decision making body ratifying party programme. The NEC is responsible for running the party between conferences

and works in consultation with the Parliamentary Labour Party. After the 1990's the party has become more mainstream, centralized and less under the control of union. The party has individual members, affiliated members (membership by virtue of unions being affiliates of the party). The unions because of large number of affiliate membership have significant control of the party which has reduced over time.

1.02.03 Behaviour and characteristics of Political Parties

Given the differences in historical origin and intuitional structure of government significant differences can be observed in the behaviour and characteristics of political parties of UK and USA.

Firstly, the political parties in USA do not have any concept of regular, due-paying party membership. Instead they have system of party registration whereby voters register for specific party before actual voting. Although this does not restrict a voter from voting for any party, the data is collated for organizing vote for primaries. In contrast parties in UK have regular, due paying membership. There is no system of voter registration and individual voters vote in single membership constituencies.

Secondly, there exist significant difference in the method of candidate selection among the parties in UK and USA. In UK the selection of candidates is done by party organs at the constituency level with some control by the national party. In the Conservative party an aspiring candidate must secure place on party's candidate list prepared after interviewing applicants for candidature and giving training to those selected. In the Labour party nominations are made by party ward committees or affiliated organizations like trade unions, women's organization. These nominations are short listed by the executive committee of the party. Since 1993 the Labour Party Conference has been granted the power to approve the nominations on the basis of one member one vote.

The parties in USA follow a different policy of nominating candidates. Some states in the US follow the caucus system or party conventions to nominate candidates for election. In the former the local parties nominate candidates while in the latter delegates from local units to the convention chosen by local party units nominate candidates. In most states a system of primaries wherein voters registered for the party directly elect the party nominee. Different individuals within the same party fight each other for nomination by persuading the party members to vote for them. This system of candidate nomination diminishes the role of party organizations, party discipline and contributes to focus on candidate rather than the party.

Thirdly, the Presidential system in USA and Parliamentary system in UK also contribute to significant differences in party characteristics and behaviour. Parties in US help organize the government in a limited manner due to operation of presidential form of government. The Houses of Congress are organized along partisan lines and the majority party in the House has the power to elect the officers of the chambers concerned. By virtue of controlling the Presidency or Governorship in a state, the party enjoys power of patronage. In UK, due to operation of parliamentary system where strength of party is associated with control over government, parties seek legislative majority to form the executive. As such changes in legislative fortune of parties leads to change in executive and policies of government.

Fourthly, related to the previous point, the operation of parliamentary system in UK ensures that parties seek to distinguish themselves in terms of their policies, programmes and ideology to attract voters. British parties are cohesive and ideologically divergent. The focus on individuals in the election of executive offices in USA, on the other hand, ensures that elections in US elections are hardly fought on single issue and major parties occupy largely central position with regard to public opinion on issue. Even if parties have extreme position on specific issues, they moderate their stand on other issues.

Fifthly, in the UK, there is continued but weak presence of the liberal Democratic Party and number of smaller parties have often found representation in the House of Commons. In terms of votes the third parties have increasingly got more votes as the share of the dominant parties have declined. The liberal party has won seats in the lower house since 1945 and increased it tally over time. Presently the Conservative Liberal Democratic Dem alliance is in power in England. There are also other minor parties such as Scottish Nationalist party and Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist party) that have strong regional presence and weak national presence. The far right in British politics is occupied by UKIP (Independence party) that is anti-immigration, anti-European integration. In the US third parties although in fray have never won presidency or executive office election. In either House of the Congress the presence of third party has never been more than two, in most case dissenting republicans or democrats.

The brief discussion suggests that party behaviour and characteristics significantly vary across UK and USA.

The operation of the Presidential system, nomination through primaries moderate stand of political parties and principle of separation of powers make USA more candidate

centric than party oriented. Hence on particular issues the party representatives do not necessarily vote along party lines as parties are weakly disciplined and un-cohesive. Sometimes, Presidents get more support for their policies not from their own party members but the opposition. As such parties US are decentralized, fragmented organizations. The Presidential system ensures that elected individuals become the most important political actor. The separation of power principle bifurcates the party into executive and legislature. Unlike the parliamentary system, in Presidential system the same party may not control the executive and legislature or different houses of the legislature. All these conditions ensure that none of the Congressional parties in the US has any responsibility for sustaining the executive which allows them to work less cohesively.

The parliamentary system in UK, party based nomination and executive accountability to legislature ensures the importance of political parties. That is why British parties are labeled as conflictual. In the post World War 2 period the Conservatives and Labour differed on issues of taxation, public ownership of industries, social welfare spending, nuclear defense and unilateral disarmament. The Conservatives have always stood for Britain's traditional institutions like the Crown, Constitution, National identity and the Church. However despite the characterization it is important to remember that political parties in their need for electoral success try to create broader support base and as such adopt largely centrist positions. For example the Labour Party has removed the demand for public ownership of means of production, control over industries and agreed to cut down welfare expenditure, limit tax rate when in power. Moreover regionalization of UK politics with introduction of Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly has led to emergence of regional parties and decentralization of the national parties.

1.03 Pressure Groups

Pressure groups are associations with certain shared attitudes on the basis of which they promote certain interests or events. They are organized with the aim of protecting and promoting shared material interests of the members. However these groups do not seek to capture political power to pursue their interest. Rather they make demands upon other groups within civil society or the state through governmental institutions. Thus they are different from political parties in terms of their aim of promoting specific interests of members and non-interest in capturing political power of the state. Pressure groups operate outside partisan politics and have limited goals to be achieved by

pressurizing the government. Generally parties have wide membership and have broad societal goals unlike pressure groups with specific interests. However it is important to remember that political parties can be based on specific ideology or interests of specific groups in society. Interest groups can develop close relationship with parties as parties are interest aggregating institutions. Such relationship is often more open than pressure group-executive relationship as executive and bureaucracy are ideally committed to protection of public interests and not special interests. Pressure groups also take advantage of mass media to make their case before the public.

1.03.01 Typology of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups are associations with certain shared attitudes on the basis of which they promote certain interests or events. They are organized with the aim of protecting and promoting shared material interests of the members. However these groups do not seek to capture political power to pursue their interest. Rather they make demands upon other groups within civil society or the state through governmental institutions. Thus they are different from political parties in terms of their aim of promoting specific interests of members and non-interest in capturing political power of the state. Pressure groups operate outside partisan politics and have limited goals to be achieved by pressurizing the government. Generally parties have wide membership and have broad societal goals unlike pressure groups with specific interests. However it is important to remember that political parties can be based on specific ideology or interests of specific groups in society.

The literature on pressure groups point out two major types, namely pluralist and corporatist. Pluralist interest groups are non-hierarchical organizations associated with freedom of association, freedom to access decision makers, freedom from the state, and freedom to be member of multiple groups. According to Schmitter the pluralist interest representation is a system in which the constituent units are organized into unspecified number of multiple, voluntary, competitive, non-hierarchical and self-determined categories which do not have monopoly over representation. Thus a pluralist interest representation is marked by multiple pressure groups within the same sector leading to competition and accountability. There can be multiple memberships as one individual can be member of more than one type of group. Such overlapping group membership contributes to political moderation. The pressure groups try to influence the government often through political parties, bureaucracy, legislature and executive. In contrast the corporatist interest representation system is marked by limited number of interest groups with one monopoly group in each specific sector. Individuals in each

sector must be member of the group representing it. As the numbers of interest groups are limited, the competition is limited, internal structure is hierarchical and close relation to the state. The behavior and action of pressure groups vary according to the institutional designs.

1.03.02 Pressure Groups in UK and USA

UK and USA are liberal representative democracies with constitutionally guaranteed freedom of associations. As advanced industrialized democracies, both countries are marked by existence of groups and associations pursuing various interests to pressurize the government. Both UK and USA have pluralistic system of interest representation. However given the difference in political system the operation of pressure groups differ significantly.

In UK parliamentary form of government has meant party discipline, which individual members of legislature cannot defy. Also private member bills are less likely to succeed. As such pressure groups in UK focus more on the bureaucracy and political parties rather than individual legislators. A common practice for interest groups is to develop relations with target departments, which in turn gives them patronage. In contrast, given the weak party discipline in the USA, lobbying in the Congress or Senate has been the dominant practice among pressure groups. Direct approach to individual legislators is common in USA due to weak party discipline that allows individual legislators support specific demands.

1.03.02.01 Organization of Pressure Groups

USA is marked by large number of pressure groups among and within sectors. USA has been sometimes described as hyper-pluralistic as pressure groups have proliferated with growth in the functions of government, rise of issue sensitivity among citizens and political diffusion. There are numerous of interest -pressure groups representing industry, agriculture, tenants, labour, self employed such as National Association for the Self Employed, National Association of Manufacturers, US Chamber of Commerce, AFL-CIO. Apart from the national organizations, there are state level pressure groups.

In some states of the USA, state laws require workers to be members of union as condition of employment (closed shop), while there are states with no mandatory membership laws. Among the pressure groups workers are least organized with around 15 percent of the workforce unionized (largely in public sector). The AFL-CIO is the largest federation of trade unions at the national level representing 80 percent of all

unionized workers. Politically the worker unions are closer to the Democratic Party than the Republican Party and often help mobilization efforts of party candidates. The other major pressure groups are American Farm Bureau Federation, which fights for goals like price support, expanded credit; Professional groups also exist like American Medical Association, American Bar Association, and American Teachers Association. Apart from professional and economic interests groups, there exist large number of single interest pressure groups like Right to Life (anti abortion) groups, Pro Choice (for abortion group), The National Rifle Association, and issue based groups centered around themes like environment, AIDS prevention, nuclear disarmament etc. There are groups that emerge out of political movements called public interest groups. These groups are committed to the promotion of public interest like consumer protection, safe energy, and good government. There are foreign policy advocacy groups like New York Council on Foreign Relations, American Committee on Africa that pressurize the government to adopt certain kinds of policies.

Like the US, pressure groups in UK can be distinguished between protective and promotional groups. While the former try to protect interest of sectional groups such as Trade Unions, Farmers vis-à-vis others by influencing public policy, promotional groups promote particular causes or issues that will benefit the members or society at large. Promotional groups are like National Council of Civil Liberties, Child Poverty Action Group., Stonewall (Gay rights group), Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, Campaign for nuclear disarmament, No to War.

The most prominent pressure groups are business, labour and farmers. In Business the Confederation of British Industries is the apex body created through the amalgamation of Federation of British Industries, the British Employers Confederation and the National Association of British Manufacturers. It provides several services to members like information and advice on technical matters along with representation of interests to government. Although it has no formal tie up with any party, it is expectedly closer to the Conservative party. However the Confederation does not monopolise the representation of interests of the business sector.

In trade union sector UK is marked by multiplicity with eight largest trade unions representing more than 50 percent of the unionized workers. Most British unions are either members of the TUC, the Trades Union Congress (founded in 1867), or where appropriate, the Scottish Trade Union Congress or the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, which represent the principal national trade union centre of the country. The TUC's control over individual unions affiliated to it is not complete as on many occasions

individual unions go on strike without sanction from the TUC. The TUC has a general council as its executive body and a general secretary. It helps the members by providing services like worker education, representing labour cases with the government. The TUC has historically close relation with the Labour Party which emerged as the political organization of British trade unions.

In agriculture, the National Farmers Union of England and Wales is the apex body representing almost 70 percent of the farmers in England and Wales. Scotland and Northern Ireland have separate apex bodies for farmers. It also provides services to members like tax advice, representation of farmers interest to government and technical advice. It has a close relationship with Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. The ministry includes the representatives of NFU on various advisory bodies like the one of farm prices.

The major special interests in UK are represented by their apex bodies, which are neither monopolistic nor exhaustive. Various other more or less powerful pressure groups exist and engage in interest articulation and representation.

1.03.02.02 Operation of Pressure Groups

The pressure groups in USA are highly developed and adopt certain practices to promote their goals such as Lobbying, Publicity and formation of Political Action Committee.

Lobbying is a common practice associated with US pressure groups whereby the groups make the case for their interests to the legislators seeking their support. It is a system through which legislators are informed of the groups, the interests they represent, their implication for political constituencies and the society at large. It is a well developed access mechanism for pressure groups to reach legislators with professional lobbyist representing the interests of pressure groups. The system is regulated through national and state laws and constitutes an integral part of law making in the US.

Another important device used by pressure groups to influence policy makers is the Political Action Committee. Interest groups constitute own PAC whose task is to raise money from members to contribute to election campaign of candidates or parties in return for support. The increasing cost of elections has made PAC's very important for parties as well as interest groups to espouse their cause effectively. However the importance of PAC's has raised questions about money interests dominating policy making in the US.

Interest groups also resort to publicity through media like newspaper, television, mails to influence public opinion.

In contrast to US, the pressure groups in UK, although visible and important exhibit different character. Political institution like parliamentary democracy, unitary form of government and political culture lead to differences in the nature and operation of pressure groups in the UK.

Interest groups representing sectional interests develop long-standing relation with the executive as there is little scope or benefit for pressure groups to target individual members in legislature. Therefore the pressure groups focus more on the executive and the bureaucracy.

In UK the pressure groups perform important function of interest articulation and policy formulation. Many of the statutory and advisory bodies of the government require inclusion of representative of relevant interests. The 1924 Health Insurance Act requires the involvement of medical professional in matters of administration of social insurance policies. The CBI and TUC were likewise made part of National Economic Development Council, Manpower Services Commission and Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service. Thus interest groups in UK have certain degree of institutionalized relationship with the government specifically the executive and the bureaucracy. Such a development has also made British system of interest representation closer to the corporatist type of interest representation.

Lobbying although not as prominent as the USA also exists in UK. This trend was accelerated since 1970 when the Thatcher government decided to reduce visible contacts between pressure groups and the government. Another possible reason behind increasing ascendancy of lobbying is the creation of large number of parliamentary committees that determine their own agenda.

Interest groups in UK and USA are marked by diversity and plurality. Both countries have pressure groups of various hues and orientations. In UK the groups target the executive and the bureaucracy in contrast to the legislature in the USA. The institutionalization of the party system and government is the primary contributor to such difference in attitude of pressure groups.

1.4 Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Explain & elaborate the features of political party vis-a-vis Pressure Groups.
2. Compare the Political Parties of UK & USA.

3. Make a comparative study of the Pressure Groups of USA & UK.
4. Discuss how the Party System has evolved in UK.

Short-Answer-type Questions

1. State the basic characteristics of a Political Party.
2. What are Pressure Groups?
3. What are the different types of Pressure Groups?
4. Write Short notes on
 - (a) The Tories & the Whigs.
 - (b) The Labour Party
 - (c) The National Executive Committee (NEC)

1.05 Suggested Readings

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Unit -4 □ Role of the Military in Indonesia and Pakistan

Structure

1.00 Objectives of Study

1.01. Introduction

1.01.01 Military and Politics

1.01.02 Military intervention in Politics

1.01.03 Typology of Military intervention

1.02. Role of Military in Indonesia

1.02.01 Historical Overview

1.02.02 Analysis of military in Indonesia

1.03. Role of Military in Pakistan

1.03.01 Historical Overview

1.03.02 Analysis of military in Pakistan

1.04 Questions

1.05 Suggested Readings

1.00 Objectives of Study

1. To understand the role of military in politics
2. Elaborate on various types of military intervention in politics
3. Historical understanding of military in Indonesia
4. Explain the causes of military intervention in politics and role of military in Indonesia
5. Historical understanding of military in Pakistan
6. Explain the causes of military intervention in politics and role of military in Pakistan

1.01. Introduction

The role of military in politics has been an important area of enquiry, both in the context of developing countries, where transition to democracy have often been contested, as well as in more successful democracies, where military is viewed as powerful interest group. As Basu (2005) points out, the study of military, its social basis and role in policy formulation, has become an integral part of the discipline of political sociology. This topic focuses on the role of military in two states, namely Indonesia and Pakistan, in order to develop an understanding of its role in politics.

However before delving into the specific cases, it will be instructive to have an overview of the existing theoretical framework on the theme.

1.01.01 Military and Politics

The importance of military emanates from its role in protecting the territorial integrity from external threats and maintaining political-social order from violent disorders. Thus military has intrinsic connection to national security and survival of the state. These functions have been increasingly associated with modernisation and development of the country. Also military institutions may have interest in the pursuing their objectives, and as such military may act as powerful interest group in society. As such the intervention of military in politics can emanate from issues of political stability, external aggression or nature of political culture. It may also depend on the attitude of the military as an interest group.

1.01.02 Military Intervention in Politics

The literature on military involvement in politics points out that it can be traced to different causes.

First, military involvement is dependent on socio-economic conditions, political instability, threats to national security from internal and external forces. As Blondel (1969) points out the possibility of military intervention becomes greater if the legitimacy of the political system is in crisis. The corporatist approach considers military intervention as elite response to crisis in society. Huntington (1968) has pointed out that role of military is dependent on the nature of existing society. To him, under conditions of oligarchy military is radical, in middle class world it is participant and arbiter and as mass society looms large it becomes conservative guardian of existing order.

Second, military intervention is a function of the actual or perceived role of military as an interest group in society. Palmer (1980) has identified certain advantages of military that make it more suitable for purpose of development such as ability to take firm decisions, development oriented values and coercive powers. As such the military may intervene if it considers itself as agent of development. However the developmental orientation of the military has often been questioned as military interventions have often prevented radical social transformation like Ayub Khan's coup in Pakistan 1958. According to the Modernization approach, when political institutions are weak, military may develop sense of public duty as part of the new middle class to introduce modernizing attitudes in society.

Third, military intervention is the result of qualitative difference between civilian and military institutions. Military is highly organised, disciplined, hierarchical, centralised, and cohesive with control over coercive instruments. This makes military more powerful than civilian government. As such if the capacity and legitimacy of civilian government to supervise process of development is low or weak, there will be tendency of professional military to assume control of government to undertake developmental work. Such an idea is reflected in the New Professional Approach that argues military intervention in the third world is an outcome of the adoption of much broader definition of national security by military and transferability of skills between military and civilian operations. Fourth, military intervention is related to the size, cohesion and professionalization of the military. Samuel Huntington (1968) has argued that there is an inverse relationship between professionalism and military involvement. Finer is of the opinion that as the protector of national security, professional military may be compelled to intervene in politics in the face of perceived threat to national sovereignty.

It is important to mention that the causes mentioned are not mutually exclusive, and often operate simultaneously. Also military intervention in politics is not a regular phenomenon especially in liberal democracies. Much of the time, rather than direct intervention, the role of the military is behind the scenes as a powerful organ of the state.

1.01.03 Typology of Military Intervention

According to Alan Ball (1971), military intervention can be classified into three broad categories; namely direct, limited and control by military.

Military intervention is considered less likely in developed liberal democracies where popular sovereignty and supremacy of the constitution is well entrenched in political

culture. In one party, socialist or authoritarian, systems it is the effective control of the army by the party or dictator that ensures limited role of the military. However limited role of the military in politics does not imply complete absence.

Even in liberal democracies the military acts as pressure group to bargain for greater resources, amenities and budgetary allocations. C. Wright Mills (1965) in his articulation of elites shows how the military, industry and political leaders combine to create the power-elite of United States of America. The military -industrial complex whereby armament associated industry and military combine together to pursue policies favouring military procurement and consequently armament industry had been pointed out even by President Eisenhower.

Also often the military acts as a power broker where it does not directly capture power but ensures replacement of one civilian regime by another.

1.02 Military in Indonesia

Since its inception at the time of Indonesian independence, the military has had a defined role in both defence and politics, particularly during the Sukarno (1945-1965) and Suharto eras (1966-1998). While this role has been somewhat reduced in the Reform era (beginning mid-1998) through various stages of military reform, many of the underlying principles of the involvement of the military in politics still remain.

1.02.01 Historical Overview

The Indonesian military was originally created from peoples' armed forces fighting for independence. As the new republic needed military during the interim struggle with the Dutch, the first organisation of armed forces was established on 22 August 1945. It was called the *Badan Keamanan Rakyat* (BKR/People's Security Board) and aimed at "maintaining security together with the people and related state bodies".

Interestingly the main personnel of the militia were officers educated by and inherited from the colonial forces, including both the Dutch and the Japanese. Dutch-inherited officers were educated in the tradition that the army should be politically neutral and professional. The officers trained by the Japanese, meanwhile, were not trained to be a professional army with a separation between military duties and politics. As the military developed, many personnel followed the Japanese tradition and became members of political parties or organisations. These officers took the position that they did not need to separate their professional duties from their political activities within society.

The first government of Indonesia under President Sukarno, the leader of the independence movement, was fraught with internal problems. There was severe disagreements on future path of Indonesian state, between nationalists who wanted a secular state (led by Partai Nasional Indonesia, first established by Sukarno), the Islamists who wanted an Islamic state (led by Masyumi Party), and the Communists who wanted a socialist state. The instability of the parliamentary democracy meant incessant conflicts and disturbances that precipitated the role of military in politics. For example the Darul Islam rebels in West Java, Aceh, South Sulawesi refused to acknowledge Sukarno's authority and declared a NII (Negara Islam Indonesia - Islamic State of Indonesia) between 1949-1953 which required military solution.

The military gained even more prominent position in politics when Sukarno established an autocratic system called "Guided Democracy" in 1957 that successfully ended the instability and rebellions. Two developments during this period reinforced the foundation for the role of the military in politics: first, the declaration of 'military emergency' in 1957, which allowed the military to be active in politics as they ran the state of emergency; and second, the introduction of the 'middle way' concept in 1958 by Army Chief of Staff AH Nasution. The middle way provided the opportunity for army to become involved in the government on the basis of the principle of 'collaboration' and working together". Thus the military was involved not only in protecting territorial integrity but also political order and regime stability.

This role of military in politics became crucial during the early 1960's when Sukarno regime developed close relation to Communist Party (PKI) at the expense of the military and Islamists. Sukarno declared that his government was based on Nasakom, a union of the three ideological strands present in Indonesian society: nasionalisme (nationalism), agama (religions), and komunisme (communism). Indonesia also embarked on a series of aggressive foreign policies under the rubric of anti-imperialism, with aid from the Soviet Union and China. On 30th September 1965, a military coup (details of which are still unclear) led to political turmoil after which Sukarno was deposed by one of his generals, Suharto in 1966.

Suharto took power following the political violence of 1 October 1965 as the representative of the army. He then used the military to build personal power and a dictatorship. To support his efforts, Suharto established a pyramidal structure whereby he controlled all resources of power: Suharto stood at the apex of the pyramid; his appointees sat in each of the key executive, legislative, and judicial branches of

government. He dominated the cabinet, the state bureaucracy, the armed forces and hand-picked both the Minister of Defense and the Commander of the powerful Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order. He dominated the People's Consultative Assembly -the body that continued to re-elect him for successive five-year terms - and had selected a trusted military colleague to preside over its deliberations.

Suharto's use of the military in the New Order by creating a parallel structure of military and civilian authority was in one sense continuation of Nasution's ideas of military's political role. Although personal aspiration and ambition of the military to emerge crucial in the Indonesian state were important consideration, it must be acknowledged that weakness of civilian politicians in the post-independence period forced members of the military to seek roles beyond simply being 'tools of civilian government'. The military's role in guarding state sovereignty against internal factional politics between political parties was the main argument providing support for their excessive role.

Harold Crouch argues that for the four years following 1965 one of Suharto's priorities was to strengthen his control over ABRI. During Suharto's reign, the dual function of the military as both a defence force and a participant in civilian politics and governance was legitimised by Law No. 20/1982 on State Defence Regulations. Article 26 and 28 of the law regulated the National Armed Forces' non-military roles. Article 26 stated that the armed forces functioned as defence force and social force. Article 28 (1) stated that the armed forces acted as a social force by being a motor and 'stabiliser' that, with help from other social forces, held the responsibility to secure and strengthen the nation's struggle for independence and the prosperity of the people. The Article 28 (2) stated that in order to execute the aforementioned actions, the armed forces were directed to participate actively in development and to strengthen national defence by participating in the decision-making process related to state and government affairs and to develop *Pancasila* (The five principles of the Republic of Indonesia).

The implementation of this dual function of the military has resulted in the involvement of armed forces in non-military fields, often being referred to as it's 'stabiliser' (agents of stability) and 'dinamisator' (agents of mobilisation and change) role. Members of the military filled posts in the cabinet, the embassy, and the seats in the DPR (House of Representatives), MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) and the DPRD (Regional Parliaments), as well as being appointed to the positions of mayors and governors. Furthermore, there was a significant presence of the armed forces in the cabinet of the

day. As a result, the Indonesian military became less professional in its key role of providing defence but more professional in politics and the business sector.

The political role of the Indonesian military (previously *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* or ABRI, now *Tentara Rakyat Indonesia* or TNI) since the fall of Suharto in May 1998 has been significantly diminished through structural and legislative change, and to some extent public oversight. Given the pervasive role of the military removal of the socio-political role of the armed forces following the fall of Suharto in 1998 was a complex problem. The 'Reformists' demanded the removal of the armed forces from politics as soon as possible. However, the ruling civilian government took an approach of gradual change in accordance with the 'new paradigm' of the armed forces issued through the Armed Forces Chief of Staff, Wiranto. This gradually reduced the role of the armed forces in civilian politics. Since 1998 the political and business roles of the military were publicly challenged and its need for reform highlighted. In the aftermath of the 1999 general election, the position of the TNI-Police faction in parliament through reserved seats in each layer of government was reduced and following the 2004 general elections was completely erased. After the 1999 elections, ABRI's political role was gradually reduced. On 1 April 1999, the National Police were separated from the Indonesian Armed Forces and the name ABRI was changed to TNI. In addition, the Central Political and Social Council and the Provincial Political and Social Council were abolished. Furthermore, ABRI Political and Social Staff were changed to Territorial Staff and ABRI general staff and those in the Coordinating Body on Assistance for National Stability and the Functional Guidance Body were forced into retirement or given new positions. Organisational relations between the military and the Golkar party were cut and equal relations were maintained with all parties. At the same time, the military were committed to remaining neutral in general elections. The reform era supported these changes that put an end to the social role of the armed forces in Indonesia, particularly through the efforts of the student movement.

1.02.02 Analysis of the role of military in Indonesia

Given the historical dual role military has been able to set agendas and perpetrate violence without civilian oversight. In Papua, this has led to various acts of violence perpetrated by the military and the police, often tapping into local ethno-religious relations. However, this has been less overt than the violence occurring in Aceh. In Aceh, the initial response of the military in the 1950s to Acehese resistance was more

accommodating and less violent than the military operations in the 1970s to the 1990s. Furthermore, these repressive strategies did not elicit peace agreements but rather stimulated further rebellion, which some argue was part of a broader military strategy of creating tension and maintaining a role for the military in domestic security provision.

During the New Order era under the Suharto administration and the Old Order era under the Sukarno administration, the Indonesian military had a strong and pervasive political role through its presence in various civil institutions, the state apparatus and the business sector. Today, the role of the military in politics has been significantly reduced by disbanding the political sections of the military in the regions and a number of other reforms. However, many of the original principles of the functions of the military remain, whereby they can still be involved in politics and elections by resigning from their military posts.

There are still critics who argue that while the socio-political role of the military has changed, this has not ended their role in the business sector. One problem which has proved difficult to solve in the internal reform of the TNI has been that of the territorial command structure. Territorial commands were one of the instruments used by the New Order regime to create a 'military' government shadowing the civilian government. Despite the reform initiatives mentioned above, this territorial command is still active. The TNI continues to believe that territorial commands ensure that the dream of 'Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia' (NKRI) will be fulfilled. It is not surprising that the reform era has failed to bring the abolition of territorial commands - on the contrary, the government has increased the number of territorial commands by reviving the regional command in Aceh and in Maluku.

During the Reform era, there has been debate over the form of the Indonesian state, specifically whether the unitary state is still suitable for Indonesia or whether there is an alternative, more appropriate, model, such as federalism. During these debates, the military has always argued that NKRI is a given, and cannot be changed. However, the reformists believe other forms of power sharing are possible. The problem is not only one of discourse, as the reality has been that no changes to state formation have taken place, despite four rounds of amendments to the 1945 constitution.

Although Indonesian civil society groups, including non-government organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) argue that the territorial command structure is no longer relevant as the responsibility for internal security lies with the

police, such organisations have failed to suggest new alternatives for a defence and security model suitable for Indonesia. Indonesia has faced a serious and fundamental problem of domestic security provision both in the form of vertical conflicts (e.g. separatism in Aceh and Papua) and horizontal conflicts (e.g. social violence, communal, religious, and/or ethnic conflicts). This has been the ultimate reason used by the military to convince others that the territorial command structure should be maintained.

To conclude, democratic consolidation in Indonesia has proved to be a cumbersome process, even though TNI's role in national and local parliaments has already been abolished. One of the causes for these problems is that civil politicians like to involve the military in politics by nominating them to run for election. According to Government Regulation No.6/2005, Clause 4 Verse 2 F, members of TNI and TNI-state employees may participate as candidates in district/municipal head elections so long as they are non-active members of their forces. However, they do not have to retire from the forces. This implies there is still a nuanced role for the military in politics because these retired soldiers can still access their networks within the armed forces.

1.03 Role of Military in Pakistan

Since inception in 1947, Pakistan has passed through an unending sequence of critical junctures. Some experts opine that reeling from crisis to crisis, plagued by war, threat from hostile external forces, and depredations of corrupt and incompetent civilian governments, Pakistan has always been saved from complete and utter destruction by the timely intervention of the military, the only institution possessing the expertise and resources to address these complex problems. But, this is hardly the accepted line of argument within the Pakistani scholarly circles. Many analysts attribute Pakistan's lack of democratisation to the military's formal and informal political interventions, suggesting that this has greatly impacted the state's ability to effectively resolve the perennial problems of ethnic conflict, governance, and development.

1.03.01 Historical Overview

The history of Pakistan suggests that civilian rule has been interjected by periods of military rule has actively damaged democratic institutions and politics, co-opting and controlling different civilian actors through a combination of coercive and non-coercive measures. The dominance of military in Pakistan can be traced to its inception in 1947

in backdrop of perceived threat of India, ethnic tensions between East and West Pakistan coupled with the political instability. The first war with India in 1948 over Kashmir brought the military to the centre-stage and provided the opportunity to play a more active role in Pakistan's politics.

After the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951 the civilian government ceded increasing amounts of space to the military which assumed a more central role in policy formulation in a number of areas including the establishment of strategic ties with the United States in the context of the Cold War, and the institutional structure of the nascent federal system in Pakistan. In 1956 the Constitution was promulgated which established a republic with substantial powers of President.

In a quick succession the first official takeover by the military occurred in 1958. Army Chief Ayub Khan deposed the President Iskander Mirza, who had dismissed the Constituent Assembly, and imposed martial law. Ayub Khan ruled under martial law till 1962 and then legitimized his rule by indirect elections known as "Basic Democracy". This period saw the entrenchment of military-strategic consideration in policy making with Pakistan joining CENTO, allowing the American military access to facilities inside Pakistan, deteriorating relations with India culminating in the 1965 war. In the domestic sphere the military undertook development agenda by encouraging free-market principles, and undertaking infrastructure projects. Ayub Khan was followed by General Yahya Khan in 1969 as the President. Yahya Khan resigned in 1971 after Pakistan was defeated in the Bangladesh liberation war.

The period between 1973 and 1977 was an interregnum in Pakistan when the first civilian government took office and completed its term. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of PPP was the first Prime Minister under the new 1973 constitution. However in 1977 the military deposed the civilian government and General Zia ul-Haq became the President. The period under Zia saw ban on political parties, campaign to introduced Islamic laws and system, deep involvement with the United States and support for the mujahideen resistance against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Democracy returned to Pakistan only after the death of Zia in a mysterious plane crash in 1988.

However military intervention in civilian politics did not diminish as Ghulam Ishaq Khan known to be close to the Pakistani military became the President after Zia. Khan dismissed civilian government of Benazir Bhutto in 1990 and attempted to dismiss Nawaz Sharif government in 1993. During this period of democratic rule (1988-1999) Pakistan witnessed weak and unstable governments marred with corruption charges

precipitating indirect military interventions. Notably when President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's decision to dismiss the Nawaz Sharif government was overturned by the Supreme Court, the military intervened to avert a constitutional crisis by brokering an agreement between the President and the Prime Minister (both Khan and Sharif resigned).

Direct military intervention in politics again returned in 1999 when General Musharraf took *de facto* control of the country through a coup against Nawaz Sharif government. Musharraf served as the Chief Executive until 2002 and then became the President. Musharraf resigned from the Presidency in 2008, to avoid impeachment.

1.03.02 Analysis of role of military in Pakistan

The brief discussion on military intervention in Pakistan suggests that the military has actively damaged democratic institutions and politics through a combination of coercive and non-coercive measures. The banning of political parties, the introduction of presidential forms of government, the dismissal of democratically elected leaders, and the suppression of alternative, radical forms of politics, are all routine features of military politics that have systematically undermined democracy in Pakistan. One may argue that that development of democratic politics, institutionalised party system, institutions of the state such as Parliament, Judiciary have been held back by the intervention of military in politics.

However an alternative interpretation of military in Pakistan can argue that failure of democratic politics, led by poorly institutionalised parties stuffed full of opportunistic patronage politicians, to handle socio-economic conditions and aspirations of development have precipitated the intervention of military. It is worth noting that period of military rule in general have been periods of economic growth. As Hassan Javid has argued in one of his recent articles, today as Pakistan experiences yet another political impasse featuring intractable political forces engaged in an escalating cycle of antagonism, it may be the case that only the military possesses the deftness of touch and the maturity of outlook required to bring matters to a swift and efficacious conclusion. In tracing out the dominance of the military in Pakistan, one needs to consider how the perceived external threat, coupled with the ethnic tensions and socio-economic crisis has provided military with both the opportunity and the justification to play a more active role in Pakistan's politics.

Analysts like Shah opine that the country's descent into authoritarianism was not inevitable. On the contrary, it was leaders in the Muslim League, including Jinnah and

Liaquat Ali Khan, who invoked the spectre of Indian aggression to legitimise attempts at centralising state power in the face of Bengali demands for greater autonomy and representation. The identification of India as an existential threat to Pakistan, and the subordination of all other interests to the need to build an effective military, provided the armed forces with the means through which to strengthen their internal organisational coherence and establish ideological worldview. It also reinforced biases, inherited from the colonial tradition, which viewed civilian politicians as being utterly incapable of dealing with the problems they confronted.

Taking over responsibility for formulating responses to the external and, crucially, internal threats Pakistan faced, the military developed as an institution that deliberately cultivated a mindset defined by a contempt for civilian politics and politicians, extreme suspicion to external forces, and a belief in the efficacy of violence in dealing with ethnic and ideological tensions within the country. The wide-ranging military's responsibilities in this early period, coupled with its almost unchallenged authority, allowed it to define 'national interest' and then cement its role as the entity best suited to pursuing it.

As Aqil Shah has argued, the military's continued involvement in Pakistani politics can be attributed, amongst other things, to its self-perception as the only organisation capable of defending Pakistan from the myriad threats, violent and otherwise, that it allegedly faces. According to Shah, the military's belief in its unique ability to protect and pursue Pakistan's national interests, defined in the broadest possible sense, has deep roots in the institutional culture of the organisation. When the military topples civilian governments or shapes foreign policy, it does not just do so to protect its corporate interests; while that may play a role in the military's decision-making, the military genuinely possesses a sense of manifest destiny with regards to the role it has assumed as the guardian of Pakistan.

Recent scholarship suggests that even though circumstances have changed, and the military has often been forced to adapt to changed political environments, these beliefs remain the cornerstone of the military's approach to understanding, and engaging in, politics. There is evidence to suggest that the perpetuation of these beliefs and ideas is the outcome of concerted efforts to inculcate them within the military's rank and file. For example, the military's flagrant disregard for the Constitution and democracy makes more sense when recognising that the National Defence University's curriculum for 2012-13 only devotes two hours (out of a total of 987) to explaining and understanding the Constitution, with only a fraction of this time being used to understand the military's constitutional role.

This institutional culture is the primary impediment to the exercise of effective civilian power and oversight over the military. While there are a range of potential measures through which civilian governments can exercise a check on the military, their chances of success are unlikely in the absence of the military's own willingness to submit to such control. Again and again, throughout Pakistan's history, attempts to reform the military and bring it within the ambit of civilian jurisdiction have failed, and have almost invariably prompted a backlash ranging from outright coups to the behind-the-scenes attempts to destabilise and weaken democratically elected leaders.

Even when the military has apparently been in retreat, as was the case after 1971, or has voluntarily ceded political space, such as in the aftermath of the Musharraf regime, it is clear that the military has always retained the option of undertaking indirect interventions to discharge its self-appointed role as the custodian of national interest.

Finally, given the military strategic predicament Pakistan is in, with internal disturbances, ethnic conflict, and Islamic terrorism the military has an important role in national security functions. During the Musharraf era and its aftermath, there has been a shift in the viewpoint of military over issues currently being faced by Pakistan. For one, the military has apparently decided to play a less "activist" role in politics, focusing instead on manipulating events in the background rather than engaging in overt interventions. It also appears to be the case that the military has slowly started to re-evaluate its support for Islamic militants, recognising the disastrous effect they have had on Pakistan domestically. In both areas, however, it is clear that change is slow and the military's voluntary withdrawal from formal politics does not herald a new appreciation for civilian politicians or democracy.

1.04 Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Discuss the role of military in Politics.
2. Explain the causes & role of military in Indonesia.
3. Discuss the role of military in Pakistan.

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What are the different causes for military intervention?

2. Discuss Alan Ball's classification of military intervention?
3. Write Short notes on :
 - (a) People's Consultative Assembly (MPR)
 - (b) House of Representatives (DPR)
 - (c) 'Stabiliser' & 'dinamisor'

1.05 Suggested Readings

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PAPER - V

MODULE - 3

Comparative Politics

Comparative Politics : Recent Perspectives

Module - 3

Unit -1 □ Globalization and Economic Reforms : Select Asian and African Countries

Structure :

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 South Africa
- 1.3 Egypt
- 1.4 East Asia
- 1.5 South Asia
- 1.6 Questions
- 1.7 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objectives

1. To understand the phenomenon of globalisation & its impact.
2. To analyse the impact of globalization & its economic reforms on Asia.
3. To evaluate the economic reforms of globalization on Africa.

1.1 Introduction

Globalization, as a concept and as a process, encompasses a multitude of characteristics of economic, political, social and cultural nature. The term is applied as an all-purpose expression, identifying the “growing depth, extent and diversity of cross border connections that are a key characteristic of the contemporary world”. Economically speaking, globalization comprises of a host of activities such as reorganization of production, global redistribution of workforce, increased extent and intensity of international trade, finance and foreign direct investment. All these economic aspects involve the implicit implication of increased movement of peoples due to migration, employment, business and educational opportunities.

The era of globalization heralded the age of innovation and development in information technology, blurring the real time borders, transforming cultures and creating an impression of the world as a global village. Improvement in communications and linking with technology facilitated greater contact between branches of corporate and big business, helping employers to take advantage of the global labour market. As a result, globalization also signifies time-space compression.

There are three basic viewpoints with regard to the position of the state in relation to globalization. First, there are scholars who firmly argue that the states are losing power and influence due to the phenomenon of globalization. These scholars project this as a retreat of the state and the decline of the domain of state authority. The second group of scholars is called state-centric scholars. In their opinion, it is the state that remains in charge of globalization and manage to exercise a significant degree of control and regulation. The third group of scholars advocates a middle position. They argue that as a result of globalization, the states are becoming stronger in some respects and weaker in others. According to them, what is taking place is a process of state transformation which is unfolding in different ways in different states.

Globalization has formed a new system of international governance with the growth of organizations such as the European Union (EU) and World Trade Organisation (WTO). At the same time, these institutions also emerged to regulate and stabilize the multifarious effects of the phenomena of globalization. Some of the organizations and agreements created to address various issues under conditions of globalization are United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

Along with its positive impact, globalization also faces challenges as well. A North-South split with the North comprising of the wealthy ‘‘have’’ nation-states and the South comprising of the ‘‘have not’’ nation-states has replaced the traditional East-West ideological conflict. There has been a growth of grassroots movements against growing income inequality, environment and labour rights. On more than one occasion, activists have targeted international economic and commerce conferences like WTO summits as their primary site for protests against the negative fallouts of globalization.

Globalization is a complex interwoven web of social, economic and political processes, which to a certain extent has weakened the ability of countries to control their destinies. It is nearly impossible for any country to be able to provide economic security and general welfare to its citizens by staying in isolation from the rest of the world. Traditional national models of economic governance, pure forms of culture and

values, and one-sided narratives can no longer thrive. In fact, some of the biggest problems that governments often face today are the problems of AIDS, climate change, financial crisis, and terrorism. These are all related to globalization in some way or the other.

1.2 South Africa

South Africa is considered one of the world's youngest democracies, attempting to escape its bitter political legacy. In spite of a dramatic transition to democracy, political change was offset by socio-economic continuities. The first democratically elected government was also the inheritor of a society and economy that was estranged, in terms of race, wealth and well-being. The traditional economy of the country was not designed to cater to the needs of a vast black majority comprising of an impoverished underclass that began to raise demands for jobs, housing and basic education.

Despite the history of white settler population for decades, South Africa is and has always been a predominantly African country. The 1996 census estimated the population at around 40 million, comprising of 77% Africans, 11% Whites, 9% Coloured and 3% Asians. The country re-entered the global economy in the 1990s. However, the apartheid legacy of race-based material inequality continues to be an important factor in the economy.

South Africa has the largest and most sophisticated economy in the continent and is the focus of economic development in the Southern African region. It is considered a middle income country with impressive infrastructure of modern highways, efficient railways, harbours, power grids and water network, vast irrigated farms using the most modern agricultural technology, well developed financial institutions (banks, insurance companies and a stock market), along with business and technological skills that are considered to be highly impressive by global standards. However, it is still at a very early stage of economic development, attempting to take the right steps at the right time in order to maintain its status in the continent.

The economy had stalled in the 1980s and was revived again after 1994. In the period after 1994, South African businesses were facing a saturated domestic market, with low or stagnant profit margins, but had large amounts of capital to invest. As the barriers to investment came down in the early 1990s, businesses moved quickly with encouragement from the government and took advantage of the market opportunities on the continent. Three years following the revival of the economy, the GNP exceeded the growth rate of population for the first time in twenty years. It managed to keep its

foreign debts low, and effectively controlled inflation. This was possible because the economy was able to finance the much-needed socio-economic development from domestic resources rather than resorting to international assistance. South African industry has maintained a policy of protectionism like many other countries, allowing their industries to grow in a manner that would enable them to compete with foreign imports. Going by the view of analysts, the South African economy has to gradually integrate itself with the global market. South Africa has witnessed a trade driven globalization and thus net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and portfolio investments have not had a major role to play. In early 2011, South Africa joined the multilateral organization of emerging nations, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). After joining BRICS, South Africa has positioned itself as a representative of the African continent and opening itself to BRICS investment and markets.

1.3 Egypt

To analyse the condition of Egypt in the light of globalization and economic reforms, one has to trace the development of the economy through a historical perspective. In early 1950s, Egypt was a weak economy. Stagnant agriculture was dependent on a single crop (cotton), there were negligible mineral resources, very limited share in international trade and very little capital with which industries could be developed. The inadequate sector of modernized industry during this phase was under foreign control. By the end of the 1950s there was massive unemployment and deplorable levels of poverty. Economically, Egypt suffered a great deal due to its foreign policy. Throughout the most turbulent phase of the 20th century, Egypt remained in the ‘‘black book’’ of the western world and was a mere pawn of the USSR. Even an attempt at planned development through the years of 1960-65 did not show any significant improvement.

As an open convert to the western side, Egypt became a major beneficiary of Western funds especially on joining the anti-Iraqi alliance in the Gulf war in early 1990s as the Arab world’s most prestigious state. Twenty billion dollars worth of its foreign debts were written off while the debt of another twenty billion was rescheduled. Egypt received massive economic and military aid from the United States, which began at a whopping \$2.1 billion annually, and tapering off gently. In the early years of the 1990s, Egypt’s economy was diversified to oil exports, remittances, canal dues, and tourism. The economy registered an annual growth rate of around 5% with small budget deficits and encouraging reserves of foreign currencies. With the privatization of state enterprises

and removal of bureaucratic controls, a new image of the country was created, which held a certain appeal to the IMF. However, at the same time, foreign investments and domestic savings were sparse, the gulf between the rich and the poor continued to widen, inflation in food prices as subsidies were cut; public services such as education and health were no longer free and became ridiculously expensive for many. But when looked at from a distance and judged by Middle Eastern standards, the situation of Egypt was considered to be stable.

1.4 East Asia

East Asia has been the shining example of capitalist development. The export driven economies of the Four Tigers—Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan proved to be the most thriving of the emerging markets, based on the production of light manufactured goods. The growth rate of these countries maintained more than 5% per year for decades and per capita income grew at a faster rate than in any part of the world. For instance, during 1960-2000, the GDP of South Korea grew tenfold, exceeding that of India, Brazil and China. Gains were also made in the spheres of life expectancy, literacy rates and poverty reduction. This phase also saw the reduction of the percentage of population living below the poverty line from 60% to less than 20%.

Analysts have, however, held divergent views regarding whether or not the experience of the Four Tigers could be simulated elsewhere. Neoliberal economists credited the economic accomplishment of the Newly Industrializing Countries (NIC) of East Asia to their open economies, acceptance of capitalism, export oriented approach and an educated, disciplined and hardworking labour force. Along with these characteristics, the NICs benefited from a highly innovative and ambitious entrepreneurial class, high rate of savings and a well-developed and effective infrastructure.

It is important to point out that these NICs were not traditional laissez faire capitalist economies. It was more of an indigenous Asian model of “State Capitalism” which began in the 1950s. These governments enthusiastically involved in nurturing and protecting industries and businesses until they were considered fit for global competition. It is said that the governments of the East Asian NICs adopted a policy of export offensive. Parallel to such export led economic policies, East Asian governments also emphasized on national interest to promote economic mobilization. Thus, the state became a driving force directing the economy to the ultimate aim of enhancing international competitiveness. For instance, the South Korean and Taiwanese governments directed economic growth through the allocation of credit to priority sectors.

Basically, these governments effectively played the role of a catalyst in guiding investment strategies, especially by providing incentives and urging the economy towards particular exporting industries. Initially, the industries under consideration were light manufacturing labour intensive units. Gradually, attention shifted to technologically advanced options. Infant industries were developed and protected as the state arbitrated belligerently and employed protectionist mechanisms to guarantee that domestic firms could compete with foreign companies. At the same time, governments of these NICs fought hard to attract foreign investment by offering tax incentives, keeping unions under control, and doing away with minimum wage legislations. Thus, for many years, these East Asian governments functioned as dictatorships, engaged in the task of modernization; where authoritarian regimes used nationalist identities in an attempt to mobilize the people to work and sacrifice for the sake of the nation. In the bargain, social welfare suffered, environmental degradation continued, political and civil rights were forsaken in the name of economic growth and any kind of resistance was suppressed, using repressive mechanisms.

Over time, the quality of life indicators have improved in the East Asian NICs, particularly with respect to civil and political liberties. However, due to this aggressive governmental intervention, the economy of these emerging economies were able to capture the global market for some commodities, and eventually became the world's largest source of electronic goods. This economic success can be attributed to the partnership of the government with business to raise productivity while capturing a large share in the global market.

1.5 South Asia

South Asia, as a region, shares a great deal in common—Mass poverty, poor infrastructure, absence of proper governance, rampant corruption and political uncertainty. Added to this already damaging list is the post-WTO world order of economic problems associated with the Liberalization of trade and capital flows. South Asian countries in general, do not have a great track record in privatization. Some amount of privatization has taken place, but in most South Asian countries, the state continues to engage in the production of goods and services. For instance, the governments in these countries play a significant role in the provision of energy, transport, railways, banking, and defence and are also employers of a great percentage of the work force.

It is a well-known fact that South Asian economies have lagged behind in comparison to South East Asian economies in the sphere of economic development. With the coming of globalization, these economies had little choice but to embrace the opportunity in an

attempt to strengthen their economies.

South Asian countries, which had fairly open economies in the immediate post-independence period of the 1940s had become some of the most highly protectionist in the world by the 1970s. Sri Lanka initiated the process of policy liberalization in 1977 and was soon followed by other countries. However, this process was rather hesitant and uneven across countries. The region as a whole really began to liberalize with the introduction of economic reforms in India in the 1990s. In spite of the initiation of liberalization, important policy barriers to trade and foreign investment remained. Nonetheless, throughout the region, enormous progress was noticed in the direction of trade liberalization.

South Asian countries formed the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985. It has been considered a partially successful experiment in regional cooperation. With the end of the Cold War and the onset of globalization, SAARC laid renewed emphasis on the need for economic coordination and development among member states. Initially, SAARC had limited itself to cultural, social and basic political issues. In order to achieve the objective of enhanced economic cooperation, the SAARC countries signed the South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) in 1993 with the ambition to facilitate progressive free trade among member states. The agreement came into force in 1995 with the ratification of the first round of negotiations on 226 product items. The second round of negotiations further dealt with 1,900 product items and was completed in 1996. The third round included 2,500 product items and was concluded in 1998. India offered the largest number of concessions, followed by Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Nepal. SAPTA had negligible impact with regard to bringing about a change in the existing trade patterns in South Asia. Intra-SAARC trade accounted for less than 3% of trade in South Asia for most part of the 1980s, and increased only to over 4% in the first half of the 1990s. This was primarily because of the increased trade flows, associated with unilateral liberalization efforts across the region.

In its attempt to overcome protectionist policies, SAPTA made way for the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA). SAFTA was signed in 2004 and came into force from January 2006. This agreement was considered the epitome of regional integration, paving the way for removal of tariff and trade barriers. It has also created an atmosphere for fair competition that has built sufficient administrative infrastructure, facilitating the operation of SAFTA along with mutually ensured benefits. The main concept behind SAFTA was the identification of member states as Most Favoured Nation (MFN) in trade relations. The agreement classified countries into categories of developed and less developed; where the less developed countries would be identified on a non-

reciprocal basis.

The geo-political relations of the region play a deflating role in economic relations among various countries. The region has been characterized by constant political rivalry. Relations among various South Asian nation-states have not always been smooth sailing. However, the most recent trend visible in the region shows that there is a general consensus with regard to the desired direction of economic development. There is a steady growth in the importance of the private sector as key investors in the region in contrast to the earlier model of state owned enterprises as the main source of industrial development. In the last one decade, effective reforms have been implemented in the domestic financial and capital markets. However, countries in the region have not made significant headway with regard to Foreign Direct Investment opportunities. Moreover, political and security risks have deterred foreign investors from taking keen interest in the region.

1.6 Questions

Essay Type Questions:

- 1) Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of economic reforms in South Asian countries in an era of globalization.
- 2) Examine the comparative economic experiences of Egypt and South Africa on the one hand and the East Asian countries on the other hand.

Short Questions:

- 1) Write short notes on the following: (a) SAPTA (b) SAFTA
- 2) Briefly discuss the concept and process of Globalization.

1.7 Suggested Readings

1. Bratton, Michael (2000). "South Africa". In Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Lichbach (eds.), *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities and Institutions in a Changing Global Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2. Calvocoressi, Peter (2001). *World Politics: 1945-2000*. New Delhi: Pearson.
3. Caramani, Daniele (2008). *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. Green, December and Laura Luehrmann (2003). *Comparative Politics of the Third World: Linking Concepts and Cases*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
5. Kesselman, Mark, Joel Krieger and Bill Joseph (2007). *Introduction to Comparative Politics*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Unit-2 □ Ethnic Politics in Comparative Perspective

Structure:

- 2.0 Objective**
- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 East Europe**
- 2.3 Sri Lanka**
- 2.4 Questions**
- 2.5 Suggested Readings**

2.0 Objective

1. To highlight on the ethnic groups politics & analyse theoretically the ethnic conflicts.
2. To introduce the students with the concepts of nationalism & the rare of ethnic groups is the formation of State.
3. To understand the role of ethnic identity in Srilankan Politics.

2.1 Introduction

Ethnic Groups in Conflict (1985) by Donald Horowitz is considered a seminal text, which rescued the field of ethnicity studies and ethnic conflict from the ‘‘backwater of social sciences’’ and brought it to the centre of discussions on institutional politics. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, there has been an upsurge in writings on ethnicity and ethnic conflict especially with the end of the Cold War. Ethnicity came to be a far more pressing factor in politics than the traditional left-right divide. As a research field, it expanded rapidly, bestriding a number of disciplines, topics, methods and at the same time, attracting a large number of academicians.

Taking the lead from Horowitz, ethnicity can be explained as a term which designates a sense of collective belonging; and could be based on common descent, language, history, culture, race or religion (or a combination of these factors). However, it must be mentioned that some scholars prefer to keep religion out of the list and consider

ethnicity as an outcome of the other attributes as already mentioned. When looked at from the perspective of political identity and group solidarity, the distinction only seems to be a semantic objection. Situations do get complex and critical when there is a clash of religion and ethnicity, for instance East and West Pakistan before 1971; Kashmiri Pundits and Muslims and Irish Protestants and Catholics to name a few.

A three-tier classification can be made with regard to the concepts of nation, nationality and ethnicity. A **Nation** is a group with a political and territorial home; a **Nationality** is a large ethnic group without such a home but with cultural rights pertaining to language and sometimes religion; and an **Ethnic** group is a smaller collectivity, different from a nationality but not large enough to be called a nationality. For example in Yugoslavia, after 1945, Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, Slovenes and Montenegrins were called nations. On the other hand, in Europe, Albanians, Hungarians and Bulgarians were nationalities; and Austrians, Greeks, Jews, Germans and Poles were “other nationalities and ethnic groups”. Also, according to the 1971 Constitution of Yugoslavia, Muslims were promoted from a nationality to a nation.

Territorial concentration remains a key factor in the transition from ethnic group to nationhood. In the case of dispersed ethnic groups, the demand is traditionally for affirmative action (preference or representation in jobs, politics, education), protection of language, religion and culture. On the other hand, a demand for nationhood is the desire for assertion of sovereignty or maybe federalism in milder cases by territorially concentrated ethnic groups. For example the demand of Khalistan by Sikhs, the demand of Bangladesh by overwhelming majority of Bengali Muslims in erstwhile East Pakistan, the demands of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. It must be noted that while territorial concentration and ethnicity is a necessary condition for nationalism, it is not manifestly sufficient.

However, the fact remains that the number of territorially based ethnic groups is larger than the number of existing nation states. Ethnic conflicts that no longer remain confined to the cause of ethnicity and border on separatist nationalism, challenge the principal pillars of modern nation states i.e. territoriality, citizenship and sovereignty, thus rendering the modern nation-state vulnerable.

2.2 East Europe

Before the end of the Cold War, Eastern Europe was experiencing a turbulent phase of political instability and ethnic strife. Various ethnic communities, long suppressed by one party dominated regimes began asserting their right to self-determination. The

whole of Eastern Europe experienced an upsurge of ethnic nationalism, immediately before the end of the Cold War and continuing till after the end of the Cold War. As a result of this wave of ethno-nationalism, the map of Central and Eastern Europe saw a considerable reconfiguration.

Czechoslovakia emerged as a socialist state after the end of the Second World War, and signed the Warsaw Pact under Soviet influence. Like other members of the Eastern Bloc, it followed the Soviet political and economic model based on socialist principles. The first wave of antipathy towards the one party system was witnessed in 1968 with the movement for democratic rights, which was suppressed by the Soviet military. By 1980s, once again, resentment began to surface. However, in the 1980s, the movement for democratic rights arose due to the influence of the Soviet policies of Glasnost and Perestroika.

The two principal ethnic groups of Czechoslovakia were the Czechs and the Slovaks. The Czechs were dominant in the Northern part while the Slovaks were a majority in the South. Together they comprised 67% of the total population. However, between the two, the Czechs were a majority, as they comprised 51% of the population while the Slovaks constituted 16%. The remainder 33% was a combination of various nationalities such as the Germans, Ukrainians, Hungarians and Bohemians.

By 1989, both the dominant groups, i.e. the Czechs and the Slovaks began protesting against the existing one party rule. As the demand gained momentum, the Communist Government, sensing the pulse of the people decided to hand over power to a non-Communist Government. During the movement against the one party government, the Czech dominated Northern part saw the emergence of the Civic Forum under the leadership of noted writer and political activist, Vaclav Havel. At the same time, the South saw the establishment of another political organisation, Public Against Violence (PÁV). In December 1989, the Parliament of Czechoslovakia declared Havel as the new President of the country. Havel was the first non-Communist President of the country since the end of the Second World War. The transition of Czechoslovakia from a Communist to a non-Communist regime was a smooth one that was not marred by any kind of violence or conflict. This transition later came to be known as the Velvet Revolution.

General elections were held in Czechoslovakia in June 1990. The Civic Forum in the North and PAV in the South registered convincing victories. In the same year, the Parliament re-elected Havel as President, who appointed Marian Calfa, a former Communist leader as Prime Minister. The new government initiated a series of economic

reforms, which sought to bring about the transition from a state controlled economy to privatization. However, rapid economic transition led to a series of social and economic crises in the country. Unemployment, inflation, poverty and economic inequality rose to unprecedented levels. As an obvious consequence of the economic crisis, levels of social unrest escalated. The Slovak ethnic community began to blame the Czech leadership for the growing economic disparity between the Czechs and Slovaks. On a number of occasions, the Slovaks had expressed their resentment over Czech domination.

In spite of the differences between the two main ethnic communities, Czechoslovakia survived as a nation because of the constant reconciliation between the two under the Communist regime. Soon after the 1990 elections, unemployment was ascending, especially in the Slovak region where it reached 13% in 1991. At the same time, unemployment in the Czech region was just 2.7%. This led to the Slovaks voicing their absolute resentment against the Czechs, and demanded a separate state for them in order to remove the economic disparity. Thus, what one can observe is that the ethnic nationalism of the Slovaks revolved mainly around economic issues. In spite of President Havel's attempts at constitutionally reconciling the demands of the Slovaks, the Parliament of Czechoslovakia had to agree to the demand for a separate state.

The June 1992 general election was held mainly on the issue of two separate states, for the Czechs and Slovaks. The conservative Civil Democratic Party (CDP) of Vaclav Klaus came to power in the Czech region, while Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (MDS) registered a persuasive victory in the Slovak region. The leaders of the majority parties were invited by President Havel to decide the fate of Czechoslovakia where Meciar stuck to his demand for a separate Slovak State. In July 1992, the Slovak National Assembly (the Regional Legislature of Slovaks) declared sovereign existence for the Slovak area. At the same time, in the National Parliament, the Slovak parliamentarians opposed a new term for President Havel. After multiple rounds of discussions between Klaus and Meciar, it was decided that Czechoslovakia would be split. On 31st December 1992, two new states were formed: Czech Republic and Slovakia. One of the most striking features of ethno-nationalism in the case of Czechoslovakia is the fact that it was generated mainly out of economic disparity. It was a peaceful disintegration based on discussions and consensus devoid of any kind of bloodshed.

The experience of ethno-nationalist movements in former Yugoslavia was extremely different from that of Czechoslovakia. It was not peaceful as various ethnic communities engaged in bloody civil wars after the breakdown of the socialist regime. Ethnic problems began surfacing after the death of Josip Broz Tito. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

(FRY) was created after the Second World War. It comprised of six Republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. Under Serbia, there were two autonomous regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina. During the period between 1918-1941 Yugoslavia was under a monarchical system; 1941-42 under Nazi control; and in 1943, a royal government in exile was created. Democratic Federal Yugoslavia was asserted by Tito and recognized by the Allied powers. It came into existence by middle of 1943. It was only after the War was over in 1945 that Tito established his authority and FRY was formally announced. Tito ruled Yugoslavia for 35 years (1945-1980) bringing about urbanization and industrialization, making Yugoslavia a prosperous country. On the international stage, Yugoslavia did not break away from the path of socialism even though it was a part of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Yugoslavia was comprised of a number of ethnic groups that were dispersed across the country. No particular community resided in a particular place. For instance, as per the 1991 census, 20% of the Croats lived outside Croatia, mainly in Bosnia and Vojvodina. The same census pertaining to Bosnia showed that 44% Bosnians identified themselves as Muslims; 31% as Serbs, 17% as Croats and only 5% identified themselves as Yugoslavs. It is for this precise reason that separatist nationalism took an ugly violent form in Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia.

The distinction between ethnic communities was mainly on the lines of religion and language. From the time of its creation until its disintegration, FRY had three official languages—Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian. Even within the same language, differences could be noted as the Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins used the Cyrillic alphabet for the Serbo-Croatian language while the Muslim Slavs used the Latin alphabet for the same language. The users of the Cyrillic alphabet took a sense of pride in their language and considered it superior.

Religion was another important source of difference. The Serbs, Macedonian Slavs and Montenegrins were orthodox Christians while Croats and Slovenians were Roman Catholics. Divisions existed even within the Muslims. Albanian Muslims and Muslim Slavs were Sunnis while the other Muslims identified themselves as Shia's. Also, the orthodox Christians used the Cyrillic alphabet while the rest used the Latin alphabet.

Under Tito's leadership, the issue of separatism did not surface as his successful one party socialist system helped to bring about satisfactory levels of economic development. With the death of Tito in 1980, there emerged a crisis of leadership. Most of his successors were highly inefficient and displayed immense loyalty to their own ethnic communities. Due to the lack of able leadership, the rate of economic growth declined, development projects were hampered and leaders of the six republics became

engaged in a chaotic blame game. The economically well off republics of Slovenia and Croatia accused the underdeveloped provinces of burdening their economies.

The year 1988, saw the emergence of a movement under Serb Nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic for an independent state. He suspended the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina and pressurized the Albanian majority, living in Kosovo to accept Serb supremacy. Milosevic's ambition to bring the entire Yugoslavian populace under Serb domination, created a sense of panic and unrest among the non-Serbs. Eventually, it led to the start of fierce ethnic conflicts in Kosovo, Bosnia and other regions. Milosevic's extreme nationalism created particular resentment in Croatia and Slovenia who believed that his intentions would prove to be economically detrimental to their interests, thus declaring their independence after a referendum on June 25th 1991. By 1992, the European Community (EC) recognized the independence of these two states. Bosnia and Macedonia also declared their independence by the end of 1991 and were recognized by the EC and the United States of America (USA) in April 1992. However, after the recognition from USA and EC, both states witnessed unprecedented levels of ethnic violence where Serbs, Croats and Muslims targeted one another in a gruesome civil war. Instances of ethnic cleansing and genocide were reported, mass displacement occurred and millions died. After three years of strife, on 14th December 1995, peace was restored with the Dayton Peace Accord, officially signed by leaders of USA, NATO, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia.

In April 1992, Milosevic declared Serbia and Montenegro as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in an attempt to assert Serbia and Montenegro as the legal heirs of former Yugoslavia, and legally accept the disintegration of Yugoslavia. However, the UN, EC and several other states refused to accept Serbia as an 'inheritor' of Yugoslavia. Thus, in 2003, FRY was renamed Serbia and Montenegro. At the end, Yugoslavia had disintegrated into five states: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro. Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia in February 2008. In spite of being recognized by several countries, Serbia and Russia refused to recognize Kosovo's independence, leaving its status highly controversial and volatile.

2.3 Sri Lanka

Ceylon gained its independence from Great Britain in 1948 as a consequence of the British departure from India (Ceylon was renamed Sri Lanka in 1972). The transition from being a colony to an independent state was a smooth one compared to its neighbours who had to suffer prolonged and bitter anti-colonial struggles. The main ethnic

communities in Ceylon were the Sinhalese, followed by the Tamils, the Muslims and the Burghers. The Sinhalese are the largest ethnic group in the country comprising of 82% of the population as per the 2001 government census, followed by the Tamils at 9.4%.

The reason for tension between the Sinhalese and the Tamils can be traced to the practice of favouritism of the British towards the Tamils during the colonial era. With the end of colonial rule, the Sinhalese vented their resentment by disenfranchising the Tamil plantation workers and declaring Sinhala, the official language of the state. Common belief was that the first Prime Minister, D. S. Senanayake in spite of being a leader from the majority Sinhalese community, enjoyed the implicit support of the minorities as well. Under such harmonious circumstances, the major ethnic groups would be integrated into a single nation. However, this was not the case as ethnic tensions began to surface. The Sinhalese-Tamil ethnic conflict has been labeled as a product of post-Independence politics where the Sinhalese leaders wanted to create a nation on the basis of Buddhist religion and Sinhala language, thus excluding minority communities in the process. This gave rise to chauvinistic Sinhalese and Tamil leaders who began to resort to the politics of ethnic mobilization.

The first major challenge to the Sri Lankan political system came from the Sinhalese and not from the Tamils. In April 1971, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) raised a revolt, voicing the demands of the frustrated, educated and underprivileged Sinhalese. The protests were crushed but brought to light the outmoded system of education and stagnant economic opportunities. In 1972, the majority headed by the Sinhalese changed the official name of the State to Sri Lanka and made Buddhism, the primary religion of the state, escalating the ethnic tension to unprecedented heights, which eventually led to one of the longest civil wars in the history of Asia.

The Tamils had always been reactive to Sinhalese politics as they believed that the Sinhalese governments never met their hopes and aspirations. As the antagonism intensified, Tamil demands took a radical dimension culminating in the demand for a separate state in 1976. Tamil opposition developed over time. The period between 1948-56 saw the demand for balanced representation and responsive cooperation; 1967-72 saw the demand progressed to that of a federal state; demands escalated to separatist tendencies in the period spanning 1973-76, while militancy began to raise its ugly head in Tamil politics from 1979.

Sri Lankan Tamils by the middle of 1970s began to define themselves as a separate nation entitled to a separate state. This was due to the increasing number of discriminatory

legislative enactments and policies in the areas of language, education, land colonization, religion and employment opportunities. They were further disenchanted by the annulment of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) and the Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965), which had granted limited autonomy to the Tamil areas. In 1976, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was formed under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran, and it began to campaign for a Tamil homeland in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, where most of the Tamils in the Sri Lankan island reside. The LTTE managed to rid most of its political opponents and projected itself as the only credible force among the Tamils. It is said that the LTTE programme was financed by the Tamil diaspora. During the ensuing conflict, the LTTE emerged as a fearsome terrorist organization, famed for suicide bombings, recruitment of child soldiers, and the ability to challenge Sri Lankan forces from the Jaffna Peninsula in the north down through the eastern side of the Sri Lankan island.

In 2002, the Tigers managed to assert their military capacity by destroying a large number of Sri Lankan Air Force planes at the Katunayake air base. However at this point it seemed obvious that neither the Sri Lankan State nor the Tigers could achieve their goals through military means. Thus, the stalemate led to Norwegian mediation and declaration of ceasefire in 2002. During this phase the actions of the LTTE were being scrutinized- the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi; ethnic cleansing resorted to by asking the Muslims to leave the Jaffna peninsula and forcible recruitment to the baby brigade created a sense of repulsion towards the LTTE and its leader Prabhakaran.

The November 2005 elections saw the anti-LTTE hardliner Mahinda Rajapaksa of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) ally with the radical Marxist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP, People's Liberation Front) and the nationalist Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU, National Heritage Party) controlled by Buddhist monks along with the support of Muslim Parliamentarians, establishing an alliance against the militants.

2006 saw the Fourth Eelam War where the LTTE faced a definite disadvantage due to the valuable inputs and assistance provided to the Sri Lankan state by the Indian intelligence agencies. By 2007, the Sri Lankan government launched the anti-LTTE campaign and had seized control of the country's east. The governing coalition formed a partnership with the pro-government splinter of the LTTE, the Tamil organisation—Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP), and installed the leader of that party as chief minister of the newly created Eastern Provincial Council after May 2008 elections. By early

2009, many experts proclaimed that the LTTE's conventional military capabilities had been largely crushed, bringing the long drawn conflict to an end.

The situation of strife created due to ethnic tensions in Sri Lanka is considered as one of the worst humanitarian crises by a number of human rights groups and experts. The large number of civilian casualties on both sides of the conflict attracted global ire. However with the end of the war, normalcy has returned to most parts of the country, but the impact of the devastation remains. The government is now focusing its attention on economic development and issues of accountability of justice, hoping that it would be the panacea for removing trust deficit, bringing about ethnic reconciliation and bridging the gulf between the minority and majority communities.

2.4 Questions

Essay Type Questions:

- 1) Discuss the problems of ethnic politics in East Europe.
- 2) Analyse the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka from both historical and contemporary accounts.

Short Questions:

- 1) Write short notes on the following: (a) Nation (b) Nationality
- 2) What is "Velvet Revolution"?

2.5 Suggested Readings

1. Calvocoressi, Peter (2001). *World Politics: 1945-2000*. New Delhi: Pearson.
2. Chatterjee, Aneek (2010). *International Relations Today: Concepts and Applications*. New Delhi: Pearson.
3. Varshney, Ashutosh (2007). "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict". In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Unit - 3 □ Religion and Politics in a Comparative Perspective : East & West

Structure:

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 The Western Experience

3.3 East Asia

3.4 The Middle East

3.5 Questions

3.6 Suggested Readings

3.0 Objectives

1. To learn the relation between religion & politics from a comparative perspective.
2. To know the impact of religion over the western states.
3. To analyse the nature of religion in the Middle East & to evaluate its impact on Politics.

3.1 Introduction

Religion has always played a major role in politics, as it constitutes one of the basic units of civilization. The relation between religion and politics can be categorized under four heads:

- Religion as a source of legitimizing state power, as seen in traditional Christian, Islamic and Buddhist empires
- Religious organizations competing with governmental organizations for institutional and expressive power within a society, such as the case of Poland or Iran

- Various religions competing for influence in multi-religious societies
- Religious groups attempting to control national culture in an attempt to defend their group from an alien or global culture

Common belief of the 20th century held that religion was on a decline and that by the dawn of the new millennium, secularism would sweep across the developed countries, leaving religion as the concern of less developed societies. Government and politics would be immune from the influences of religion was the prediction if not the entire population in the advanced western countries. However, after the collapse of former Soviet Union and the end the Cold War, the 1990s showed a different situation. As Huntington said that religion is perhaps a central force that can motivate and mobilize people. He saw religious revival, based partially on “recruitment” and partially on “reinvigoration” of religious traditions. The idea of reinvigoration implied that religion is perhaps one of the strongest forces of political mobilization. This fact is evident in the experience of Iran where Islamic activists led a strbng revolution to overthrow the Shah (King), after which religious leaders manipulated power and installed Ayatollah Khomeini (a religious leader) at the helm of the state.

Today, while Iran considers demarcating the limits of religious authority, there are countries trying to replicate the Iranian Revolution. In early 1990s, India expenenced the emergence of Hindutva brand of politics when a Hindu Nationalist leader embarked on a ten thousand kilometer journey with followers, to rebuild a temple on what was considered a religious site according to Hindu mythologies. The issue was controversial and communally charged because the historical evidence of such a religious belief is contested. Finally, on 6th December 1992, the 16th century mosque was demolished by fanatic Hindutva activists, stirring communal tensions in the country.

Huntington, in his *Clash of Civilizations* accorded a central role to religion while predicting a future clash that would take place among the leading civilizations of the world, primarily on grounds of religious and cultural diversity. There is no denying the fact that religious revitalization crosses international boundaries, creating currents that affect world politics.

The religion-politics nexus is an important element in the study of comparative politics for two basic reasons. Firstly, religious traditions offer an alternative source of identity, a cross-national source of identification, which facilitates attempts of comparative analysis. For instance, the scope of Islam could be one criteria of analysis wherein one could compare the role of religion in politics in nations where Muslims constitute a large majority of citizens and nations where Muslims form part of the

minority. Political regimes across the globe today are faced with the daunting task of confronting the challenges posed by religious traditions- how to assign a place for religion; how to tackle the demands of orthodox activists and how to handle the demands of religious minorities. The diversity of religious traditions and political regimes and their intersections pose a challenge to scholars attempting to identify cross-national generalizations with regard to religion and politics. Religions differ with regard to their core tenets and principles and even the number of Gods they worship—ranging from polytheistic Hinduism to monotheistic Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and non-theistic religions of Buddhism and Confucianism. Even within religious traditions, there exist variations. For instance, there are Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant variants of Christianity, as there are Shias and Sunnis among the Muslims. Political regimes on the other hand, differ with regard to nature of the state and its degree of openness towards other aspects of society. Democracies, authoritarian, dictatorial, monarchical regimes may establish different relations with the dominant and minority religious groups. Thus, most comparative studies on religion and politics try to focus on not more than one definitive aspect.

Secondly, religious identity is considered to be more a source of change than stability. Religion-based regimes are faced with challenges from both religious and secular forces of opposition. Issues of individual religious freedom, absoluteness of religious liberty, and limitations on religious freedoms pose a certain degree of complexity. Thus, there exists a wide range of possibilities and circumstances in the light of which the relation between religion and politics must be studied.

3.2 The Western Experience

Scholars write about the “West” as if it has a single definition, or it would always be united and homogenous. However, that is not the case as increasing instances of polarization and differences within the “West” can be identified. In the case of the U.S.A, social stratification in the economic system, coupled with partisanship in the political and communications systems divides the population, mainly into Blue and Red states. However, by the 2004 Presidential campaign, the weakening and politicizing of institutionalised religion became apparent as the churches were used by the economic, political and communication forces for their own motives. In the United States, both the Republicans and Democrats claim that they represent Catholic values. Traditionally, the Republicans support parochial school funding and oppose abortion and gay marriage, whereas the Democrats benefit from Catholic social labour, and support internationalist

foreign policy along with being sympathetic to Hispanic and Asian Catholic immigration. Jews, Catholics, United Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, United Church of Christ, American Baptists, and Unitarians share progressive social positions in the United States. These denominations constitute the religious left on social policy and have naturally formed alliances with traditionally black churches such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church during the Civil Rights movement. African-Americans continue to show their support to the Democratic Party. During the Civil Rights movement, Black Churches took socially progressive positions and formed the Congress of National Black Churches (CNBC). The CNBC aims to revive the black church as the centre of community social and political organisation.

Political and religious leaders in Europe have upheld a general consensus that the increased economic cooperation within the continent necessitates further economic and political cooperation. However, no consensus exists on what form this political integration might take. Major debate exists between two sides, with one side favouring the “deepening” of the European Union i.e. greater economic, political integration among existing members; whereas the other side encourages a “widening” of the European Union (EU) with the inclusion of more member states. This divide represents the existing spirit between Western Continental countries dedicated to the Christian Democratic vision of reunification and the culturally Protestant nations that later joined the EU. The attempted unification of Europe under the EU was mainly a result of a bureaucratic revolution from above, with popular consent from countries based on a democratic process. Polarization on religious grounds has existed in Europe for quite sometime. For instance, Milosevic’s attack on Croats and Bosnians saw a fragmented response from EU members. Germany, having traditional links with Catholic Slovenia and Croatia, initially supported their independence but later pulled back to concentrate on the economic developments in Russia and the unification of Germany. Ever since World War I, Britain and France had backed Serbia. Religion is considered very important for identity at the personal and social level in the West as it correlates strongly with political behaviour in all countries, affecting the voting pattern. The Constitution of the EU gives legal status to religious organizations. The Protestant-Catholic split in the EU has been bridged to a certain extent by ecumenical dialogue but the division continues to colour the secular worldviews of the EU’s future. Tensions remain between Orthodox Catholics and Orthodox Protestants and also between Jews and Christians and Muslims and Christians. The problems for the accession of Ukraine, Russia and Turkey into the EU also have a religious underpinning. Even on a crucial political issue of immigration, support remains divided. At the national level, majority religious organizations support a balance between immigration and national unity but the “Un-churched” Catholics of

France, Protestants in Germany and Orthodox in Russia take a strongly nativist stand on the issue.

Canada, Australia and New Zealand are legally less secular than the United States but religiously more observant than continental Europe. In Canada, religion continues to be a variable in voter party preference and religious variables indicate political partisanship much better than attitudinal, organizational and socio-economic variables. The church-state relationship in New Zealand is seen as one of ‘‘unequal codependency’’. The country has produced two religious political parties, Christian Heritage Party and the Christian Democratic Party. In spite of the presence of religious parties the dominance of the Labour or National Parties has not been challenged. Thus, the tradition of the Anglo countries can be seen as a middle path between the American and European traditions.

3.3 East Asia

After the Cold War, East Asian countries like China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea has become the world’s second most powerful region in the economic, military and political sense. While the West is identified with autonomous and politically involved religious and secular institutions, East Asia has experienced unifying political legitimacy of the state in Confucian and Maoist forms, and separate tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. Korea and Taiwan, on the other hand, have produced indigenous Buddhist and Christian traditions. Buddhism and Confucianism have had the strongest influence in the region.

With the loss of credibility of the Communist party in **China**, a large section of the Chinese populace turned to informal social networks in an attempt to attain the personal goals of belief and community. Some of the religious practices reinforced social groupings of clan and village, and provided a refuge for those suffering at the hands of rapid economic change. The most crucial impact of this religious resurgence was the revival of Chinese folk religion and Orthodox, government approved Buddhism amongst the Han Chinese. In China, state relations with Han Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism constitute completely different political categories for the state leadership. The relation of the PRC with world religions is subject to regulation and control by the state’s Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB). For instance, party officials in Tibet and Xinjiang province perceive tantric Buddhism and Islam as ethnic and nationality threats. Also, Beijing is known to give non-Han nationalities certain exemptions in social policies. The areas bordering Russia and other Central Asian states are known for the overlap of ethnic groups. Catholicism in China has a largely rural base, displaying the same social

and political forms as Chinese folk religion. These sectarian forms have helped protect Catholics from state persecution, but they do not encourage the Catholics to join an open civil society. Of the ten to twelve million Catholics in China, approximately four million are connected to the Catholic Patriotic Association, a state sponsored institution. However, due to their loyalty to a Pope, elected outside, the Catholics are considered as a foreign policy problem in China. In the past, Rome and Beijing have been involved in conflicts with regard to the consecration of Bishops. According to the state, all Protestants must join the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, yet another state sponsored organisation. The urban Protestant culture in China, which thrived in Chinese universities and welfare organizations, founded by British and American missionaries, encouraged international contacts and engagement in civil society organisation. The “rural house churches” on the other hand exhibited sectarian features similar to that of Chinese folk religion and Catholic Peasant Sectarianism.

The Chinese government is known to engage in international relations on religious issues. However, a major threat to Chinese party leadership came from an obscure religious sect, the Falun Gong, which came into being as a result of the socio-economic situation that arose from the 1980s reforms. The group preaches moral principles encouraging its followers to renounce worldly vices. A demonstration held by the group in April 1999 was seen as a direct challenge to the Chinese Communist Party’s control over religious organizations. The government on the other hand, used its control over the media to discredit the sect. In 2001, the sect went a step further and organized a conference in Hong Kong to criticize the Chinese government. As a result, the government sent out a stern threat claiming that the police was monitoring the sect and they would not be allowed to disrupt peace on the mainland.

Among the East Asian countries, **Japan** stands in sharp contrast with regard to its economic, political and religious sensitivity to the global context. Most religious Japanese, identify themselves as Buddhists. But their practices are a combination of Buddhist and Shinto elements with some Christian influences. Japan boasts of a predominantly secular culture, which is greatly independent of religious organizations, playing a role in the determination of national vision. The phase of post war rehabilitation and resettlement saw the rise of new religions as the migrants from rural areas had lost their ties to their rural religions. Majority of the new religions are a synthesis of Asian traditions, with a generally strong Shinto influence. The most politically active post war religion is Soka Gakkai (Value Creating Association) a lay branch of the Buddhist Nichiren Shoshu, whose members constitute the core of the Clean Government Party (Komeito). Until 1993, Komeito held the position of the third strongest party in the

country. However, in 1991, the parent organisation, excommunicated Soka Gakkai, and by 1999, the New Komeito joined the governing coalition. In the generally secular history of Japan, this is perhaps one of the rare instances of religious involvement in politics.

Korea is perhaps one of the most interesting studies of the region with issues varying from nuclear proliferation to Christian-Buddhist relations affecting the politics of the peninsula. South Korea (Republic of Korea, ROK) and North Korea (Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, DPRK) though emerged from the same historical culture, exhibit the sharpest contrast in terms of political-economic systems. On the one hand, South Korea is well integrated with the global system. On the other hand, North Korea continues to be a nation, least open to the outside world. Along with diversity in economic and political systems, the peninsula offers diversity in the political role played by four major religious traditions: neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism along with the role of Marxism. South Korea adopted mixed religious and cultural forms under the influence of American hegemony whereas North Korea inherited a strong isolationist policy preaching the ideology of self-reliance. Christianity expanded in the period during 1950-1970 after the disestablishment of neo-Confucianism. However, the Korean variant of Christianity did not suffer from association with western imperialism, as it was introduced to the region by lay Koreans before the missionaries. After the disastrous Korean War, most Christians, especially those who fled persecution from the North supported the anti-Communist government of Methodist Rhee. However mainline Protestants and Catholics soon began protesting against the government's violations of human rights. These protests exhibited both modern and traditional elements. Postwar Korea saw the expansion of Christianity, revival of Buddhism and the surge of new Korean religions that incorporated features of Christianity, Confucianism and native Korean Shamanism. Traditional conservatism of Korean Buddhism eased out on its rigidity by the 1980s with regard to coalitions with progressive Christians on issues specific to Buddhists.

3.4 The Middle East

Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and Iraq form the Arab Islamic heartland of the globe. Saudi Arabia exhibits a rather complex political-religious situation. The founder of Saudi Arabia, the Arab chief Abd al-'Aziz, belonged to the Wahabi creed of Islam. But he politically relied on the dominance of his tribe, before giving an institutional shape to the house of Sa'ud. The religious significance of Saudi Arabia is that the King is the

protector of the two Holy places, Mecca and Medina. The active support for Wahabi Islam and the protectorate along with internal and external missionary activities provide domestic political legitimacy to the ruling family. The Western need for Saudi oil protects the kingdom from its powerful neighbours, Iraq and Iran. Wahabism insists on a puritanical form of life and the adherence of the Saudi kings to Wahabism is more than evident from the ban on drinking, theatres, female drivers, movies and concert halls. In the late 1970s, the Saudi leadership faced a challenge in the form of a lay dissident who raised his voice against the religious corruption of the Saudi State. The state followed the religious course of action and first obtained a fatwa from state approved clergy and then crushed the rebellion, hanging sixty-two leaders of the rebellion. The Saudi public openly displays strong support to the cause of the Palestinians in the Middle East.

Bashar al-Assad in Syria and Saddam Hussein in Iraq rose as leaders of the secular Baath parties in their respective countries but faced significant opposition from religious factions. A defining political religious event in the history of Syria was the decimation of the village of Hama in February 1982 under the directions of Hafiz al- Assad as a response to the assassination of a few members of his government by the Muslim Brotherhood. Political reform features extremely low on the Syrian agenda. The most lethal effect of religious-political fragmentation in the Middle East was the Lebanese Civil War (1975-91). The Lebanon crisis exhibited the weak political status of minority religions in the Middle East as Catholics, Orthodox, Persian Bahais, Jews, Egyptian Copts and others have suffered in the face of strong Islamist movements in the region.

The cultural imperialism of western secular values has been considered the most potent threat in Egypt in the minds of the Muslim Brotherhood and radical Islamist groups. From the time of the third President (1970-1981), Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian state has pursued a religious policy, which seeks to eliminate radicals attempting to establish a theological dictatorship while courting Islamic centrists, who express their religious beliefs in measured terms.

Globalization of economics and communication has enhanced the political role of religion and has also led to a partial restructuring of religion. Accelerated immigration has led to greater intermingling of individuals belonging to various religious denominations. Religion can unite and divide. It is a known fact that competing extremist factions have distorted religion in some cases to provide a rationale for the defence of their own political religious community in the process of obliterating another. At the same time, some of the most important positive influences of religion cannot be ignored. Religion provides personal and social identity, apart from preaching moral values that remain constant in an ever changing world.

3.5 Questions

Essay Type Questions

- 1) Discuss the relationship between religion and politics in the “West”.
- 2) Contrast the experiences of religion centric politics in East Asia and the Arab world.

Short Questions:

- 1) Write a short note on Huntington’s “Clash of Civilization” thesis.
- 2) What is Wahabism?

3.6 Suggested Readings

1. Hanson, Rric. O. (2006). *Religion and Politics in International System Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2. Jelen, Ted Gerard and Clyde Wilcox (2002). *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, The Few and The Many*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Unit - 4 □ Feminist Politics in a Comparative Perspective : Western & Non-Western view points

Structure:

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Feminist Strands: Nuances and Differences

4.3 Feminism and Feminist Politics in the West

4.4 Feminism and Feminist Politics: Non-Western viewpoints

4.5 Questions

4.6 Suggested Readings

4.0 Objectives

1. To make an idea of the feminist politics from a comparative perspective.
2. To learn the different sources of feminist thought & its different strands.
3. To understand the feminist politics in the West.
4. To gain knowledge of feminist politics from a non Western perspective.

4.1 Introduction

Feminism can be considered an ideal, a research agenda or a political programme, There is no single coherent theory of feminism. There are many varieties of feminism, in the same way as there are many varieties of liberalism or socialism. Before delving into a discussion on feminism and politics, the distinction between gender and sex needs to be clarified as the terms are often used in the course of discussion. The term ‘sex’ refers to the biological distinction between male and female, whereas ‘gender’ is considered to be a social construct, indicating an array of cultural meanings. The gender-sex distinction is critical to feminist theory because the subordination of women in society has been justified on the grounds of the biological differences between men and women. Feminist anthropologists have also emphasized on the need for

understanding the concepts of masculinity and femininity and how their definitions vary across cultures. Different societies identify different sets of characteristics as feminine and masculine. These characteristics are seen to fluctuate across cultures. Feminists are of the opinion that there is no necessary correlation between the biology of men and women and the features of masculinity and femininity. The philosophical argument that provides legitimacy to the various forms of oppression as acceptable and inevitable is based on the argument that such oppression arises from natural factors. This is known as biological determinism.

4.2 Feminist Strands : Nuances and Differences

The strictly bipolar model of masculinity and femininity are characteristic of the modern Western civilization. The two-sex model in the Western culture was entrenched by the law and the state only with the advent of modernity. It was only at the end of the Middle Ages in Europe that biological hermaphrodites were forced to opt for an established gender role and stay with it. The penalty for disobedience was often death.

Pre-modern Indian cultures on the other hand, provided greater freedom for the different sexual identities. For instance, eunuchs possessed a socially acceptable status in Indian society, which they lost in contemporary times. Also, the Sufi and Bhakti traditions often rejected the two-sex model and drew up notions of androgyny. In fact, noted scholar Ashis Nandy pointed out that pre-colonial Indian culture accorded great value to femininity. It was only during the colonial era that Western valorization of masculinity became an established norm. Nationalists who were trying to resist the ridiculing of Indian culture as effeminate played into this notion of the colonial masters.

The various strands of feminist thought support three basic notions—the entrenchment of gender, existence of patriarchy and the need for change. According to feminist scholars, society is deeply gendered and it continues to be a factor that divides society. In the contemporary world, gender can be defined as a form of social organization. All over the world, there exists an implicit realization in the minds of the people that basic conditions of living—health, education, employment, security and freedom of expression are shaped by the identification of belonging to a particular sex or gender group. Gender influences the basic manner in which one thinks and perceives knowledge with regard to the world. It is considered to be perhaps the most significant feature of an individual's identity, and also plays a fundamental role in determining social hierarchies. However, feminists do differ on the specifics of the entrenchment of

gender. For some, it is the most important factor, whereas for others it is one among many factors such as race, class etc.

The second claim of feminists is that gender is not neutral in its effects as the patriarchal society considers women as inferior. Feminists universally agree that social structures based on gender clearly place women in a disadvantaged position. 'Patriarchy' literally means rule of the father, but its most common interpretation within the feminist framework simply implies a society that advantages men and disadvantages women. The existence of patriarchy has been responded with a range and rage of feminist thought. However, what needs to be kept in mind is that patriarchy does not imply that men consciously try to maintain their dominance as patriarchy could be maintained through informal structures, such as social norms and family. Moreover, patriarchy is hegemonic in society because the victims of patriarchy, i.e. a section of women also sustain its practices in the name of following various conservative, religious and family traditions. For example, the older women used to convince the newly widowed woman to immolate herself for the custom of sati. Similarly, the structure of seclusion and veil, the division between home and workplace are not only creations of men but are also accepted by a section of women as natural and normal. It is the lack of revolt of the women against patriarchy that makes patriarchy a hegemonic idea in society.

Finally, all feminists argue the need for reforms. Feminism can therefore, be called both reforming and revolutionary. The kind of changes necessary is one area of differences among feminist scholars. But, more or less, all strive for equality for women.

The discipline of Political Science is considered to be gendered and influenced by social norms of sex and sexuality. Today, the discipline is broadening its scope and is including within its ambit, questions pertaining to gender and the new ideas of masculinity and femininity. The study of gender and politics, challenges the traditional model of the discipline in the following ways:

- Firstly, it challenges the discipline with regard to existing subject matter, concepts and methods.
- Secondly, it highlights the inherent diversity of the scholarly works on gender and politics, and the interdisciplinary nature and plurality of methods and approaches.
- Finally, it highlights how gender and politics has close links with politics and feminism.

Feminist scholars and activists have questioned the pattern of male domination as

neither natural nor desirable. Male domination in politics is complex and profound. One cannot simply challenge the domination by adding more women to the public sphere or increasing the number of offices held by women. It is important to change politics as a practice to make it gender equitable. The traditional focus of politics was to study the governmental apparatuses, electoral politics, political elites and formal institutions. In the entire above mentioned arena, women were invisible in spite of their value in the processes of building a welfare state, constructing the post-colonial nation-state, or their socio-economic contribution. Conventional definitions of politics provided a broader understanding of the phenomena, but feminists such as Cynthia Enloe and Kate Millet, pushed for a definition that encompassed the public-private distinction. In *Sexual Politics* (1968) Kate Millet defined politics as “power structured relationships, arrangements, whereby one group of persons is controlled by another” Thus, the feminists are to be credited for bringing the public and the private within the study of political. They have drawn attention to the politics of knowledge production, meaning and identity along with questioning the traditional distinction between the public and the private.

A number of scholars within the discipline have considered themselves to be “positivists”. They are only concerned with empirical facts and avoid value-laden analysis. Feminist scholars have joined forces with Critical Theorists and Postmodernists in challenging the positivist claims, insisting on the broadening of the epistemological basis of the discipline. Feminist theorists have encouraged the use of a range of epistemological approaches ranging from pragmatism, postmodernism, standpoint epistemology and hermeneutics. The diversity of approaches and methods is one of the strengths of the feminist disposition.

4.3 Feminism and Feminist Politics in the West

Politics in the Anglo-American tradition can be traced back to the work of political theorists such as John Locke, who based his ideas on the analytical separation between the public and the private sphere. Anglo-American disciplines adopted this highly debatable view of ‘trans-cultural and trans-historical universality’ of the dichotomy of the public and the private sphere. This distinction predestined the position of women within the household, which was part of the private sphere. On the analytical front, the exclusion of women from the public sphere created conditions where politics was seen as a male dominated sphere from which women were legitimately excluded. However, regulation of women’s access to abortion, sexuality, male violence against women was

seen as legitimate areas of state intervention, revealing the inherent inconsistencies and gender bias. In fact, even today, in the United States, political wars are fought over issues pertaining to same sex marriage and abortions, which are nothing but questions and issues pertaining to intimate behaviour of men and women that should be accepted and supported by society.

Over time, one can see a significant change in the development of feminist politics in the West. Both the United States and United Kingdom granted women, the right to vote in the 20th century. Feminist groups in America had long advocated the assertion of equality. After being granted the right to franchise, one of the major milestones came in June 1967 when the American Congress passed the Equal Pay Act, which made it mandatory for employers to pay equal wages to both men and women for the same work. Concurrently, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act banned employment discrimination, based on race or sex. Another important achievement for women was Title IX, which banned sexual discrimination in schools. This particular amendment in 1973, led to an increase in the enrollment of women in professional schools. This right to attend schools for gaining equal education as their male counterparts was a huge step for women in the United States. It helped them to obtain the skills necessary to enter the workplace, at par with men. American women today filled almost all the positions enjoyed by men in the workplace and there has also been a significant increase in women's participation in politics.

The experience of the United Kingdom was slightly similar. It was the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), or "second wave feminism", from the late 1960s that had the greatest impact on women's everyday lives in the United Kingdom. However, political activists often pointed out the lack of references to women in standard texts and sought to re-discover women's active role in the past. Feminist scholar, Sheila Rowbotham, influenced by the Marxist variant of feminism, argued that the role of women within the family actually maintains capitalism by providing it with the human relations it cannot provide in the world of men's work. She also produced a pioneering study, *Hidden from History* (1973) with detailed investigations on the various aspects of women's lives, including employment, trade unionism, women's organizations, family life and sexuality.

American and Eurocentric feminism has considerably evolved over time but is based on the accumulated rights established by feminists, strictly within the boundaries of the United States and continental Europe. This particular kind of feminism can be considered limiting in more than one ways because it does not extend globally to all women. However, unlike other disciplines, an attempt to establish a universal international discourse on feminist politics is not considered desirable, especially by

the advocates and activists of Third Wave Feminism, which began in the early 1990-s. who represent and articulate about women's issues in developing countries. They do not share the same identity and cultural goals as outlined by western feminism.

Western feminism, to a great extent, is highly exclusive and often, does not even include all women living in the West (i.e. coloured populations). Critics have pointed out the limitations of this social construct and the pattern and manner in which the relationships between women of different backgrounds are arranged. In effect, due to the feminist wave, the white middle class women are the first to benefit from social change and advanced their privileges. Advancement for some cannot be equated to advancement for all. The disparity of experience leads to a flawed discourse in women's studies because there is an inherent racism in the way Western feminist culture operates.

The descriptive and normative dimensions of western feminism are found to be inadequate when applied to non-western societies. Western feminists have been accused of theoretical reductionism as they seek to obtain universal validity for their arguments by attempting to homogenize complex and internally changing aspects of social reality to fit into their theoretical models.

4.4 Feminism and Feminist Politics: Non-Western Viewpoints

As a result of the disagreement with the universal claims of Western feminists, there was the emergence of the Third World feminists, already referred to above. They agree that there are certain universal categories such as patriarchy, economic domination of men in the capitalist system and violent suppression of women in most societies. However, the manner in which patriarchy, capitalism and suppression manifest themselves in real terms, results from the complex interactions between economic, ideological and cultural systems. Also, the means that women use in resisting them are equally varied. The void in feminism as it exists today has resulted from the inadequate integration of the cultural dimension in political and economic analyses. The impact of colonialism and the penetration of capitalism have played an exacerbating role in existing gender divisions. Also, the type and level of industrialization across the globe has led to the creation of very diverse circumstances for women in different societies.

The struggle of Third World women, both in the West and in the developing world, for recognition, have often been ignored and have remained silenced objects of Western analysis. Colonized countries had been profoundly affected by the exploitative, racist

nature of colonial rule, which was economic, political and cultural in nature.

Postcolonial feminism encompasses women in both the developing and developed world. The Eurocentric tendencies of Western women often led them to see their societies and cultures as models for the rest of the world. Third World countries on the other hand, have their own active indigenous women's movements concerned with the specificities of their societies. Much of the feminist theory, scholarship and political activities of the Third World women remain invisible to the West. However, Third World feminists, living in the West, are increasingly making their voices heard. In addition to analyzing their own situations, Third World women have powerfully and articulately critiqued the Eurocentrism of Western feminism, and its selective amnesia with regard to colonial history and its tendency to reproduce colonial modes of representation. Postcolonial feminists, even today, are in the process of contesting the Eurocentric gaze that privileges Western notions of liberation and progress while portraying the Third World women, primarily as victims of ignorance, restrictive cultures and religions.

The rise of Black feminism has been one of the significant developments within the Feminist movement. Black Feminism recognizes the racial nature of the western feminism and the privilege that comes with it. In their opinion, racism is so deeply ingrained in Western societies that it often takes non-conscious and institutionalized forms. They argue that anti-racist strategies require an intervention at an individual and personal level. They further discuss the often unacknowledged assumptions, prejudices and practices which have at times, coloured—laws and legislations.

The world has also seen the rise of Islamic Feminism. Islamic Feminism can be explained as an idea of gender equality as part of the Quranic ideals of equality of all human beings. It insists on the implementation of gender equality in the state, civil institutions and everyday life. Islamic feminism is not merely a variant of feminism that is particular to Muslim women, but stems out of the canonical traditions of Islamic theology. Islamic feminism is considered to be culturally competent as Islam in itself, is a diverse tradition which does permit a certain degree of flexibility, provided that the core ethics are not violated. Islamic feminists do not rely on Western feminist traditions, but instead depend on rational and contextual analysis of the Quran. The greatest challenge for Islamic Feminism is to separate culture and religion, which is also perhaps the reason why they are faced with violent opposition from within the religious community. Nearly all Islamic States that tries to implement the rule of the Sharia

(Islamic law inspired by Islamic theology), deny equal social and political opportunities for women, ranging from Saudi Arabia to the erstwhile Taliban ruled Afghanistan. However, positive changes can be seen in many Muslim countries where women are now fighting against oppression, not on the basis of Western prescribed ideals of equality and human rights, but are deriving strength from within their own religious traditions. However, there are strong critiques of Islamic feminism. The Liberal, Marxist and Humanist feminist positions around western Eurocentric discourses assert that struggle against religious prohibitions and discriminatory rights within the religion of Islam is essential and an ineluctable path of emancipation for women in Muslim societies, whereas, the defensive and apologetic strategy of Islamic feminism recommends a return towards Islam to claim those women's rights enumerated in Islam by re-reading of Sharia texts. Such a stance also critically poses the question that how Islamic feminism gets its logic of articulation from postmodern discourses of celebrating 'Islamic authenticity' by claiming and identifying the *veil* as 'a tool of empowerment', how it denies to see women's subordination as an offshoot of Islamist ideology and how the discourses of postmodernism actually echo and overlap the discourses of Islamism.

In India, feminist political activities have made feminists and feminism, a part of the national political landscape. The Indian experience has also encouraged many feminists in other Third-World countries. The women's movement in India began in the 1920s, taking a lead from the 19th century social reform movement. The women's movement in the country progressed during the period of nationalism and the freedom struggle, both of which played a significant role in shaping its contours. Among the many achievements of the movement, perhaps, the most significant were the constitutional guarantees of equal rights for women and universal adult suffrage in independent India. However, these guarantees did not provide any help in bringing about social and material change in the lives of most Indian women. In spite of the longstanding and vigorous women's movement since colonial times, patriarchy continues to remain deeply entrenched in India, and exercises a great deal of influence on the structure of political and social institutions apart from determining the socio-opportunities for both men and women. The negotiation and conflict between patriarchy and the women's movement are central to the constitution of the nation-state.

In colonial times, women were at the forefront of the agenda of the social reform movement. Social reformers were of the opinion that women's emancipation was a prerequisite to national regeneration and a measure of national achievement in the

connected discourse of civilization, progress, modernity, and nationalism. However, the liberal and “civilizing” forces of the colonial state faced indigenous opposition. Even the labour arrangement inherited by the colonial state was based on the household, organized by gender and age, and maintained through family roles.

The decade of the 1970s saw the emergence of a ‘New Women’s movement’, which was in sync with the popular politics of the day. The movement was influenced by several events. Some were within and some outside the country, which gave it a radical turn. A start was made in this period toward the formation of women’s organizations along completely different lines as compared to pre-independence ones. There was no attempt to form all-India organizations. The new organizations were localized cohesive units with focused agendas. In 1973-74, the Maoist women formed the Progressive Organisation of Women, in attempt to initiate a self-conscious feminist critique of radical left politics along with providing an analysis of gender oppression. By the mid-1980s, the New Women’s movement faced severe challenges as the controversial Shah Bano case propelled the demand for a Uniform Civil Code into the cauldron of communal politics. However, progress has been made by feminist groups and advocates of women’s rights in the field of politics as legislations have been passed, enabling the reservation of seats for women in different institutions of Local Self Government, laws pertaining to sexual harassment at the work place, domestic violence, child marriage and dowry. In spite of positive developments, a number of issues, especially those related to traditional cultural values (the issue of honour killing, Khap Panchayats, marital rape) are still potent issues that continue to restrict the freedom of women in the country.

The variance in feminist practices across the globe has also experienced differing degrees of success. The fact remains that while feminist thought agrees on certain basic theoretical ideas, the practical applicability differs and to a great extent is dependent upon the socio-economic and cultural structure of the society where it is being implemented.

4.5 Short Questions:

Essay Type Questions

- 1) Discuss the major arguments of Third world feminism.
- 2) Contrast the experiences of feminist politics in western and non-western contexts.

Short Questions:

- 1) Write a short note on Western feminism.
- 2) What is Islamic feminism?

4.6 Suggested Readings

1. Baylis, John, Smith Steve and Patricia Owens (2008). *The Globalization of World Politics*, 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2. Celis, Karen, Johanna Kantola, Georgina Waylen, and S. Laurel Weldon (2013). "Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline". In Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and S. Laurel Weldon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. Menon, Nivedita (2008). "Gender". In Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya (eds.), *Political Theory: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Pearson.
4. Moghissi, Haideh (1999). *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism: The Limits of Postmodern Analysis*. London: Zed Books.
5. Yamani, Mai (ed.) (1996). *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.

PAPER - V

MODULE - 4

Comparative Politics

Authoritarianism and Democracy

Module - 4

Unit - 1 □ Challenges of Democracy in Bangladesh

Structure

- 1.0 Objective
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Historical background
- 1.3 Period of Democratic Reforms
- 1.4 Failure of the Election Commission
- 1.5 Lack of public accountability and participation
- 1.6 Fragile judicial system
- 1.7 Weak civic and political culture
 - 1.7.1 Nature of party politics
 - 1.7.2 Religious and ethnic politics
- 1.8 Role of Civil Society
- 1.9 Role of mass media
- 1.10 Patron-Client relationship
- 1.11 Conclusion
- 1.12 Questions
- 1.13 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objectives

It will help us to understand.

- (1) The process of democratization in Bangladesh followed by the period of democratic reforms.

- (2) The challenges to parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh.
- (3) The role of civil Society in Bangladesh.

1.1 Introduction

Francis Fukuyama in a recent discussion has argued that “democracy is a complex set of institutions that involves accountability, rule of law and an adequate state; they have to work in conjunction with one another and successful democracy happens when you successfully institutionalize all of these different components.” (Fukuyama Francis and others, “Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 25 No. 1, January 2014, p.6) The observation attracts our attention in the context of the waves of democratization since 1980s, to the institutionalization and consolidation of democracy in the transitional societies beyond mere establishment of formal democratic regimes. The quality of democracy, thus, becomes an important criterion to understand the process of democratic transition. Over last two decades, democratic consolidation in Bangladesh has witnessed some serious challenges that have raised questions about the legitimacy of democratization in the country.

1.2 Historical background

People’s Republic of Bangladesh achieved independence from Pakistan in 1971 after a protracted liberation war. The eastern part of Bengal came under the political control of West Pakistan as a result of the Partition of India in 1947. The urge for autonomy from the authoritarian military regime of West Pakistan was first reflected in the Bengali Language Movement (known as *Bhasaandolon*) in 1952. The freedom movement culminated in popular uprising against the Pakistani government in the next decade under the leadership of the Awami League President, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The Awami League was founded in 1949 and succeeded in expanding its base by mobilizing lower and middle class Bengalis in freedom movement in the 1960s. The Bangladesh Liberation War (popularly known as *muktiyudhdha*), that started in April 1971, brought down the Pakistani military regime in Bangladesh with the help of mass guerilla warfare declaring liberation of Bangladesh in December 1971.

After independence, the first Constitution of Bangladesh was adopted in November 1972, which declared People’s Republic of Bangladesh as a unitary secular parliamentary democracy based on multiparty system. The four principles that characterized the state, as enshrined in the Preamble, were “nationalism, socialism,

democracy and secularism". The Awami League won the first general election, held in 1973, with massive majority and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became the President. The path to parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh witnessed recurrent crisis since 1975 when Sheikh Mujib and his family members were assassinated by the coup of a section of the Army officers in August 1975. Political democratization faced serious obstacles, since then, due to occasional military uprisings overthrowing the elected governments in the state. Till 1990, military leaders like General Ziaur Rahman or Hossain Mohammad Ershad ruled Bangladesh, and reinforced legacy of authoritarian politics in the multi-party structure of the state. General Ziaur Rahman established the Bangladesh National Party (BNP), which developed its support base among the elite section of the Bangladesh; society drawing from the military, bureaucracy or pro-Islamic community. General Ziaur Rahman was assassinated in a military coup in 1981 and General Ershad captured power with the help of a coup in 1982. As President, Ershad established an authoritarian military regime concentrating all powers in his hands. After the forced resignation of Ershad in December 1990 by a massive mass movement, Bangladesh reverted to parliamentary democracy with regular elections. According to the twelfth amendment of the Constitution, the President, to be elected by the Parliament, was declared as the constitutional head of the state while the Prime Minister emerged as the executive head. Bangladesh saw its first multi-party general election in 1991 under the neutral interim government, in which the BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party) emerged as the single largest party and formed government. Since 1991, parliamentary politics in Bangladesh was sharply divided by the tussle between two major parties, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Hasina and the BNP (Bangladesh National Party) led by Begum Khaleda Zia. The multi-party democracy in Bangladesh has also seen the rise of the pro-Islamic parties, the Leftists and some regional or ethnicity-based parties.

1.3 Period of Democratic Reforms

Since 1991, democratic experiments have passed through ups and downs in Bangladesh as entrenched political rivalry between the two parties contributed to long-standing political unrest in the country. Continued violence, electoral corruption or temporary governments characterized the political system of Bangladesh leading to a fragile democratic order. In March 1994, the Opposition led by the Awami League called for an indefinite boycott of Parliament and nation wide protest against an alleged rigged parliamentary by-election by the ruling BNP. The Opposition also demanded resignation of Khaleda Zia's government and a non-partisan caretaker government to supervise the next general election. The BNP, rejecting the demand, held the sixth national

parliamentary election in Bangladesh in February 1996. The election was boycotted by most of the opposition parties and the BNP won all the seats in parliament. However, in March 1996, under mounting public pressure, the Parliament enacted the 13th constitutional amendment to establish a neutral caretaker government and conduct new parliamentary elections. Former Chief Justice, Muhammad Habibur Rahman, was appointed as the Chief Advisor in the interim government and fresh parliamentary election was held in June 1996. The electoral result went in favour of the Awami League.

The state of Bangladesh was thrown into a severe political crisis again when the BNP-led government in late 2006 failed to achieve consensus over the formation of a caretaker government to hold parliamentary election in January 2007. In the situation of growing public protest against uncertainty and chaos, the military was successful in gaining control of the government and President Fakhruddin Ahmad declared state of emergency cancelling the scheduled election in January. After assuming power, he took up stringent reforms of the Election Commission and the electoral processes to ensure transparent and corruption-free elections in the state. Accordingly, in December 2008, after much political tussle, the first fair and free election was held in Bangladesh and the Awami League-led alliance was elected to power. Sheikh Hasina assumed office of the Prime Minister in January 2009.

However, democracy in Bangladesh continues to face serious challenges from different quarters and traditional political-social structures and norms consolidate the crisis even in the 21st century. Throughout 2013, the BNP and 18 other parties called for a nationwide movement against the Hasina government demanding dissolution of the Parliament in January 2014, following the completion of its full term, and transfer of power to a non-partisan caretaker government to conduct election for a new government. The Election Commission declared general election on 5 January, 2014. However, the Opposition called for a boycott of the election showing concerns over electoral corruption and intensified its strikes, blockade or demonstrations against the government and the Election Commission. Amidst the rising violence and chaos, the military was deployed to maintain law and order in the state. Tension mounted with the declaration of the government to execute Abdul Qader Mollah, the Jamaat-e-Islami leader for war crime. In the context of poll boycott of the Opposition, the Election Commission declared Awami League as the winner. The decision was severely negated by the Opposition and the international observers also raised their disapprobation about the lack of transparency in the election process. Low voter turn out in the election also raised credibility about the verdict. The new government took oath in office on 9 January 2014. Post-poll situation in Bangladesh is marked by continued violence and heightened political rivalry between the government

and the Opposition. The banning of the Islamist party, Jamaat-e-Islami and setting up of tribunal to try the Jamaat leaders for the war crimes also fuelled religious antagonism against the Awami League government. The acute political imbroglio not only breeds instability but also threatens the prospects of democracy in Bangladesh.

1.4 Failure of the Election Commission

The foremost challenge to parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh is building up of a transparent mechanism to ensure free and fair electoral process. The Bangladesh Election Commission undertakes the responsibility of conducting election. Since 1991, elections were generally held under the neutral caretaker governments. But, there are serious allegations that the ruling parties have consistently been indulging in electoral corruption with the help of politicization of the Commission. The two dominant parties, Awami League and the BNP, when in power, had tried to influence the Commission by controlling the appointment of officials and the finance of the commission. The Election Commission has failed to ensure proper representation in the process by its inefficient handling in preparing the electoral register and thereby leaving a sizeable section of the population always disenfranchised. Boycott of elections has always been a pressure tactic used by the Opposition to counter electoral corruption by the ruling parties. Both the Awami League and the BNP adopted this tactic often paving the way for military intervention to end the stalemate as was in the case of 2007.

The caretaker government led by Fakruddin Ahmad initiated a number of reforms of the Election Commission in 2007 to restore the credibility of the electoral process. It established stringent rules of campaign finance or qualification for candidature and prepared a fresh electoral register. The caretaker government amended the Representation of People's Order Ordinance (2008) to restrict the corrupt politicians or loan defaulters to participate in the election. For the first time in the electoral history of Bangladesh, picture identification-based voter cards were issued. Massive security arrangements were made to counter poll violence. The Commission undertook the task with the help of financial and technical assistance of the international organisations like the UNDP. Besides, a large number of national and international election observers were recruited to monitor the transparency of the electoral process, particularly on the Election Day. However, under pressure from the political parties, the Election Commission could not enforce its rules successfully and the established parties flouted the rules and norms indiscriminately. The election process witnessed widespread violence, rigging, booth capture and financial corruption. It is important to note here that although the Election Commission is an autonomous constitutional body, it is often directed by the will of

the ruling party. Thus, though the caretaker government was largely successful in conducting the election in 2008 peacefully and impartially, violation of election rules could not be altogether avoided.

Lack of transparency in the electoral process and resultant corruption has raised questions about the legitimacy of the elected governments. In 2011, contradicting its own previous stand, the ruling Awami League government repealed the 13th constitutional amendment proposing the withdrawal of the system of a neutral caretaker government to look after election. The Opposition, led by the BNP, called for a boycott of the election under the supervision of the Awami League-led government in 2014, demanding non-partisan caretaker government. Opinion polls conducted by the media suggested that people of Bangladesh were not happy with the situation and favoured a neutral agency to conduct election. The disapprobation was reflected in the poor voter turnout on the Election day. The turnout was quite low compared to the previous two parliamentary polls. It was around 30.1% of the total electorate. In 2008, the turnout was 85.93%, while it was 74.37% in 2001. The Commission was also not able to guarantee the presence of international election observers to monitor the election. The European Union, Russia, the United States and most of the Commonwealth Nations declined to send observers for the election. Only India and Bhutan sent their observer representatives. The poll result in favour of Awami League, therefore, failed to achieve credibility to the people of Bangladesh and international community. The Opposition rejected the result and Bangladesh plunged into an unending deadlock after the election. The political observers argue that free and fair election under the neutral caretaker government is the primary solution to protect democratic election culture in Bangladesh. The role of vigilant media and awareness of public is also essential to ensure transparent and credible election.

1.5 Lack of public accountability and participation

One of the major challenges faced by Bangladesh is lack of accountability of the government and public servants. Quality of democracy depends on the responsive and responsible government and the extent of public participation in governance. Successive military regimes and short-lived governments with widespread political and electoral corruption have contributed to a decline in the credibility of the public institutions in Bangladesh. The primordial identities like caste, economic and educational background determines accession to power and public offices, especially candidature in elections. The dominance of these identities in representative institutions like legislatures is a reflection of feudal paternalistic culture of society in Bangladesh.

Different levels of marginalization of the people also limit political participation. Although women have achieved franchise rights and seat reservation in the Parliament, they face severe socio-economic obstacles in fulfilling substantive participation. In 2008, the government adopted the National Women's Development Policy (NWDP) to address the issues of economic equality, women's health or security in general. But entrenched patriarchic culture still promotes gender discrimination in contemporary Bangladesh. Women's oppression and subordination is ingrained in the political-religious culture in Bangladesh, reducing women's status to that of a secondary citizen. A large section of women in Bangladesh lack proper political awareness about the functioning of democracy, reducing their participation only to a nominal level. The male members in their families also largely influence their political decisions and roles. A recent survey on the understanding of democracy in Bangladesh showed that only 20 per cent of women surveyed could explain some characteristics of democracy compared to half of the men (Ref. T. Meisburger, 2012 "Strengthening Democracy in Bangladesh", The Asia Foundation, *Occasional Paper*, No. 13, June, p. 14). In this context, increasing violence against women and gender discrimination poses serious challenges to the democratization processes in Bangladesh.

The civil service in Bangladesh also suffers from lack of credibility and accountability due to its occasional 'partisan' inclinations. The civil servants are influenced by their political rulers and serve the interests of their political masters. They often show their allegiance to ruling party leadership to ensure their good posting or better career advancement. There have been ample reports in media about the rising corruption among public servants due to increasing politicisation of civil service in Bangladesh. Qualities like impartiality, honesty and efficiency are often compromised in civil service, casting a negative impact on the credibility of the government. The office of the Comptroller and Auditor General of Bangladesh does not enjoy full autonomy to hold public servants responsible for misappropriation of public funds. The increasing use of information and communication technology has opened up the possibilities of greater transparency in government in recent years. The Awami League government has recently declared its goal of "Digital Bangladesh" to increase the scope of information, transparency and accountability.

The dominance of the Army over civilian government came into a formal end after 2008 election in Bangladesh. However, lack of institutional and political mechanisms to hold the military accountable for their actions leads to persistence of the authoritarian tendencies of the Army. The violations of civil rights or arbitrary use of coercion by the

security forces have led to increasing decline in the credibility of the civilian governments to control the Army. The ruling parties often depend on the coercive power of the Army or police to suppress the opposition. The Army officers still enjoy political patronage that enables them to enforce law in authoritarian or undemocratic ways. Absence of strong civil society or vigilant mass media is also responsible behind the excessive influence of the military in politics of Bangladesh.

The caretaker government, led by Fakruddin Ahmad, adopted the “Framework of National Integrity Strategy: An Inclusive Approach to Fight Corruption” in October 2008, which called for a “transparent, responsible” executive accountable to people and the Parliament. It also stressed on the need of an independent judiciary and impartial public service. The caretaker government made an attempt to strengthen the Anti-Corruption Commission to try cases against the corrupt organizations and individuals. The efforts, however, failed to produce substantive results after the Awami League government came to power. Even the government withdrew some of the cases filed against the Awami League leaders. In April 2010, the government passed proposals to amend the law to bring the Anti-Corruption Commission under the political control of the government. The ACC was required to report to the President and file cases against public servants with the prior permission of the government. The recruitment of the commission was also made accountable to the government. The civil rights organizations severely criticized the move to politicize the commission and limit its power to fight corruption. The World Bank observed: “Bangladesh government’s move to amend the Anti-Corruption Commission Act will weaken the independent anti-graft watchdog and undermine its ability to investigate corruption.” [Ref. S. Khan, (2010) Move to Amend Anti-graft Law and relevant Issues, *Financial Times*, August 22. http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/more.php?news_id=109706. Accessed 25 September, 2014].

1.6 Fragile Judicial System

Effective functioning of democracy largely depends on the proper separation of different branches of government and their autonomous functioning. The judiciary in Bangladesh was subservient to the executive by way of appointment. Political influence, direct or indirect, has obstructed the independent functioning of judiciary. The President and the Prime Minister used to enjoy special privileges in selection of judges in the Supreme Court and High Court.

After much debate, the caretaker government of 2007 was successful in separating judiciary from the control of the executive. The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance came into force in November 2007. It replaced the previous system of appointment of the judges by the Ministry of Establishment headed by the Prime Minister to the new system of appointment by the Supreme Court. The amendment is a step forward to free the judiciary from the control of the political executive. But, controversy over independent judiciary continued even after the reforms of 2007. The President's prerogative to select the Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court under Article 95 of the Constitution remained unchanged. In September 2010, the then President Zia-ur-Rahman appointed Justice Khairul Haque as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh. The appointment raised serious controversy over his qualification to the post as it was alleged that the President superseded two senior judges of the Supreme Court using his prerogative power. The opposition parties and anti-government lawyers criticised the decision. The practice of appointing party loyalists to the posts of public prosecutors also declined the autonomy of the judiciary, which continues even after the reforms. According to a national household survey, taken during June 2009-May 2010, people of Bangladesh identified judiciary as the most corrupt service in the country. It showed that about 88 per cent of people approaching judiciary were victimized due to judicial corruption. In 2009, the Awami League government set up a committee to review the cases filed against the politicians, what it thought to be 'politically motivated'. The Opposition alleged that the government-appointed committee considered only the cases of their supporters and did not withdraw criminal proceedings against the opposition leaders or human right activists criticizing the government. Thus, de-politicization of judiciary emerges as a great challenge to democracy in Bangladesh.

1.7 Weak Civic and Political Culture

The parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh faces serious challenges from the lack of civic awareness and weak political culture. Bangladesh has established institutional mechanisms in the road to democratization. But, the country lacks a strong democratic culture, which is an essential precondition for the success of democracy. Divisive party system, corruption, primordial identities still dominate the political culture of Bangladesh paving the way for entrenched disunity in society. Endemic corruption in society also plays a detrimental role in strengthening the civic culture in Bangladesh. There is lack of serious effort on part of the governments to take measures against corruption of public servants, often reported by the media.

1.7.1. Nature of party politics

Politics of confrontation characterizes the nature of party politics in Bangladesh, leading to extreme polarizations in the political system and a legacy of political instability. Politics in Bangladesh has been virtually polarized between the Awami League and the BNP. Party system is broadly based on elite-based politics with a preference for dynastic or hereditary leadership. The dominant part of Bangladeshi politics centres around the personal battle between the Awami League leader, Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the BNP President, Begum Khaleda Zia, the widow of General Ziaur Rahman. Stanley A. Kochanek wrote: "...major political forces in the country have become divided over the conflicting definitions of Bangladeshi identity, national heroes and liberation war symbols" [Ref. Kochanek, S.A. (2000) "Governance, Patronage Politics and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40 No. 3, May - June, p. 531]. The internal structures of the dominant parties are not much democratic, rather based on personalized politics. In the absence of democratic norms and structures in the party system, parochial and narrow interests influence politics within the party and in the legislatures.

1.7.2 Religious and ethnic politics

Bangladesh has experienced the blaze of religious fundamentalism in the post-independence period. The country has historically been torn between Bengali secular nationalism and pan-Islamist nationalism to determine the nature of polity. In June 1988, the then President of Bangladesh, Hussain Mohammed Ershad adopted the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution, declaring Islam as the State religion of Bangladesh. The Constitution guaranteed the right to form political parties on basis of religious identity, paving the way for consolidation of political parties like Jamaat-e-Islami in Bangladeshi society. After coming to power in 2008, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina decided to set up the War Crimes Tribunal in 2009 to try the pro-Pakistani mass murders during the liberation war. The decision was severely opposed by the Islamist parties like Jamaat-e-Islami along with the BNP. Sheikh Hasina government amended the Constitution in June 2010 to restrict political parties based on religion. However, the heightened resistance of the pro-Islamist forces prompted the withdrawal of the ban in 2011. Religious fundamentalism has created deep-rooted social enmity in the country acting as divisive forces and put obstacle to fulfillment of a secular democratic state in Bangladesh.

One of the preconditions of democratic society is the protection of minority rights. The religious minorities in Bangladesh—Hindus, Christians and Buddhists—comprise around 10 percent of the country's population and generally vote for the secular parties.

The growing influence of militant Islamist forces like the Jamaat or the 'Hefajat-e-Islam Bangladesh' has threatened the legacy of communal harmony in Bangladesh. During the last two decades, Bangladesh has seen increasing cases of ethnic cleansing and consequent rise of ethnic subnational movements. During 1990s Chittagong hill areas of Bangladesh was surged with militant movements demanding self-determination. A peace accord was signed between the government and the hill people in Chittagong Hill Tract in 1997. However, conflict between the government and religious-ethnic minorities continues. The rise of identity-based politics has accentuated the polarization in the Bangladeshi society. The basic democratic norms like respect for equality, liberty and justice are undermined in the culture of conflict.

1.8 Role of Civil Society

In contemporary world, civil society associations as the 'third space' vis-a-vis the state and the market have emerged as crucial agents of development and democratization. Despite debates about their ideology and respective roles, civil society organizations are recognized as important instruments to ensure people's participation and self-reliance at the grass root level. Civil society has been historically viewed as a counterweight to authoritarian state and political power and protector of civil liberties. Resurgence of the civil society as the 'third sector' has strengthened in the democratization waves in post-socialist world. Non-governmental organizations and advocacy groups work for social and economic empowerment of the marginalized population in developing societies and thereby, facilitate the consolidation of the ideals of equality and justice. Bangladesh witnesses mushrooming of civil society networking in the field of development in contemporary period. The western donor countries generate huge funds through these organizations for anti-poverty programmes. One of the oft-quoted organizations that help the marginalized women to become economically self-reliant through micro credit programme is *Grameen Bank*, led by the Nobel peace award winner economist, Muhammad Yunus. Despite some limitations, the *Grameen Bank* movement has been cited as an important instance of women's empowerment. However, in contemporary Bangladesh, the relationship between the civil society associations and the state is increasingly becoming conflictual. In the context of growing political intolerance, it is difficult for the civil society to maintain its autonomy. The ruling parties often try to control the dissident voices of the civil society or the advocacy groups. In April 2009, the government created the National Social Commission to monitor the NGO activities and the flow of foreign funds in development programmes. The Commission was entrusted with the power to cancel the registration of the

organisations. In March 2011, Bangladesh surfaced in the international news when the government dismissed Muhammad Younus from the post of Managing Director of the *Grameen Bank* on charge of corruption. Besides, many of these organizations, especially NGOs, advance the donor country or organizations' interests and in the process, emerge as agents of western development industry.

In 2007 the caretaker government passed the National Human Rights Commission Ordinance to establish the National Human Rights Commission as an independent body to look into the instances of human rights violations and take appropriate conciliatory measures. The Commission is yet to function effectively as an autonomous body. Mass media and human right activists in Bangladesh are often vocal against police atrocities, unlawful detention or harassment of the opposition party leaders, journalists, civil right activists by the government. The Armed forces in Bangladesh was known for its brutal handling of the popular movements in the military-led governments. The establishment of constitutional democracy since 1991 was a step ahead to curb the arbitrary powers of the security forces. But, even today, there are numerous allegations against the Army or border security forces (known as BDR or Bangladesh Rifles) of violation of rights of common people. Civil society groups have always demanded democratic control of the security forces to curb such arbitrary uses of power. There are also grievances against labour laws in Bangladesh leading to examples of repressive measures adopted by the governments against the union activities. One of the most important industrial sectors in Bangladesh — the garment industry, has seen series of workers' movement against state regulations in recent years. Besides reports of abuses of human rights by political parties, security forces or bureaucracy, democracy in Bangladesh is facing serious challenges from the increasing activities of the terrorist networks. Since 2005, the Islamist Extremist groups have become active in Bangladesh in organizing violent mobilization of their cadres against the government. The government banned two such extremist groups in 2005 after a series of bomb blasts in the country. The Awami League government passed the Laundering Prevention and Anti-Terrorism Act in 2009 to control the insurgent activities using the soil of Bangladesh. It has also banned some religious fundamentalist organisations allegedly involved in cross-border terrorism. Bangladesh has emerged as one of the crucial transit points of terrorist networking, drug and human trafficking.

1.9 Role of Mass Media

Independent and vigilant mass media is one of the pillars of democracy. As Bangladesh progressed towards democratic regime from military authoritarian rule in 1990, the

relationship of government and media emerged as important issue of public debate. Freedom of press is one of the conditions of democracy and is achieved in a democratic political system only. The major political parties, by their joint declaration in 1990, pledged to ensure freedom of press in Bangladesh. However, increasing political intolerance has restricted the independent role of the mass media and the press freedom has been controlled by a number of government regulations in post-1991 period. The licensing system is one of the crucial areas of government control of the mass media. The successive governments in Bangladesh have tried to regulate the adversary media. In recent years, civil right groups in Bangladesh rallied against the Sheikh Hasina government on charges of violation of freedom of the media. The government's decision to shut down some channels and newspaper, opposed to government policies, cancelling their registration has raised serious criticism in 2010. In 2009, Hasina government arrested the editor of the newspaper, *Amar Desh*, Mahbabur Rahman, a known opponent to her government and pro-BNP newspaper, on sedition charges and sentenced him to six months' imprisonment. The civil society and human rights activists have cited these instances as suppression of critical voices using criminal libel laws. The politicization of press through partisan press has also limited the democratic and watchdog role of mass media. Media observers argue that Bangladeshi press has dominantly taken sides with one of the two major parties. Massive commercialisation of media industry also prompts the mainstream media to serve the commercial interests of the business class or bureaucracy in Bangladesh, threatening the democratic foundation of mass media's role. In this context, proposed reforms to the fulfillment of freedom of media are yet to be materialized by the BNP or Awami League led governments.

1.10 Patron-Client relationship

Traditional norms and customs dominate the nature of social relationships in Bangladesh reflecting an unfinished agenda of democratisation. Stanley Kochanek observed:

“...behind the facade of a democratic state in Bangladesh, there exists a well- established patrimonial system based on a complex web of patron-client relationships, antiquated rules and procedure and a complex bureaucratic structure that makes reforms difficult.” [Ref. Kochanek S. A. (2000) “ Governance, Patronage politics and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40 No. 3, May - June, p. 549]

The socio-political power in Bangladesh has been historically enjoyed by the elite class especially the landed gentry. The hierarchically organized social structures

strengthen patron-client relationship through numerous informal networks. Loyalty to personal interests is the chief feature of the patrimonial culture that put obstacles in building up horizontal democratic ties in the social web of relationships. Persons having greater access to resources or patrons command obedience from the clients and it paves the way for an authoritarian feudalistic culture. The patron-client relationship is reflected in the realm of electoral politics, public services or economy. Critics argue that this relationship is one of the factors responsible for failure of Bangladesh to evolve a sound democratic culture in spite of establishing formal structures of democracy. The patron-client relationship is visible in the bureaucratic structures of the dominant party system in Bangladesh leading to the popularity of charismatic leadership in politics. The hierarchical structure of patrimonial society gets consolidated with the sharp cleavages based on religion, ethnicity, language or class. Fragmentation of society has caused disunity and given birth to factious politics in Bangladesh.

1.11 Conclusion

Many scholars working on democratization process have observed that mere transition to democratic system is not enough achievement. What is important is the deepening of democracy or consolidation of democratic regime. Institutionalization of democratic norms and behaviours is one of the primary means to consolidate democracy. The strengthening of representative institutions like legislatures, political party or civil society emerges as a crucial condition for consolidation. Independence of judiciary, press or civil service is also essential for the sustenance of democratic transition. Level of economic stability and development is one of the important yardsticks of democratization in any society. Bangladesh has successfully established formal institutions of constitutional democracy since 1990s. But, effective governance reforms to strengthen democracy are yet to be fully materialized in the country. Lack of civic awareness and political good will in transforming the traditional feudalistic culture acts as serious impediment in democratic consolidation. One can conclude with S. Kochanek's observation: "Democratic reform in Bangladesh requires more than simply changes in rules, procedures and structures. The most important changes required the alteration of established attitude and behavior, the creation of a shared vision, and consolidation of a democratic culture." [Ref. Kochanek, S. A. (2000) "Governance, Patronage politics and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40 No. 3, May - June, p. 549].

1.12 Questions

Essay Answer type:

1. Discuss briefly the problems with the electoral system and judiciary in consolidating parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh since 1991.
2. Do you think lack of public accountability is an important factor behind the fragility of democratic order in Bangladesh? Argue your case.
3. Discuss briefly the political developments since 2007 that led to democratic reforms in Bangladesh.

Short Answer type:

1. Write a short note on patron-client relationship in Bangladesh.
2. What impact does the nature of party system have in the functioning of democracy in Bangladesh?
3. Write a short note on the role of civil society in contemporary Bangladesh.

1.13 Suggested Readings

1. Kochanek, S. A. (2000) ‘‘Governance, Patronage politics and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh’’, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40 No. 3, May - June
2. Meisburger, T. (2012) ‘‘Strengthening Democracy in Bangladesh’’, The Asia Foundation, *Occasional Paper*, No. 13, June.

Unit - 2 □ Democratic transition in Nepal

Structure

- 2.0 Objective**
- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 Historical background**
- 2.3 The beginning of constitutional reforms**
 - 2.3.1 The rise of Maoist politics**
- 2.4 End of constitutional monarchy**
- 2.5 Phases of Democratic transition**
 - 2.5.1 Interim arrangements of 2007**
 - 2.5.2 Constituent Assembly Election, 2008**
 - 2.5.3 Tussle over government formation**
- 2.6 The final phase of transition**
- 2.7 Conclusion**
- 2.8 Questions**
- 2.9 Suggested Readings**

2.0 Objective

The objective of the module are :

- (i) To understand the historical background on the constitutional system in Nepal;
- (ii) To comprehend the different phases of the Constitutional reforms personally in view of the advent Maoist movement;
- (iii) To have an idea of the process of the social personals culminasing in the end of Constitutional manually.
- (iv) To idensity the different fhans of democratic transition;
- (v) To evaluate the very nature and consumer of the final phase of transification.

2.1 Introduction

The Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal was established in 2007 after a prolonged struggle for multiparty democracy in Nepal. The historical root of the contemporary waves of democratic transition in Nepal can be broadly traced back to the post war developments and more specifically, to the constitutional experiments in Nepalese political system since 1990s. The legacy of political tussle between the monarchists and anti-monarchists, particularly after the assassination of King Birendra and his immediate family members in 2001 contributed greatly in shaping the patterns of political mobilization in Nepal during this period. The mass movements, led by the radical Leftists and parliamentary parties, fuelled the urge for democracy and popular participation ending the entrenched legacy of monarchical rule in the country. In post-2004 period restoration of peace and democratic culture emerged as dominant agendas of Nepalese politics. After an intense battle for democratization of the political system, marked with conflict between the Royalists and the democratic forces or insurgent outbreaks of the radical Maoist groups, Nepal established a federal republican secular government with multiparty electoral system under the new constitutional regime in 2008.

2.2 Historical background

Kingdom of Nepal had a long history of monarchical rule since ancient period under the Hindu kings. The relative isolation of Nepal from the greater world under the hereditary monarchical regimes contributed significantly to the absence of a democratic society in Nepal. Till 2007, Hinduism was the official religion of the Nepalese state. In mid-18th century, Gorkha ruler Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors united Nepal with their military rule. The Shah dynasty was overthrown by the Rana dynasty (1846 -1950), which established a strong lineage of hereditary Prime Ministerial system, relegating the monarch to a titular status. Since late 1940s pro-democracy movements rocked the country against the autocratic rule of the Rana dynasty. In 1951, King Tribhuvan, returning from his self-imposed exile in India, gained control of the government with the help of the Nepali Congress Party, marking an end to the rule of Rana dynasty. Though King Tribhuvan promised democratic elections, he gradually consolidated his absolute monarchical power in Nepal. He was succeeded to power by King Mahendra, who conceded to the popular demand of multiparty political system to form a democratic nation-state.

The first parliamentary election in Nepal was held in 1959 in which nine political parties contested and the Nepali Congress Party won the election with a massive mandate. It won 74 seats with 37.2 per cent of vote share followed by the Gorkha Parishad, which won 19 seats. The Communist Party of Nepal showed a poor performance winning only 4 seats with 7.2 per cent of vote share. However, the king abruptly dissolved the parliament in 1960 to establish a *partyless panchayat* system and banned all political activities in the state. This marked the end of democratic experiments in Nepal until his successor, King Birendra was forced to accept constitutional reforms in 1989 under the mounting pressure of *jana andolon* (people's movement) for democracy. The movement was mainly led by the Nepali Congress Party and the United Left Front along with many communist groups. The popular protest brought in significant political and constitutional reforms leading to multiparty parliamentary democracy in Nepal followed by the introduction of the fifth Constitution of Nepal in 1990.

2.3 The beginning of constitutional reforms

The fifth Constitution of Nepal enacted in 1990 marked a significant step to establish democratic political regime in Nepal. It established sovereignty of the people as the basic ideal along with the system of constitutional monarchy. Thus, power was transferred to the hands of the people and the King retained its authority as the Head of the state. The constitution upheld rule of law, separation of power, constitutional guarantee to basic human rights and liberties of speech, belief or assembly and religious and ethnic diversities of the Nepalese society. The subsequent elections based on multi-party system witnessed, on an average, over sixty per cent turnouts in elections in Nepal indicating rising popular aspirations to democratic governments. The Nepali Congress emerged as the single largest party in the 1991 election with 36.03 per cent of vote share. The Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) also emerged as significant force with increasing popular support and consolidated its mass base as the second largest party in the election with 30.03 per cent share. In the subsequent days, many other regional and ethnicity-based political parties played important roles in the legislative politics in Nepal.

The democratic essence of the new constitutional regime was, however, limited to a great extent by the gradual concentration of power in the hands of a few elites, unstable governments and subnational movements since early 1990s. Though Nepalese political system was officially based on parliamentary democracy, the deep-rooted social inequalities obstructed the growth of healthy and robust democratic processes and culture

in Nepal. The established political parties had little political and organizational base in the countryside, paving the growth of identity-based mobilizations of the regional and ethnicity-based political forces. The subnational movements often embraced insurgent politics resulting into violent political outbursts. Ordinary people were largely marginalized in the decision-making processes and were economically exploited by the wealthy sections of the Nepalese society. The party system was characterized by personalization of politics, which meant dominance of few leaders in the political policy making processes. Fragmentation of political parties and groups led to severe disunity in the political system, negatively affecting the scope of democratic participation and deliberation on key governing issues. Since 1990s, Nepal was, however, witnessing a slow but steady growth of civil society, including mass media that contributed in the democratic dialogues against the monarchical hegemony or propagated for an accountable and responsive government. Socio-political movements were, however, limited to anti-monarchy agitations instead of fostering strong institutional and cultural mechanisms for democratic participation.

2.3.1 The rise of Maoist politics

In the 1990s, the conflict-ridden Nepalese politics was swayed by the ‘people’s war’ of the radical Left Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), under the leadership of Pushpa Kumar Dahal, popularly known as *Prachanda*. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) abandoned the parliamentary path taken by other communist groups like the CPN (UML) and embarked on armed rebellion to overthrow the autocratic monarchical rulers from power. The Maoist leaders were building up their support base since 1970s among the lower classes of Nepalese population working from underground. They contested election in 1991 under their frontal organization, United People’s Front (Samyukta Jana Morcha) and won nine seats. The UPF was the open front of the Ekta Kendra (Unity Centre), the communist faction that believed in armed struggle and later reconstituted as the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in 1991. The CPN (M) declared New Democratic Revolution as their goal and adopted the strategy of guerrilla warfare. In 1994 the Maoists submitted a 38-point charter demand on ‘nationalism, people’s democracy and people’s livelihood’ to the CPN(UML)-led government and boycotted the mid-term election of 1994. They waged armed resistance against the landlords and moneylenders and faced severe state repression. The CPN(M) once again placed 40-point demand charter to the Deuba government in February 1996 and gave the government ultimatum to fulfill the demands. Before the expiry of the deadline, the Maoists declared the ‘people’s war’ against the state. They called for the abolition of

monarchical privileges, nationalization of economic resources, abolition of all sorts of social and political discrimination and establishment of a secular state in Nepal. They demanded a Constituent Assembly that would draft a new Constitution to meet the demands. The Maoists enjoyed considerable support among the Nepalese population in rural areas and consolidated their military strength against the state. Since mid-1990s they were successful in establishing parallel governments in countryside of Nepal with the help of People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the party. In November 2001, the state of Emergency was declared in Nepal in the context of intensified armed struggle of the Maoists resulting in loss of hundreds of lives and military operation against the movement. The Maoists and the government reached at a truce in January 2003 by declaring ceasefire; but, the peace deliberation lasted only for a temporary period. The outbreak of violence with frequent clashes of the army and the rebels aggravated the crisis of political regime and threw the fate of democratization into uncertainty. The success of democratic transition in Nepal, to a great extent, depended on the mainstreaming of the Maoist movement in subsequent period.

2.4 End of constitutional monarchy

In June 2001 King Birendra and his immediate family members were assassinated in the royal palace and King Gyanendra immediately ascended the throne. The mysterious death of King Birendra unleashed popular rage against his brother Gyanendra and fuelled the opposition against monarchical power. King Gyanendra, from the beginning, faced great trouble in establishing his control over the political system and restoring peace. On assuming power, he centralized all powers in his own hands and strengthened the military force to curb the civil liberties enjoyed by the people. He tried to control the political activities of the parties, even of the parties that favoured constitutional monarchy. By 2002, political crisis reached its height with King Gyanendra declaring a state of Emergency in Nepal dissolving local governing bodies and dismissing the then Deuba government. The CPN(M) intensified its anti-monarchic struggle to dethrone King Gyanendra from power and demanded an elected Constituent Assembly. It can be noted here that though the Maoists rejected the path of parliamentary democracy in principle, they adopted the strategic policy of taking part in the political negotiations to establish a democratic regime in post-monarchy Nepal. As noted, in January 2003, negotiation for peace started between the CPN(M) and the government but the efforts failed as the government refused to accept the Maoists' proposal for a parliamentary election to decide the fate of the monarchy. The opposition parties embarked on mass

protest demanding return of democracy and under their pressure the royalist Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa resigned from power. King Gyanendra declared state of Emergency to assume all power in his hand. In November 2005, all the parties, including the Maoist group, signed a common 12-point agreement to work for a peaceful solution to political conflicts. In spite of the Maoists' different ideological stand on democracy, a broad consensus was reached against monarchical power to establish democratic regime in the country in peaceful way. The CPN(M) declared that they would join the interim government if their demand of an elected Constituent Assembly was granted by the government. The seven parties who represented the dissolved parliament formed the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) to fight against King Gyanendra's authoritarian rule and joined hands with the CPN(M) to restore democracy in Nepal. It was decided at a meeting of the parties that a referendum would be held to decide the fate of the monarchy. The 'people's war' reached at its climax in 2006 with the coalition of all the parties rising into a nationwide mass upsurge against the royal regime. The united movement of different political parties and groups in Nepal forced King Gyanendra to step down from power in April 2006.

The end of constitutional monarchy marked the beginning of a new phase of democracy building in Nepal. The new government established on 30 April, 2006 was led by Girija Prasad Koirala, the leader of the Nepali Congress. The king was stripped of his immunity from prosecution and the Royal Army was changed to Nepal Army. The coalition of the SPA and the CPN(M) issued a declaration in May 2006, known as Nepal's Magna Carta, upholding the sovereignty of the parliament. They adopted the 8-point agreement in June 2006 with commitments to multiparty democracy, civil liberties, secular state or rule of law. In November 2006 the Maoists accepted the ceasefire by signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement putting an end to ten-year insurgency. An interim Parliament was formed including the representatives of the seven parties and the CPN(M) to draft an interim Constitution that came into being in January 2007.

2.5 Phases of Democratic transition

Democratic transition in a peaceful way emerged as the key issue for the new interim government. The subsequent political developments aimed to restructuring the constitutional regime based on popular participation and multi-party electoral system. The constitution-making processes and government formations witnessed conflicts and consensus between the major political forces in Nepal, particularly over the nature of state and government. The Maoists were eager to gain leverage over the other political

parties in the peace process that often led to virtual breakdown of the negotiation. The civic awareness about the democratic functioning of the governing bodies like the Constituent Assembly or franchise rights was quite low among the larger sections of the Nepalese population. Identity-based politics also put serious challenges to the development of consensus in democratization efforts. Elite influences in politics contributed marginalization of indigenous or weaker sections from the core of decision-making processes. In general, democratization in Nepal in post-monarchy period has passed through uncertainties and turmoil.

2.5.1 Interim arrangements of 2007

Democratic transition to a republican government passed through tumultuous phases even after the passing of the interim Constitution in January 2007. Following prolonged negotiations, the Maoists finally joined the interim government in April 2007. To monitor the transition and the peace process the UN sent a mission to Nepal (UNMIN), which was mandated to assist the electoral and cease-fire processes. However, the interim Parliament debated over the issues of political settlement and differences of opinion became evident among the Maoists and the other political parties. The CPN(M) insisted for the inclusion of 22-point constitutional amendments that proposed immediate declaration of Republic by the interim Parliament and merger of People's Liberation Army with the official Nepal Army. The discord between the Maoists and the other parties reached to a heightened level with the threat of the CPN(M) to withdraw from the government. The proposed election of November 2007 was ultimately postponed in the context of growing conflicts of opinions. The uncertainties over election and democratic transition resulted in increasing political tension in the country leading to legitimacy crisis of the interim government. Different regional and ethnic groups demanded stronger mechanisms to ensure free and fair election to establish proper democratic representation and formed their own parties like The Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party, Nepal Sadvabna Party, Madhesi Jana Adhikar Forum (MJAF) etc. Violent outbursts of these groups often prompted the government to use force to control the dissent voices. Amidst the conflict, in December 2007, the legislators passed a resolution proposed by the CPN(M) to declare Nepal as a federal democratic republic and proportional representation to be the basis of Assembly representation. The legislative resolution was, however, subject to the final endorsement of the Constituent Assembly. The interim Parliament decided to hold an election to form the Constituent Assembly. The election was a big challenge for the political administrative forces to consolidate the peace processes and ensure people's participation in the decision-making process.

2.5.2 Constituent Assembly Election, 2008

The Constituent Assembly election held in April 10, 2008 marked another important phase in Nepal's transition to democratic regime. The election was held on the basis of both direct representation and nomination systems and 54 political parties took part in the election. For the direct election, the whole country was divided into 240 electoral constituencies on basis of population to elect for the first-past-the-post seats. The second level of voting elected 335 members on basis of proportional representation in which the country voted as a single constituency for the political parties. The third group of 26 members was nominated by the Cabinet from among the distinguished persons of the country. The electoral campaigns were charged with heated political tensions, often marred by violence of the armed outfits. The CPN(M), especially their youth wing, the YCL, as the leading militant organization, exercised powerful influence in rural Nepal in mobilizing people in their support. Confrontations between the Maoists and the rival parties reached its height in different parts of the country leading to sharp polarizations in Nepalese politics. The electoral processes and peace building efforts were monitored by the international organizations like the United Nations. An independent Electoral Expert Monitoring Team was set up by the UN. Besides, thousands of international observers were stationed in Nepal to monitor the electoral process. The international agencies including the UN assisted the process by their financial and technical support. The CPN(M) emerged as a strong contender to power with their high-pitched electoral campaign and strategy vis-à-vis the parliamentary parties.

The electoral turnout was quite high with 61 per cent of people exercising their franchise rights. A total of 54 parties and independents contested the first-past-the-post election. The internal division of the Communist parties was clear from the fact that 10 parties represented communist factions. The CPN(M) emerged victorious in the election as the single largest party with 29.28 per cent of vote share and a total of 220 seats, followed by Nepali Congress and CPN(UML) as the second and third leading parties respectively. The Nepali Congress bagged 113 seats and the CPN (UML) won 103 seats. The Terai-based political party MJAF could win in 52 seats and other ethnic identity based political parties also succeeded in getting berth in the Assembly. In general, 25 parties could win seats as the representatives in the Assembly. One important dimension of democratization process is to be found in ensuring gender equality in political representations. In the Constituent Assembly election 29 women were elected compared to 544 male representatives, indicating marginalization of women in Nepalese politics. Pro-monarchy parties fared badly in the election. The electoral result reflected the increasing popular support to the anti-monarchy movement of the Communist parties

in Nepal, especially to the demand of a new Republican Constitution for Nepal and the strong organizational base of the Maoists among the marginalized and indigenous sections of the Nepalese population. Compared to the poorer performance of the Communist party in 1959 election, the communist parties together won 343 seats in total, bagging more than half of the total seats. Many observers have argued that the success of the Maoists could be attributed to the popular disapprobation of the traditional political culture of the established parties like the Nepali Congress, which was largely dominated by the interests of the upper class Hindu elites in Nepal.

2.5.3 Tussle over Government formation

The democratic experiments reached a new phase in Nepal after the election of 2008 as the radical Leftists and parliamentary parties were engaged in electing a new government and framing the Constitution to establish a federal democracy. Article 38 of the interim Constitution insisted on 'government by consensus'. The political negotiations were, however, marked by intense tensions in the absence of a stable political culture and institutional framework for ensuring popular participation in the decision-making processes. The democratization efforts of the new government were occasionally distracted by the mutual distrust and enmity between the established parties. There was also severe crisis in terms of capability of political leadership to build up consensual politics. The issue of building democracy in Nepal depended on the successful institutionalization of republic in Nepal in post 2008 period. Nepal's transition from monarchy to republic was broadly peaceful, despite occasional violent outbursts. The important task was to consolidate the Republican state, accommodating the interests of different ethnic population and settling the issue of civil war. After the abolition of monarchy, in accordance to the Fifth Amendment of the 2007 interim Constitution, President and Vice President were elected on July 14, 2008.

The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on 28 May 2008. It declared Nepal to be a Republic. The Constituent Assembly embarked on drafting a new Constitution and forming the new government to power. The interim Constitution opted for a government to be formed on basis of consensus among the ruling parties. It observed that if the consensus could not be achieved the Prime Minister would be elected by a two-third majority of vote. The new political situation demanded amendments to these provisions of the interim Constitution and led to severe disputes among the political parties over the nature of the government. The formation of government delayed for three months as the CPN(M) strongly demanded a Presidential government with all executive powers vested in the president. They supported federalism as the essential

mechanism to address long-standing interests of the marginalized groups, strengthening the identity based mobilization. It even placed candidates for the posts of nominal President and Vice-President despite the opposition of other parties. The decision prompted the alliance of three major parties - the Nepali Congress, the CPN(UML) and the MJAF (Madhesi Jana Adhikar Forum) to defeat the candidature of the CPN(M) party to the highest executive power. However, after much tussle, the CPN(M) was able to disunite the coalition and rally the CPN(UML) and MJAF in its favour. The CPN (M) leader, Prachanda was elected as the new Prime Minister with full executive authority. The parties elected Ram Baran Yadav, a leader of the Nepali Congress, as the President. The Maoists renamed their party as the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) joining hands with some smaller communist factions and pledged to integrate into the mainstream parliamentary politics.

From the beginning there was bitter struggle between the CPN(M) and their major coalition partners, the Nepali Congress or the CPN (UML). The integration of the Maoist army (People's Liberation Army) with that of the official Nepal Army emerged as the major bone of contention. The Maoist combatants were spending their days in the remote camps and observing ceasefire under the monitoring of the UNMIN. There was also conflict over restructuring of the Army higher rank, representation of the indigenous groups in government or judicial interventions. Regional secessionist groups were consistently demanding autonomy for the ethnic communities in different parts of Nepal and continued their insurgent activities. The government declared an investigation of the "royal massacre" of 2001 to put pressure on King Gyanendra, who was already stripped off his royal prerogatives. In mid March the political crisis was aggravated with the government ordering eight Generals of the Army to retire which the Opposition parties and the Supreme Court did not ratify. Prime Minister Prachanda sacked the Army Chief as a result of this tussle. All the opposition parties contested the unilateral decision of the Prime Minister and rallied with the Army Chief. Two of the parties even resigned leaving the government to face a no confidence motion. President Ram Baran Yadav also supported the Army Chief against the Prime Minister. The acute internal conflict of the Maoist-led government ultimately forced the Prime Minister, Prachanda to resign from power on 4 May 2009.

The fall of the government led to accentuation of crisis in Nepal. The instability in the political system aggravated civil unrest at different levels, especially the grievances of the ethnic communities. To end the stalemate twenty parties met at Kathmandu on 5 May 2009 to form a new coalition government with the Nepali Congress and the CPN (UML) taking the major initiative. Efforts to reinstate the Maoists to the government,

however, failed. The President instructed the coalition to form the government with Madhav Kumar Nepal, a veteran Communist leader, as the new Prime Minister. Amidst the intense opposition of the Maoists, the new coalition government of 22 parties was formed on 23 May. The new government faced severe obstructions from the Maoists as they campaigned strongly for civilian supremacy over the Army and organized violent protests throughout the country. They even unilaterally declared autonomous statehood to thirteen ethnic and regional communities. In this context of renewed political crisis, the Constitution making process received serious setback. The deadline for the new Constitution, settled as 28 May, 2010, could not be achieved by the Parliament. Two key issues, the parliamentary or presidential form of government and the nature of federalism, remained as the principal basis of difference of opinion among the parties.

In January 2010, the major parties agreed to institute a high level political mechanism, comprising the Prime Minister, Madhav Kumar Nepal, the Nepali Congress leader, G P Koirala and the Maoist leader, Prachanda to restore the peace and Constitution making processes. Following the talks, the Maoists agreed to call off their indefinite 'people's revolt' and work for a national government. A new deadline of 28 May 2011 was settled to finish the unfulfilled tasks and frame the new Constitution. The political negotiations however failed to produce positive results as the enmity aggravated on different issues. The stalemate to resolve the differences with the Maoists prompted the resignation of Madhav Kumar Nepal on 30 June 2010. He, however, continued as the caretaker Prime Minister in facilitating the peace process. It was further agreed upon by the major political parties to complete the tasks of peace building by January 2011. In spite of renewed efforts, solution remained elusive and political stalemate continued. The Maoists insisted on the integration of the PLA to the Nepal Army and insurgencies continued in the Terai and other southern regions for autonomy. The smaller regional parties were also apprehensive of the prospect of federalism that might be dominated by the larger established parties.

2.6 The final phase of transition

The effort to form a new government finally succeeded in February 2011 with Prachanda withdrawing his candidature as the Prime Minister in favour of Jhalanath Khanal of the CPN (UML), thus ending a stalemate of seven months in the functioning of government. In March, the Maoists entered the government with eleven ministries. Peace process regained momentum as the Maoists joined the government. All the parties agreed to extend the tenure of the Constituent Assembly to 28 August 2011. But the Maoists, at

the same time, insisted that Jhala Nath Khanal would resign from the post by the deadline and a “consensus government” would be formed in due course.

During this period, human rights violation in different forms remained a serious issue that divided the political and civil society in Nepal. The UNMIN was involved in the peace process and negotiation with the Maoist combatants. The deadline for the end of the mission was 15 January 2011, which was extended to sustain the conciliation efforts in post-electoral scenario. An agreement was signed between the caretaker government and the Maoists that a Special Committee would be formed to supervise the integration and rehabilitation of the Maoist combatants under the leadership of the Prime Minister. There was controversy over the continued role of UNMIN in the peace process as well. A section of the civil society was concerned about the negative results of the departure of the UNMIN while the others believed that it had lost its credibility. It can be noted here that international forces like the USA, involved in the peace efforts in different capacities, were not fully convinced of the intention of the Maoists to integrate in the mainstream democratic politics in Nepal.

As per deadline, Prime Minister Khanal resigned in August 2011. The tenure of the Constituent Assembly was further extended to November 2011. Senior Maoist ideologue Baburam Bhattarai replaced Khanal and the new Maoist-led government was formed with the help of a section of the Madhesi group and representation from other indigenous communities. The Nepali Congress and the CPN (ULM) decided to play the role of the opposition. Ascending to power Baburam Bhattarai appealed to all the political parties and civil society to consider “one last chance for peace” and declared a 45-day deadline for reaching agreement towards integrating the Maoists combatants to the official Army. The Opposition also conceded to further the peace negotiation to reach at a definite agreement. Accordingly, on 1 November 2011, they concluded an agreement on the “fundamental tasks of peace process” to complete the integration of the Maoist cadres to the Army. The conditions mentioned in the deal created internal division within the CPN(M) as well. While the agreement was supported by Prachanda, the hardliners of the party did not endorse it. They found the deal as ‘surrender’ or ‘betrayal of their interests’. The agreement decided to finalize the first draft of the Constitution by the end of November. It required the government, by the same date, to establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Commission on Disappearances to settle the Maoist integration and ceasefire processes. In a significant move, the Maoists agreed to accept the Nepali Congress leader, Sushil Koirala as the next Prime minister, once the new Constitution came into force. The deadline for integration of the Maoist combatants to

the Army was successfully achieved by the government, marking a big step ahead to peace and stability. However, the deadline for finalizing the Constitution was again extended to 27 May 2012. The Supreme Court instructed that the deadline would be the final one after which it would no longer be extended.

The democratization process reached an important phase with the possibilities of a sustainable peace during the government led by Baburam Bhattarai. He restored the diplomatic relationship with the neighbouring countries, particularly India and tried to reach at cross sections of the Nepalese political society. However, the conservative factions of the party more fiercely continued to pursue the goal of federal system based on ethnic identities. They also demanded increasing the number of reintegrated PLA cadres in the Army or debated over the role of the integrated cadres in the Army. There was acute division within the party rank over such demands. The major opposition parties like the Nepali Congress and the CPN (ULM) also did not support the proposal of federal state as conceived by the Maoists. Thus, discord grew from the very beginning between the Maoists and the opposition parties in the new government. The government tried its role further agreeing to extend the deadline of the Constituent Assembly to three months. Though the mutual deliberations proceeded, differences of opinion could not be minimized and the political parties could not reach at consensus. The Maoist hardliners threatened to renew their agitation if their demands were not met. The mounting pressure of the ethnic groups for federalism also widened the gap between the parties. The failure of the Prime Minister and the cabinet in framing the democratic Constitution was leading to growing distrust of the people on political leadership and the parliamentary process.

Amidst this situation, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved on 27 May, 2012 leading to a period of uncertainty. Baburam Bhattarai, as head of the caretaker government, called for a fresh election for the new Constituent Assembly in November 2012. Nepalese politics was surged with mass protests, strikes and demonstrations against the impasse over government formation and new Constitution. The United Nations expressed its concern over the steady deterioration of the democratic ambience in Nepal due to the stalemate in political governance. Unable to achieve consensus over election, Baburam Bhattarai resigned in March 2013 and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, K. Regmi became the head of the caretaker government. He declared 19 November, 2013 as the new date for election with the support of four major political parties. A section of the Maoists, however, opposed the decision and demanded his resignation. They also campaigned for a poll boycott. Pre-poll violence erupted in different parts of the country and resulted into the state engaging the military in suppressing political opposition.

Electoral campaign was marked with aggressive poll strategies of the political parties. The Nepalese state employed national and international observers to monitor the poll processes.

No single party could win the election with clear majority. The Nepali Congress emerged as the leading party with 196 seats followed by the CPN(UML) winning 175 seats. The CPN(M) stood third with 80 seats. In February 2014, Sushil Koirala, the leader of the Nepali Congress, was elected as the Prime Minister after securing parliamentary support.

2.7 Conclusion

The urge for democratic regime in Nepal as against the royal authority gained momentum since 1990. Nepal passed through two decades of extreme political uncertainties in establishing popular sovereignty over governance. The first phase of this transition was fought between the pro-monarchists and the anti-monarchists that ended with the abolition of constitutional monarchy and establishment of the republican state in 2007. The second phase of this transition is marked by the tussle between the established political parties over the nature of the government and consolidation of democratic mechanism in political system. The role of the legislators and the political executive emerges crucial in framing the new Constitution to legitimize the transition to democracy. Multi-party democracy in Nepal needs proper institutional mechanisms to ensure people's participation in the political processes. One of the crucial issues in the path to democratization is the integration of the extremist forces, particularly the Maoists in the mainstream politics based on democratic pluralism. Prachanda explained the strategic principle of the Maoist movement in Nepal in embracing the movement for democracy in the context of transition from monarchical regime as follows: "...within the anti-feudal and anti-capitalist constitutional framework, only through multiparty competition...can counter revolution be prevented." [Ref. Verma, A S and Gautam Navlakha, (2007) People's War in Nepal: Genesis and Development, EPW, May 19, pp. 1839-42]. Success of democracy in Nepal also depends on far-reaching economic reforms to restructure the traditional agrarian Nepalese economy marked by high inflation or low investment and productivity. Economic growth suffered due to long-term political instability in Nepal. The role of the Nepal Army is also very significant in the peace-making process, as it has transformed itself from a royal force to serve the purposes of democratic regime. The Supreme Court in Nepal has also played a pivotal role in the protracted political negotiations and conciliation efforts or upholding the rights of citizen in the turbulent days. The democratic transition in Nepal has witnessed the role of the

international community, especially the UN and India, in the conciliation process. Diplomatic relations with the neighbouring and western donor countries emerges as important areas of policy-principle for the new regime to sustain the newly established democratic ambience with the help of global cooperation. It can be concluded that the Nepal's tryst with multi-party democracy is still in an experimental stage that requires consolidation of peace and a democratic Constitution.

2.8 Questions

Essay answer type:

1. Describe the post-war events that led to the end of monarchy in Nepal in 2007.
2. Describe the dominant phases of constitutional reforms in Nepal since 2007.
3. Discuss briefly the role of the Maoists in overthrowing the constitutional monarchy in Nepal since 1990s.

Short answer type:

1. Write a short note on the main area of tussle between the Maoists and the parliamentary parties in the interim governments.
2. Write a short note on the Constituent Assembly election 2008 with its significance.

2.9 Select Readings

1. Thapa, Ganga Bahadur (2007) 'Is There a Transition to Democracy in Nepal?' *Indian Journal of Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 13, pp.1-32
2. Thapa, Ganga B. and Jan Sharma, (2009) 'From Insurgency to Democracy: The Challenges of Peace and Democracy-building in Nepal', *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 30 No.2, pp. 205-219

Unit - 3 □ Challenges to Authoritarianism in Egypt

Structure

3.0 Objective

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Historical background

3.2.1 Mubarak regime

3.3 Phases of Democratic Transition

3.3.1 The interim arrangements

3.3.2 The journey to elected government

3.3.3 Crisis in democratic transition

3.4 Critical factors in the way to democratic transition

3.5 Conclusion

3.6 Questions

3.7 Suggested Readings

3.0 Objectives

The present study will help us to know :

- (1) A brief history of Egypt.
- (2) The different Phases of Democratic transition.
- (3) Crisis faced by Egypt in the democratic transition.

3.1 Introduction

On February 11, 2011 the Egyptian military in a coup d' etat captured power from the then President Hosni Mubarak. The coup was prompted by the eighteen days long mass movement demanding the ouster of Mubarak from power and establishment of democracy in Egypt. Thousands of Egyptians hailing from all sections of society joined in demonstrations at Tahrir Square in a call to end autocratic rule of Hosni Mubarak.

Decade old authoritarian regime collapsed in a sudden move by the military and the victorious Egyptians celebrated the democratic transition. The movement sparked off the waves of democratic revolutions in the North African and Arab countries, popularly known as the Arab Spring. The political transformation did not witness a gradual shift in Egypt but followed the violent outburst of popular protest and intervention of the Egyptian Army. The Arab Spring has created new institutions and means for political participation. One of the significant dimensions of political transition in Egypt was the catalyst role of social media in fuelling the political protest and organizing mass mobilization. The Egyptians, despite differences of opinions over the nature of post-Mubarak politics, hoped for a newly elected democratic regime that would be accountable to the people and uphold human rights and civil liberties. After the forced resignation of Mubarak, the discord, however, gradually intensified on the future course of action on issues of election or Constitution making. Democratic transition in Egypt, therefore, faces critical challenges in the post-transformation period.

3.2 Historical background

Egypt was colonized by the British power in 1882. The monarchical rulers unilaterally declared independence of Egypt from Great Britain in 1922. The British influence however continued in Egypt till the surrender of the Suez Canal in 1956. Nasser became the President in 1952 after a military coup that overthrew the monarchical regime. He was the head of the state till his death in 1970. Nasser upheld anti-imperialist policies and the ideal of Arab nationalism. After his death, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) formed government and strengthened the pan-Arab agenda and economic principles following Nasser's tradition. Anwar Sadat, the leader of the ASU, called for democratic reforms and economic liberalization in Egypt. In 1971 a Constitution was adopted in Egypt, which granted full executive power to the President. The President was to be nominated by the People's Assembly and elected for a six-year term by a national referendum. The ASU was divided in three broad factions after 1975 and was disbanded in 1977. The rightist section of the ASU formed the Liberal Socialist Party in 1977. It supported economic reforms to accommodate private sector and opted for a multiparty democracy. The centrist faction of the ASU formed the National Democratic Party (NDP) in 1977 and formed government under the leadership of Hosni Mubarak in 1981 after the assassination of Anwar Sadat by the Islamic militants. The NDP also supported multiparty democracy. But, it favoured strong state and centralized political authority over time. Its major support base was the business and the professional classes. The leftist faction of the ASU formed the National Progressive Unionist Party with the

support of the working class, peasantry and former Communist and Left leaders. It strongly advocated for nationalization and democratic reforms. The Socialist Labour Party, formed in 1977, called for multiparty system and economic development with a strong welfarist principle. The party allied with the Muslim Brotherhood after 1987 and emerged as the strongest contender of the NDP led by Mubarak.

Islamic groups in Egypt formed their own parties in post-First World War period and threw strong challenge to the secular governments led by Sadat or Mubarak. Pro-Islamic parties were declared illegal under Sadat's regime. They mobilized people broadly on basis of the demand for an Islamic state in Egypt, establishment of sharia law and Islamic morality in society. The powerful Islamist opposition parties were the Muslim Brotherhood founded by Hasan al-Banna and Islamic Jihad. Many of these organizations adopted militant path and confronted with the Mubarak government, giving frequent calls to boycott elections. The conservative Islamist groups were critical of Mubarak's foreign relations, especially his government's relation with the US and Israel governments.

3.2.1 Mubarak regime

Hosni Mubarak acted as the Vice-President in Anwar Sadat's government. After Sadat's assassination in October 1981, he became the head of the state. He could continue as the President uninterruptedly for 29 years and establish his near-authoritarian rule in Egypt. The Opposition complained of severe repression of their activists and rigging led by the Mubarak government to ensure success of the NDP in parliamentary and Presidential elections. There was no opposition contesting against his Presidential candidature and the NDP could win overwhelmingly in the People's Assembly. Muslim Brotherhood, which was not officially allowed, supported the New Wafd Party or the Liberal Socialist Party but the opposition candidates failed to secure success. In 2005, under the pressure of the Egyptians and international community multi-party election was fought in the Presidential election. But, the opposition candidate was defeated and sentenced to imprisonment soon after the election on false charges. Mubarak also retained the Emergency law that gave the government powers of arbitrary arrest, indefinite detention, press censorship or curtailment of freedom of association and expression. Mubarak suppressed dissident voices within his party and against his government and centralized authority in his hands with the help of these laws. His government put severe restrictions on Islamic militants. Economic situation in Egypt was unstable under his regime with rising debt and foreign economic aid or declining oil prices. Egypt adopted the IMF and World Bank-directed Structural Adjustment Programme in 1991

that led to liberalization of economy. Worsened economic situation caused widespread discontent that was capitalized by the Islamic militants to fuel protests against Mubarak government. They resorted to violence against political leaders, security personnel and often against the civilians. Mubarak continued with the ban on Islamic parties in participating political and electoral activities. Egyptian 'Law on Political Parties', enacted under the Nasser regime, restricted legal status to political parties based on religious interests. This law prevented the Islamist groups, especially the Muslim Brotherhood to legalized political activities in Egypt.

From the beginning, Mubarak preferred to follow moderate foreign policies. He renewed Egypt's relations with the western powers during his rule, especially the USA. During the Gulf War, Egypt developed close ties with the USA, which was severely criticized by the Islamic groups. Egypt's relationship with Israel in post war years followed the developments of Camp David Accords signed in 1978. As a result of the treaty, Egypt was banned from the Arab League till 1989. Since 1980 Mubarak was engaged in normalizing relationship with Israel despite domestic resentment and the conflict over Sinai Peninsula. Egypt's relations with Arab countries, however, improved during his regime and in 1989, Egypt resumed her membership of the Arab League.

3.3 Phases of democratic transition

In the first decade of the 21st century, Egypt was witnessing series of anti-government movements against corruption, repressive measures and high rates of poverty, unemployment, economic disparities during Mubarak regime. In February 2010, Mohamed.

El Baradei, former director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, launched a pro-democracy movement in Egypt by establishing the National Association for Change with several other civil rights activists to fight against authoritarian forces. Mubarak and his party, the NDP won with 83 per cent vote in the 2010 election. But, the allegations of rigged election and repression of opposition workers sparked off severe protests in Egypt and drew the criticism of the international community.

Amidst this situation, the Jasmine Revolution broke out in neighbouring Tunisia in December 2010 the demanding, ouster of President Ben Ali from power. The forced resignation of the Tunisian President in the face of popular uprising fuelled the urge for democracy in Egypt and neighbouring countries. Thousands of civilians, prompted by networking through social media, joined anti-government protest at Tahrir Square in

the capital of Cairo and other cities followed by unprecedented clashes with the police in January 25, 2011. The Opposition parties rallied with the civilians against the pro-Mubarak supporters, demanding the President's resignation. Muslim Brotherhood played a crucial role in the popular protest with its strong support base among the Egyptians. Mubarak refused to step down and announced some interim measures. He was keen to deploy military to suppress the movement but the Army decided not to intervene. Military as an institution supported the popular protest as 'legitimate demand'. On February 11, 2011 Supreme Council of the Armed Forces [SCAF] captured power announcing the resignation of Hosni Mubarak by a communiqué. On February 13, SCAF dissolved the Parliament and suspended the Constitution. The military declared to establish democracy within a defined time frame and at the end of the transition process to transfer power to a democratic community by conducting free and fair election. The SCAF also promised to repeal the Emergency law. It decided to act as caretaker authority till the general election was held, possibly within six months. It also retained Mubarak's cabinet as a transitional body.

3.3.1 The interim arrangements

Even after the military take over of the government and forced resignation of Mubarak from power, violence continued in different parts of Egypt with the pro-Mubarak and anti-Mubarak groups clashing with each other. After the capture of power the military tried to restore normalcy by controlling the protestors in the Tahrir Square. It played active political role in forming a governing council and a Constitutional Amendment Committee that had no civilian or elected representation. After 2011, Supreme Council of the Armed Forces issued over 150 communiqués to set policy and shape the political transition. On March 3, the Prime Minister resigned and the military appointed a new Prime Minister on basis of recommendations of the opposition leaders. The SCAF had set the time frame of ten days to suggest amendments to the Constitution to facilitate democratic election. The Committee suggested some important changes. The major recommendations were - limiting the Presidential term to a maximum of two of four years and allowing competitive election, requirement of referendum to continue with the Emergency law for more than six months or strengthening of the power of the Supreme Constitutional Court in validating parliamentary elections. It retained the provisions of banning political parties based on religious orientations (Article 5) or sharia law as the principal basis of state legislation. The amendments provided a scope to set schedule for elections towards framing a new Constitution. The amendments were ratified in a referendum held on March 20, 2011.

However, on March 30, the SCAF made a constitutional declaration that replaced the previous Constitution of 1971 with an interim Constitution with sixty-three provisions. Many of these provisions were not included in the popular referendum and were framed by the military on its own. The crucial part of the constitutional declaration was the recognition of the status of the SCAF as a constitutional actor and authority to enact legislation, represent the state, elect or dismiss the ministers until the new parliamentary and presidential elections. In spite of attempts to establish democratic reforms, the unilateral role of the military-led interim government and repressions of the protestors by the police paved the way for continued demonstrations and violence in Egypt. The absence of civilian representation in the military council-led government also evoked distrust about the intentions of the SCAF. Throughout April and May, the military forcefully suppressed demonstrations in different parts of Egypt and made indiscriminate arrests and detentions to control popular protests. The interim cabinet even banned demonstrations, strikes in late March. On April 16, 2011 a court ruling dissolved the former ruling National Democratic Party of Mubarak. The human rights activists alleged that the military was reverting to same repressive tactics of Mubarak regime and trying to consolidate its power in the political transition to democracy. The protestors were demanding confiscation of Mubarak and his family's property and investigation of the allegations of financial corruption during his regime. In the face of mounting pressure, Mubarak and his sons were arrested and put to trial in May.

One important aspect of the new amended Constitution was relaxation of the criterion of "religious frame of reference" in forming political party. The new constitutional declaration amended Article 5 of the previous Constitution that had banned formation of political parties on "religious basis". Followed to this amendment the Muslim Brotherhood established its national political party, known as the Freedom and Justice Party (The FJP) in June. The following months witnessed massive demonstrations in Tahrir Square called by the Islamist leaders against military rule and demanding Islamic state in Egypt. In mobilizing the popular protest and directing the course of democratic transition, Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic groups played a very important role along with other political parties. The amended Constitution also declared that half of the members of the People's Assembly (the lower house of the parliament) and Shura Council (the upper house of the parliament) should comprise "workers and peasants". This provision was part of the 1971 Constitution that reflected some socialistic principles.

3.3.2 The journey to elected government

The first parliamentary election, in post-Mubarak period, to the People's Assembly, the lower house of the parliament, began on November 28, 2011 and continued till first

week of January 2012. The SCAF welcomed international observers and monitoring of the civil society organizations in the electoral processes. The election saw an average of 59 percent turnout in the voting. For the first time, about forty parties, some of which newly established after fall of Mubarak, contested in the election. The pro-Islamic parties performed significantly well in the election. The Freedom and Justice Party led by the Muslim Brotherhood won about 47 percent of the seats in the Assembly and the conservative Islamist Al-Nour Party won about 25 percent. Together these two parties captured 498 seats of the lower house. The liberal and secular parties, playing important role on Egyptian revolution of 2011, failed to perform expectedly. Newly established parties also struggled hard to organize political campaign in their favour. The Shura Council (the upper house of the parliament) election was held between January 29 and February 22, 2012. The Freedom and Justice Party won in 105 seats of a total of 180 seats. The Islamist Bloc stood second with 45 seats. For both the chambers of the Parliament, the military council retained the power to nominate a section of the legislators.

Egypt's first democratically elected parliament was convened on January 23, 2012. Saad Al-Katatni of the Freedom and Justice Party was elected as the new speaker of the Assembly. The first session of the Shura Council was held on February 22, 2012. The SCAF transferred legislative power to the elected People's Assembly, while retaining the executive power in its hands. The Parliament would elect the 100-member Constituent Assembly to frame a new Constitution. As the Islamist forces occupied the majority of the seats in both the chambers, it was quite obvious that they dominated the constitution of the Constituent Assembly. It was decided that the Presidential election would be held on May 2012 completing the transition to elected government. Both the SCAF and the Muslim Brotherhood favoured greater power to the President. Thousands of Egyptians celebrated the victory to an elected power while the new Parliament was holding its sessions. However, there was growing divisions among the members of Parliament over the selection of Constituent Assembly members. The parties also debated over the nominations of the Presidential candidates and it widened the division among the political groups.

In May 2012 the first round of election to the Presidency was held. The Muslim Brotherhood candidate and the leader of the FJP, Mohammad Morsi secured the lead among the thirteen candidates contesting the election followed by Ahmed Shafik, an independent candidate and Mubarak's last Prime Minister. Egyptian politics was resurged with political crisis in June by the attempts of the SCAF to limit the Islamist forces from exercising constitution-making power. Before the second round of the Presidential election in June, the Supreme Constitutional Court, in an abrupt decision, invalidated

the results of the legislative election showing the reason that one-third of the parliament was elected unconstitutionally. The decision forced the dissolution of the Assembly creating widespread public protest. Just before the Presidential election, on June 17 the SCAF issued an interim constitutional decree granting itself powers over the new government's legislation, finance and military affairs. The political parties and observers found this declaration as a "soft coup" by the military council to retain hegemony over the political transition process. In June 24, 2012, the FJP candidate Mohammad Morsi was elected as the new President of Egypt after winning the second round of election. Mohammad Morsi revoked the constitutional decree of the SCAF after taking charge of the government. He propagated an Islamist democracy in Egypt.

3.3.3 Crisis in democratic transition

The framing of the Constitution created strong division in the Parliament as the Islamists and the other opposition parties confronted each other. The Islamists dominated the selection process by choosing half of the members from the elected representatives and others from civil and social groups. The opposition, forming a loose coalition, tried to resist the hegemony of the Islamists in the 100-member Constituent Assembly by occasional boycott of the sessions. They even questioned the legal validity of the Constituent Assembly. On November 22, 2012 President Morsi issued an edict to limit any legal challenge to the legitimacy of the Assembly. He exempted himself from judicial oversight and withdrew the Supreme Court's power to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. The edict was resented greatly by the civil rights activists as an attempt to establish dictatorial control of the President over formal institution of power. On November 30, the Constituent Assembly finalized a draft constitution despite the boycott of the liberals and secular parties. Morsi decided to put the draft constitution to referendum on December 15. However, there were massive demonstrations against the President's decree and Egypt witnessed resurgence of violent movements demanding the ouster of Mohammad Morsi from power. The political crisis over Constitution framing dealt a severe blow to the popular aspirations for stability and peace to fulfill a democratic transition in post-Mubarak regime. In the face of mounting protests Morsi reframed part of his decree but retained the article that prevented the court from dissolving the Constituent Assembly. The draft constitution was passed in a hastily organized election where only 33 per cent of the Egyptians took part. Most of the opposition boycotted the poll. The draft constitution was enacted in December. However, the President declared martial law on December 9, authorizing the military to suppress the violent protest. Despite popular revolt, Morsi could continue as President till early 2013.

Political instability conjoined with deteriorating economic situation in Egypt aggravated popular unrest against Morsi's regime. Liberals, secularist parties, religious minorities and civil society organizations together mobilized public protests. The Islamists, led by Muslim Brotherhood and the anti-Morsi groups were engaged in violent clashes with each other leading to police crackdown on protestors, arrests, detentions or death. The popular revolt against the government culminated on 30 June 2013 against the President's authoritarian steps and growing Islamist influences in governance. The military, supporting the protestor's cause, resorted back to its post-revolution prerogative by warning the President to consider the people's demands to build up a road map for Egypt's democratic transition. It instructed the government to resolve differences with the opposition within forty-eight hours. A defiant President, in a speech to the nation on 2nd July declared his intention to continue in office. The decision provoked heightened political opposition and the country witnessed another military coup by the Egyptian Armed Force in the next day. On 3rd July, the Chief General of the Egyptian Armed Force, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi captured power removing Morsi from power. The Constitution was suspended and the Supreme Constitutional Court was asked to review the electoral law to hold a new parliamentary election. The coalition led by Sisi appointed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Constitutional Court, Adly Mansour, as the interim President of Egypt. The interim government appointed Hazem Al Beblawi as the new Prime Minister on 9th July. The interim government decided to complete the transition process by enacting the draft constitution suggesting amendments to the suspended constitution of 2012. A committee of fifty members was formed in September 2013.

Followed to this coup, the Armed Force detained Morsi and several Muslim Brotherhood leaders in house arrest. The coup prompted violent protests by the Muslim Brotherhood supporters throughout Egypt and clashes with the police and anti-Morsi forces. They described their movement as "Friday of Rejection" and demanded the reinstatement of Morsi in power. The anti-coup movement witnessed its heightened form in the Sinai Peninsula where Brotherhood workers built strong resistance against the police and the Army. The FJP urged the international community to intervene in the political crisis. The interim government suspended all provincial governors representing the Muslim Brotherhood and declared the organization as banned in September. In the context of mounting violence, the interim President declared the state of Emergency in Egypt in August. The constitutional guarantees to individual freedom were suspended by the declaration and process of democratization in Egypt plunged into further uncertainty.

The interim government prepared the draft constitution and conducted a constitutional

referendum in Egypt in January 2014 to approve the new constitution. The amended Constitution was passed with 98 per cent of vote. The referendum was boycotted by the anti-coup alliance led by the Muslim Brotherhood. The Presidential election was held in May 2014 and Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, as an independent candidate, was elected as the new President. The election was monitored by international organizations like the European Union, the African Union.

3.4 Critical factors in the way to democratic transition

The military takeover of the elected government of Mohammad Morsi showed the failures of the democratic experiments in Egypt in post-2011 revolution period. Egyptians, setting aside differences based on class, religion or ethnic identities, joined the mass uprising spontaneously in overthrowing the near-authoritarian regime of Hosni Mubarak. The revolution was prompted by long-standing popular discontent against hegemonic influence of the NDA, the ruling party, in the political system of Egypt. The fall of the Mubarak regime created strong aspirations of the common people for a democratically elected government in Egypt. However, democratization process could not be Consolidated in post-Mubarak Egypt due to a number of factors. Francis Fukuyama observed that the Arab Spring was a product of “political mobilization of important social groups” [Ref. Diamond Larry, Francis Fukuyama & others, (2014) ‘Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm’, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 25 No.1, January pp. 92] from below and was not “elite-driven” like the third wave democratization in Latin America and Eastern Europe. But, soon after the uprising, the reins of Egyptian politics were gradually captured by the elitist forces like the military, leading to uncertainties in the processes of democratic transition.

Division among political parties

One of the crucial factors behind the crisis in the path of political transition was the sharp ideological division between the Islamists and secularists and also the liberals in post-2011 revolution period. In spite of the interim government’s attempts to legitimize a transition to the multi-party electoral democracy, electoral competition itself had created severe antagonism between parties in the Egyptian political system. The Islamists, secularists or liberals were sharply divided over the nature of government in post-revolution period and more specifically, over the candidature in Presidential elections. Fragmentation of political parties gradually destroyed the solidarity of Egyptian people against authoritarian forces and failed to develop consensus in forming

governments or framing constitution. About forty new political parties were formed after the Egyptian revolution of 2011, opening up the scope of broadened political participation. But, most of these new parties were suffering from structural weaknesses, lack of ideological and popular bases and reflected elitist features. The popular aspiration for a stable political order emerged as one of the reasons behind the victory of the established organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood in parliamentary election, which had a strong support base in Egypt for a long period of time. The newly elected President of Egypt, Sisi is not a member of any political party and is supported by a large section of Egyptian political forces. He also enjoys both executive and legislative powers and promises to reform electoral law in favor of democratic transformation. Egypt also requires a changing political culture, in particular the relationship between state and the political parties in consolidating democratic governance.

Role of the Military

Military has historically played a critical role in the political processes in Egypt. The Supreme Council of Armed Forces that removed Mubarak from power acted as a pro-people institution by recognizing the popular demands as 'legitimate' one. Scholars have identified this transfer of power as 'democratic coup d'état' [Ref. Varol, Ozan O. (2012) "The Democratic d'état", *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol. 53], which defied the conventional character of military coups. But, it soon reflected its conservative character by unleashing coercive measures against the protesting demonstrators, civil and political activists with the help of undemocratic laws. It also played a dominant role in shaping post-revolution political institutions and reform during this period. In June 2012, the military removed the first civilian President of Egypt, Mohammad Morsi from power in another coup and captured the control of governance. The SCAF commanded greater control over economic resources like oil and gas in Egypt and thereby, influenced the economic policies of the governments in its favour.

Marginalization of women and minorities

Representation of women in political processes was historically limited in Egypt, though the franchise right was granted to them in 1956. They had very limited participation in the political institutions. Minorities and women took an important part in the popular uprising in 2011. But, in the post-revolutionary period, their role was increasingly marginalized in the transition process. The electoral law reform of the interim government discarded the women's quota system in parliamentary representations that was enacted

during the Mubarak regime. The parliamentary election of 2011 saw the election of only nine women in the Assembly due to this reform. There were no women in the committee to draft the constitutional amendments; only one woman served in the caretaker cabinet. Article 10 of the 2012 Constitution reflected the state's intention to preserve and uphold the 'genuine character of the Egyptian family' and its 'moral values'. The Article could be regarded as a step to limit the participation of women in public life. The Islamist forces in the government propagated conservative stand about the political candidature, marriage and family related issues of women in Egypt. Ethnic and religious minorities also continued to suffer discrimination and violence in post-revolution period. The Coptic Christians, the Bahai community, the Ahmadiya Muslims as minorities faced repression from the Islamist parties. The post-Mubarak governments consolidated the Islamic or salafists in society that also threatened the role of the minorities in political and social life.

Role of the civil society

The Egyptian popular uprising of 2011 created new opportunities for political participation, changing the character of formal political institutions and forming new forms of participation. The legislatures or party systems became more inclusive in nature by the participation of the cross-sections of the society. Citizen's engagement to politics broadened substantially to change the authoritarian and elitist nature of politics. New political actors like civil society organizations or trade unions were formed, complementing the political parties, which played crucial role in mobilizing popular protests against the authoritarian regimes. One of the well-known groups was the Egyptian Movement for Change, popularly known as the Keyafa Movement, which was founded in 2004. It evolved a new form of opposition movement comprising cross-sections of peoples. However, in post-revolution period, many such organizations continued to face coercive measures from the state, particularly the military and the conservative Islamist forces. The post-Mubarak governments also failed to show their good will to reform the existing restrictions on activities of these groups. Thus, the Emergency Law that was passed in 1967 to control and monitor the activities of the civil society organizations, media or citizens was withdrawn only in 2012 Constitution. The Law had been used by the state to take repressive measures against the anti-government forces on several occasions. The restrictive NGO Law also continued in post-Mubarak regime to monitor their programmes and funding of these organizations. One of the great challenges of building democracy in Egypt was to channelize the informal political and social participation into formal institutions. Though the ideas of

popular sovereignty and grass root democracy were upheld through informal participation, there was a need to institutionalize the participation by articulating coherent political agenda and leadership to strengthen democratic culture.

Role of religious politics

One of the crucial phenomena of the Egyptian revolution was the consolidation of political Islam. The Islamist forces like the Muslim Brotherhood or the Salafists played a very important role in the anti-Mubarak uprising of 2011 and subsequent political transformation of Egypt. Since the fall of Mubarak regime, the Muslim Brotherhood had taken a dominant role in negotiating with the SCAF about the nature of government and democracy. The Islamist forces, forming political parties, had been successful in winning over the majority electorate in the first parliamentary election after the revolution. Though the Islamist groups supported the anti-authoritarian movements, tension arose in the aftermath of revolution over issues like stance towards an Islamic state or sharia law, role of women and religious minorities or Egypt's position regionally and internationally. The idea of political Islam often challenged the transition from authoritarian to pluralist democratic regime. The division between the Islamist and secularist parties also got widened. The banning of the Muslim Brotherhood by the Sisi government reflected the tension between religious politics and democratic transformation in Egypt.

Role of media

The *Arab Spring* manifested the rise of a new public sphere in the region, vibrant with the growth of hitherto unseen media activism. The changing nature of politics prompted by a new media environment culminated into the new forms of participation in the anti-authoritarian movements since late-2010. The popular protests in Egypt were provoked by a Facebook call that mobilized thousands of anti-Mubarak demonstrators, especially the youth, in Tahrir Square on January 25, 2011. Al-Jazeera and other Arab Satellite televisions and new social media like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube or numerous blogs played a strategic role in organizing and publicizing the popular uprising in Egypt and influencing subsequent movements towards democratization. The crucial role of mass media, especially the Internet-based new media, produced new modes of collective action along side the traditional role of the political parties. Social media networking created horizontal communication in the society, breaking the established

hierarchical regime of Egyptian state or social order and challenging the status quo. However, the mass media, despite its contribution in shaping the political agenda, failed to bring about far-reaching reforms in the path of democratic transition in Egypt. The censorship, surveillance and repression were strongly applied against the media to curb the anti-government propaganda. Besides, the post-revolutionary political authority was increasingly using the press, satellite television and new media to control the public opinion by establishing their own media organizations. Media technology also created crucial traits of digital divide fracturing the much-required unity of the Egyptian population to fight against authoritarian tendencies.

3.5 Conclusion

The movements for democratic transition in Egypt after the overthrowing of the authoritarian regime of Mubarak passed through critical phases of political turbulence. The adoption of a new Constitution and election of the new President brought in new hopes of the Egyptians for stability and peace in Egypt after three years of political turmoil. Transition to a democratic regime in post-Mubarak Egypt suffered greatly due to lack of political consensus and a legitimate constitutional order. The new Constitution of 2014 has also raised certain uneasy questions about the intention of political authority to limit the possibilities of centralized power. The military and the judiciary have been provided with more power and made less accountable to the civilians. It retains crucial role of these institutions in shaping the political system and thereby emerging as extra-constitutional power. The “war on terror” led by the military, especially against the Muslim Brotherhood also poses problems for a lasting peace. The democratic transformation also depends on political and religious tolerance and establishing viable institutions of authority in post-revolution Egypt. It can be noted that democratic experiments still faces serious challenges from the remnant of authoritarian forces in Egyptian society.

3.6 Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Describe the political developments that led to popular uprising in Egypt in January, 2011.

2. Analyze the critical factors that pose problems in the path to democratic transition in Egypt.
3. Describe the political experiments that culminated in the establishment of the first elected civilian government in post-revolution Egypt.
4. What challenges did experiments with democratic transition face in Egypt since 2012?

Short answer type:

1. Write a short note on the political role of military in post-revolution Egypt.
2. Write a short note on the role of social media in the Egyptian revolution.

3.7 Selected Readings

1. Martini, Jeff and J. Taylor (2011) ‘‘Commanding Democracy in Egypt: The Military’s Attempt to Manage the Future’’, *Foreign Affairs*, September-October
2. Brown, Nathan J. (2013) ‘‘Egypt’s Failed Transition’’, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24 No. 4, October
3. Brown, Nathan J. (2014) ‘‘Grading Egypt’s Roadmap Toward Democracy’’, *Foreign Policy*, May 5, [foreign policy. com/2014/./grading-egypts-roadmap-toward-democracy](http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/./grading-egypts-roadmap-toward-democracy), Accessed 20 November 2014

Unit - 4 □ Democratic transition in Latin America

Structure :

4.0 Objective

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Colonial background

4.3 Period of independence

4.4 Rise of modern Latin America

4.5 Waves of democratization

4.5.1 Second wave of democratization

4.5.2 Third wave of democratization

4.6 The legacy of Socialism

4.7 Challenges to democratization in 21st century

4.8 Conclusion

4.9 Questions

4.10 Suggested Readings

4.0 Objective

The study will help up to understand :

- (1) The journey from a colonial background to the rise of modern Latin America.
- (2) The process of democratization in Latin America.
- (3) Challenges to democratization in 21st Century.

4.1 Introduction

The process of democratic transition in Latin America is integrally rooted in the legacy of colonial rule and the independence movements in the continent since 15th century. Latin America represents a heterogeneous society with ethnic and linguistic diversities and diverse political and economic regimes. The society represents strong traits of

western culture produced from the long history of European domination integrated with the indigenous Hispanic socio-cultural tradition. It displays contrasting features of political regimes - from military dictatorship to electoral democracies or variants of socialist systems. In post-independence period, Latin America witnessed intense struggle against authoritarianism, external domination, and revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movements. Economic dependence of the continent and prolonged political destabilization has put great obstacles to the process of democratization in modern Latin America in the post war period. The history of democratic transition in Latin America is largely associated with the changing contexts of economic developments since the colonial period.

4.2 Colonial background

The European colonial domination of southern America began with the conquest of the Spanish and Portuguese rulers in the last decade of the 15th century. It followed the 'discovery' of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 that paved the way for colonial rule by the European powers in the land of southern America. The ancient American civilizations of Inca or Aztec were soon replaced by the political and economic domination of the Spanish or Portuguese monarchical regimes or the British and French colonial rulers. The religious hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church also supplemented the European supremacy over the continent. The colonial domination of the Latin America was built upon the massive exploitation of the indigenous population, resulting in demographic destruction, economic plunder, destruction of traditional social networks and introduction of slavery.

4.3 Period of independence

The beginning of 19th century marked the resistance to colonial powers and the rise of an urge for independence in Latin America. South American people embarked on the struggle for independence under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, known as "The Liberator", Miguel Hidalgo or Jose Maria Morelos in the first half of the 19th century. Bolivar propounded the ideal of Latin American solidarity and opposed the politics of hegemonism. The independence movements demanded self-determination and the ideal of nationalism gradually took its birth in South American countries. The seed of the emergence of modern Latin American nation-states was sown in the independence movements of the 19th century in different parts of the continent. The struggle for

political power, however, reflected ambiguous aspirations and led to the consolidation of elite power in Latin American societies.

In Spanish America, the rising mestizo (mixed-blood people of Spanish and American Indian origin) community displaced the colonial landowning classes and in most cases, established a centralized government with the help of the military power. Thus, the first few decades of independence witnessed rise of powerful ruling elites, backed by military or civilian governments, who sought to strengthen the role of the state in Mexico and Central American countries. The American Indians failed to raise their voices and achieve entitlements in the post-independent republican regimes. The new oligarchic regimes were marked by their economic dependence on the western world and suffered greatly due to the uncertainties of the international competitive market. The Portuguese dominated part of South America, like Brazil, also inherited monarchical regimes after independence that consolidated centralizing forces in society. The post-independence period also witnessed regional conflicts within major areas of Spanish and Portuguese America over political-geographical consolidation of the new regimes.

The new nations inherited a declining export-oriented economy based on agriculture and mining. The governments in Argentina, Mexico, Chile or Peru looked for foreign capital to build up their economies. Latin American rulers did not abolish slave economy even after independence. Slave trade continued on a large scale in Brazil and Cuba where foreign capital investment was significant. During this period, trade relations between the former colonies and the outer world also suffered due to massive foreign debt and Latin American countries increased their commercial ties with the North American continent. The post-independence period marked gradual integration of the continent in the world economy with a subordinate or peripheral position. The fragmentation of society and dependent nature of economic development of Latin America had crucial impact on the political changes since 19th century. The proponents of the Dependency School later argued that perennial economic dependency of the Latin America was a major factor behind the rise of political authoritarianism in the continent. The indigenous population continued to suffer from poverty, social discrimination and lack of political sovereignty. The landowning elites (the white creole families) retained their control over societies and authoritarian regimes backed by strong dictators and military establishments soon spoiled the fruits of independence movements. Simon Bolivar, a great political visionary, in his famous 'Letter from Jamaica' (1815), expressed his apprehensions about the prospect of democracy in the transitional societies of Latin America even after independence.

In the last decades of 19th century, major Latin American countries developed an export-import centred economy that attracted foreign investments from the industrialized nations. The commercial economy brought in profound changes in the social structure with the rise of new social classes like professionals or entrepreneurs. The middle social strata, mostly centred in the urban areas, sought their place in the political system and paved the way for renewed elite control over political and social spheres. The export-import oriented economy also encouraged large-scale immigration from Europe changing the character of labour force in many of the Latin American countries like Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Chile. It also witnessed the growth of working class organizations and activism. The elite domination over political system gave birth to two basic forms of regimes in Latin America. In one form, these elite classes formed 'oligarchic democracies' as was the case in Argentina or Chile. In another form, dictatorial or military rulers captured power with the help of landed elites like in Peru, Mexico or Venezuela. In both cases, political stability through centralization of power became the primary goal of the new regimes. Thus, Latin America inherited internationalization of economy and a divided social-political order from the period of decolonization.

4.4 Rise of modern Latin America

The first decades of 20th century saw consolidation of the dependent economy of Latin America and the increasing role of the region in the international system. Some of the countries benefitted from the export-centred economy and their contacts with the US and Europe and became prosperous. Argentina, Chile, Mexico started earning huge foreign exchange and gradually moved to modest industrialization. The large-scale immigration and labour migration from the countryside paved the way for growth of cities, changing the nature of rural-urban divide in these countries. Rapid course of modernization, rise of new social strata and social-political mobilizations had its impact on political reforms in the countries in early 20th century. The newly emerging aristocrats, middle class and professional population established the Radical Party in Argentina, which played a significant role in the politics of Argentina in the 20th century. A number of labour unions were formed. An important electoral reform was passed in Argentina in 1912 opening suffrage to different sections of society. However, suffrage was limited to male citizens only, marginalizing the women from political power. It also excluded a large section of the immigrants who formed the major part of the working force. Chile was swayed by civil wars, militant movements of the workers or military juntas in the first two decades of the 20th century. Autocratic rule robbed the

basic liberties of the Chilean people. In 1936, a popular front was formed with the united leadership of the Radicals, Democrats and the Communists, which captured the political power through election. Due to intense differences among the constituent parties, the popular front failed to bring stability in the Chilean politics. However, unlike Argentina, the Chilean political system evolved with a competitive party system with features of coalition politics and high level of electoral participation.

In November 1889 Brazil was proclaimed a republic after a military takeover of the empire and electoral politics replaced monarchical regime. The new constitution was enacted in 1891, which developed a federation with suffrage limited to literate adult male citizens. In the early 20th century, Brazilian political system was divided between the conservatives, nationalists, leftists, liberal or Christian Democratic forces. In the post-Depression years, Brazil saw the strengthening of workers' movements and the formation of popular front movements against the Presidential regime of Getulio Vargas by the socialists, communists and radicals. In 1937, another military intervention brought back authoritarianism to power destroying the legacy of republican democracy. Brazil could hold a free election to the Constituent Assembly in 1945 that enacted a new Constitution acknowledging decentralization of power and guarantee of individual liberties.

In the post-independence period, despite the liberal commitments, Central America established centralized authorities with elite domination. The political system was described as "republican dictatorships" with greater participation of the landlords and middle class population in the Presidential form of government. Early 20th century governments in Venezuela, Costa Rica and Guatemala adopted welfare programmes and democratic elections. The worldwide depression in the 1930s caused severe socio-economic discontent that swayed Central American countries with mass protests and witnessed formation of newer parties challenging the economic programmes of the conservative rulers.

In post-independence period, Latin America saw the consolidation of caudillismo, which was a highly personalized form of government. In the first half of the 20th century Latin American rulers permitted greater access of the middle class and the businessmen in the political system compared to the peasantry and the working class. Many scholars had identified the newly emerging systems as "co-optative democracy" where the upper and middle strata of the population gained political control limiting the political participation of the lower classes. Party politics in these countries were, thus, mainly limited to a section of elite population and depended on charismatic rulers.

In the post-first world war period, the Great Depression had tremendous destabilizing

impact on Latin American economy as the export-centred industrialization suffered in the situation of a declining global trade. The economic crisis contributed significant changes in the political systems as well. Many countries like Argentina, Cuba, Chile, Peru, Guatemala and Honduras witnessed military takeover of power by sudden coups. Mexico faced a constitutional crisis. The growing popular agitation against the economic sufferings of the continent facilitated the rise of military, replacing the ruling political elites, as a principal force in Latin American politics since 1930s.

The new rulers preferred import substitution industrialization (ISI) programme to meet the economic crisis and that led to the enhanced role of the state in promoting national industrial growth. The ISI model of development helped in generating industrial growth in countries like Argentina, Mexico or Brazil. The increasing spurt in industrialization led to the growth of the industrial bourgeoisie in Latin America and the working class who began to challenge the domination of the traditional landed elites in society. The new socio-economic context contributed to the growth of new political parties as well with greater access to electoral politics. The emergence of industrial elites and strengthening of working class movements led to popular alliances based on multiclass urban-centred coalitions. In Chile, new political parties emerged to accommodate the interests of the emerging social classes. Pro-labour and pro-industrialist parties started to play important roles in electoral politics. A wave of democratization was manifested in several countries in the decades of 1940s and 1950s. The new populist regimes were mostly led by charismatic individual leaders like Juan Peron in Argentina, Lazaro Cardenas in Mexico or Getulio Vargas in Brazil.

4.5 Waves of democratization

Samuel P. Huntington described a group of transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specific period of time as “a wave of democratization” [Ref. Huntington, S. (2009) “How Countries Democratize?”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 124, Issue 1, Spring]. He identified three such global waves of democratization - 1828-1926, 1943-62 and 1974-91. For him, the most important political trend of the later half of the 20th century was the ‘global democratic revolution’ during the period of 1974-1990, which he called as the ‘third wave’ of democratization.

In the first wave of democratization, only a few states like Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Venezuela or Costa Rica witnessed democratic experiments, though quite feeble in nature. Latin America witnessed second wave of democratic transition in the post second world war period that lasted till mid-1960s. Democratic regimes and partial democracies

emerged in many parts of the continent. The third wave of democratization was more significant in the political history of the continent that occurred during 1978-1992 and saw greater consolidation of democratic regimes. The extent of democratization in this period was much broader and longer in scope.

4.5.1 Second wave of democratization

Latin America's economic crisis deepened in the post war period due to inherent problems in the import-substituting growth model and uneven terms of foreign trade. The long-standing peripheral position of the Latin American economy in the global market prompted the debate on underdevelopment led by the Dependency School in the 1960s and 1970s. Since mid-1950s, increasing rate of unemployment and poverty began to pose serious threat to the regime functioning in different parts of the continent. Conservative political forces came to power in Chile that took some strong economic measures to stabilization. During this period, Chile also saw the steady growth of the left parties among the agrarian and working class population, which posed a powerful critique of capitalistic development and the US influence in Chilean government. The failures of the authoritarian regimes to tackle the crisis led to popular mobilizations and shifts in governments. Twelve countries achieved democratic governments by 1962. In 1959, Cuban people, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, rose into rebellion to overthrow the dictatorial regime of Batista and established a socialist regime.

To counter the mounting popular pressure, especially working class mobilizations, the ruling elites began to adopt repressive measures giving rise to a new spate of military coups in countries like Brazil, Chile or Argentina. Increasing popular unrest fuelled by social inequality, poverty, racial discrimination prompted the surge in military coups in post-1962 period. By mid-1970s, elected civilian governments existed only in countries like Venezuela, Costa Rica and Colombia. The military-dominated regimes in Latin America consolidated the oligarchic domination by strengthening the role of military and bureaucracy. They sought to control popular protest and political opposition by banning elections, political participation or trade union activities. Most of these regimes established a command economy with anti-labour policy measures. The erstwhile republican governments thus turned into bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes, characterized by exclusion of working class in political decision-making processes and excessive control of economy. These military regimes developed strong ties with the western industrialized countries, especially the USA and began to rely heavily on external borrowing. By 1980s, Latin America increased its external debt to \$231 billion accentuating the debt crisis to a heightened level. It was the beginning of neo-liberal

reforms in the continent with the introduction of structural adjustment programmes by the International Monetary Fund and opening up domestic economies to foreign capital reducing the role of the state. These economic reforms prompted significant political changes in Latin America since 1980s consolidating the processes of democratization in many countries.

4.5.2 Third wave of democratization

In the changing context of massive internationalization of capital and Latin American debt crisis, political alignments in the continent started changing as the regimes faced serious legitimacy crisis. A number of countries witnessed steady transformations from authoritarian regimes to democracies with civilian governments since late 1970s. Latin America experienced the most significant phase of democratization in its history during the 1980s. Rise of civic participation demanding accountable governments and free and fair elections marked the beginning of the new phase of democratic transition in the continent. The fragility of the authoritarian regimes became manifest in their policy failures and people demanded their political rights to change the situation. The post-1978 period was identified as the third wave of democratization in Latin America that found democratic regimes established in eighteen countries by 1992 compared to three countries in 1977. The post-cold war international order and fall of socialist bloc by the end of 1980s also contributed greatly in the changing contours of Latin American politics. Scholars like Samuel P. Huntington and Mitchell A. Seligson, who supported the modernization theory, had identified high correlation between level of economic development and democracy, particularly in the context of Latin America in the 1980s. Many Latin American countries opted for economic liberalization of their national economies and free market policy reforms paving the way to greater participation of different classes in politics. The decade of 1980 initiated resurgence of political democracy in many parts of the continent. The democratic movements gathered momentum in Chile, Argentina and the Central American regions, resulting in the establishment of elected governments with increased participation of the civilians. In many countries the military, however, continued to play significant roles in decision-making processes. Since 1990s, political transition in Latin America witnessed varied political and economic regimes - from elected authoritarianism to fragile democracies, Parliamentary to Presidential systems and capitalist to socialist states. Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez Linan have classified these regimes into three broad types - democracies, semi-democracies and authoritarian ones on basis of four indicators (Ref. Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez Linan, (2005) "Latin American Democratization

since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns and Erosions”, in Hagopian, F and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press, New York, p. 15). These indicators are - government formed by free and fair election; protection of civil liberties; adult franchise and, absence of military encroachment of elected powers. According to them, all the conditions prevailed in democracies; one or more of the conditions lacked in semi-democracies and none of the conditions prevailed in authoritarian regimes. They argued that the democratic transition was comparatively stronger during the post-1978 period as few of the countries witnessed the breakdown of elected civilian regimes than the previous periods. A brief analysis of the political transition in some of the major Latin American countries reflects the nature of democratization since 1980s.

Argentina

After the death of President Peron in 1974, his wife Isabel became the first female President in Argentina amidst a situation of political and economic turbulence. Her government faced stiff opposition from the armed forces and the guerillas of the outlawed organization, People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP). Argentina witnessed a military coup in 1976 under General Videla that accomplished the penetration of military regime in the Argentine society consolidating the features of a bureaucratic-authoritarian government. The successive pro-western military governments got engaged in war with Britain over the Falkland Islands uniting the patriotic forces in the country. However, the war and neo-liberal economic reforms deteriorated the Argentine economy prompting massive demonstrations against the military government and a return of the civilian power in 1983 led by the Radical Party. In 1989, the opposition leader from the Peronist party, Carlos Menem won the Presidential election defeating the Radical Party candidate. The electoral victory was an important step in the history of democracy in Argentina as an opposition leader, for the first time, could win the presidential election in over seventy years. Coming to power, Menem undertook stringent economic measures towards liberalization-privatization and adopted an evident pro-US foreign policy. In 1994, the 140-year old Constitution was amended to reduce the Presidential term from six to four years permitting only one reelection and the president’s power by an emergency decree. The reforms were made to increase accountability of the government. His regime, however, established a near-authoritarian control by marginalizing the influences of the Radicals and other populist alliances and deepening the crisis of Argentine economy. Since late 1990s, Argentina was swayed with popular movements challenging the pro-capitalist, pro-US ruling leadership forcing ouster of four presidents in a year. The popular uprising of December 2001 or the Piquetero movement of the unemployed

population and the subsequent mass mobilizations were successful in dethroning the rulers from power and exposing the limitations of the judiciary or political leadership in meeting the crisis. The popular mobilizations forged new social coalitions discrediting the traditional political parties and showed the strength of mass politics in Argentina. In 2007, Christina Kirchner was elected as the second female President in Argentina and continued her second term in power.

Chile

Chile had witnessed strong competitive electoral system with a high level of political participation since the first half of the 20th century. Over the years, Chilean politics grew with a co-existence of ideologically polarized parties and governments marking the consolidation of a pluralist democracy. Till 1970s, Chile was ruled by governments led by the conservative leader Alessandri, Christian Democrat leader Frei or socialist leader Salvador Allende. During his three-year regime, Allende proposed a Constitutional amendment to create an Assembly of the people in place of the Congress, which was resisted by the Opposition. His socialist experiments ended with a violent military coup in 1973 that established the authoritarian regime of General Augusto Pinochet. The Pinochet regime reclaimed the power of military in government, established his personalized power and brutally suppressed all sorts of political opposition in Chile. The dictatorial regime came to an end with the defeat of Pinochet in the Presidential election in 1989 and Aylwin assumed power. He promised to restore democratic institutions in Chile, particularly investigating the past cases of severe human rights violations and continued with liberal economic reforms for a rapid improvement of the economy. The newly established democratic regimes succeeded to control the growth of poverty or inflation and continue with democratic elections in subsequent years. The Presidential elections were mainly fought between Christian Democratic Party or Socialist Party, forming a coalition, known as La Concertacion or conservative party like the National Renewal. However, democratic transition faced considerable resistance from a pro-military judiciary or a conservative Senate. Besides, increasing spate of insurgent activities also caused destabilization of the Chilean political system. In 2006, Michelle Bachelet became the first female President from Socialist Party in Chile.

Uruguay

In 1973, Uruguay came under the military regime after about two decades of experiments with democratic governments. Uruguayan politics was virtually divided into two large political groups - one led by the National Party, known as the Blancos, representing

mostly the rural landowning elites and the other, the Colorado Party representing the urban elites. In 1971 the leftist forces created the “Broad Front” breaking the hegemony of the two-party system in Uruguay and forced the state to adopt progressive reforms like land reform, nationalist economic policies. However, the military coup of 1973 and the subsequent dictatorship destroyed the democratic legacy to a great extent. In 1980, the military rulers convened a referendum to pass the new constitution of the country and started negotiations with the two parties for a democratic transition. The Navy Club Pact was signed marking a return to the democratic path. Democratically elected government was formed in 1985 led by the Colorado Party. However, in 1986, the government passed the “law of impunity”, with the consent of the two major parties, that abrogated the trial and punishment of the military persons accused of human rights violations. The law immediately fostered a social protest movement involving the neighbourhood organizations. The civil and political activists joined hands in forming numerous ‘base communities’ to expand their mass support among the Uruguayan population. In subsequent years, Uruguay witnessed civilian governments formed of multi-party elections. In 2004, the left-led Frente Amplio captured power in the election and embarked on rollback of some of the economic reforms to control the neo-liberal hegemony over the debt-ridden Uruguayan economy. The leftist government encouraged growth of civil society, labour unions to increase social activism towards democratic deliberations.

Peru

Peru was ruled by successive military regimes since 1948, which established bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes. However, the military government in the 1970s adopted some social democratic reforms and populist programmes to win over the support of the lower classes. In spite of the reforms the military rulers witnessed massive popular mobilizations mostly led by the Leftists. In the Presidential election of 1980, Belaunde, a known democrat and a candidate of Popular Action, came to power ending the decade-long military regimes. However, democratic transition in Peru was marked with rising tensions as the economy was suffering severely by the debt crisis and the resurgence of political violence, especially guerilla activities by the rebels. The increasing dissatisfaction with democratic government and economic collapse helped Alberto Fujimori to come to power in 1990 and re-establish the authoritarian personalized control over government. Though Peru witnessed regular presidential elections, political parties or labour and peasant unions lost their effectiveness and Fujimori could retain his absolute control over political institutions, armed forces or mass media. As Skidmore argues: “After April 1992 Peru became a textbook case of ‘electoral authoritarianism’, or...

‘illiberal democracy’ - a regime that combines free elections for political office with systematic disrespect for the political and human rights of citizens.” (Ref. Skidmore T. E. and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001, p. 214)

Brazil

From 1964 to 1985 authoritarian military regimes lasted in Brazil in different forms adopting moderate to conservative policies. Brazilian politics was occasionally surged with popular protests and political violence against repressive measures of the military governments. During 1974-79, President Giesel allowed some democratic reforms that later supported a direct election of the state governors. In 1985, Jose Sarney was elected to the Presidency as Brazil’s first civilian president after the military takeover in 1964. The current Constitution of Brazil was adopted in 1988 that defined the country as a federal republic. The re-democratization process was, however, facing serious troubles from rising popular discontent against massive inflation and economic stagnation. Since early 1980s, the rural landless agricultural workers rose against the agricultural policies of the governments led by their powerful organization, MST. The grassroot social movements of the workers, peasants or indigenous populations were influenced by liberation theology and participatory democratic culture as against the authoritarian notions and traditional hierarchical social structures. The movements reached its peak during 1990s when President Cardoso consolidated the “structural reforms” programme in Brazil. Amidst the popular disillusionment of the neo-liberal economic measures and political protests, the Workers’ Party (PT) under the leadership of Lula da Silva was elected to the Presidency in 2002. Lula’s government was also criticized for its alleged inclination to finance capital. In 2011, Dilma Rousseff was elected as the first female President in Brazil. In spite of heightened popular protests against the failures of economic policies of the government, she came to power for the second term in 2014.

Mexico

In post-independence period, Mexico inherited two strong institutional bases of power - the church and the military. It passed through series of civil wars in the first half of the 20th century that put obstacles in the consolidation of democracy in the country. In the post-second world war period, civilian liberal governments, dominated by the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), concentrated on the path of industrialization

and modernization. In the 1980s, Mexico developed strong ties with the international capital, especially its association with the USA and opened up its economy. Like other parts of Latin America, debt-crisis hit the country since mid-1980s sparking off a strong protests of the workers, peasants and indigenous populations. Mexican politics saw increasing radicalization of the peasant and indigenous movements demanding greater control over the country's resources and decision-making processes. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) is one example of indigenous and peasant organization that built up strong resistance against the Mexican governments' economic and social policies. Mexico's association with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came under heavy attack of the Zapatists and other labour unions. The unilateral hegemony of the PRI came to an end in 2000 with the victory of the opposition candidate in the Presidential election, thereby paving the way to a greater democratic transition. In the 21st century, however, prospect of democracy is facing serious challenges from the dependent economy, corruption, law and order problems, acute social fragmentation and lack of stable multi-party system in Mexico.

Central America

In the post-independence period, the Central American states broadly followed liberal nationalist regimes. Some scholars have, however, described these regimes as “republican dictatorships” as the rulers built up controlled political regimes. Despite this broad pattern, the Central American states featured various forms of governments aiming at stability, development and modernization. For example, Costa Rica followed the path of constitutional politics with dominance of the two-party system. The country has witnessed highest level of voter participation in the continent. Since the debt-crisis, the pro-market rulers have broadly managed to balance economic reforms with social and political stability. Nicaragua, on the other hand, witnessed the legacy of military dictatorship in the post-war period with complete absence of representative institutions. In 1979, the Sandinista government came to power after a protracted revolutionary struggle and extended its complete control over the key institutions like the army, labour unions or the Assembly. Nicaragua adopted a series of constitutional reforms in the late 1990s to prevent the resurgence of dynastic rule. In the subsequent years, Nicaraguan politics was surged with the clashes between the Sandinista party and the “Contra” counterrevolutionary army supported by the US. Civilian governments survived in Honduras and Guatemala with regular free elections. But, the influence of the military and the conservative forces over the political system is still quite evident.

Political competition is also largely limited to the elites marginalizing the role of the underclasses.

4.6 The Legacy of Socialism

In the path of democratic transition, the Leftists in Latin America have historically played a significant role against the authoritarian regimes. They have been instrumental in mobilizing the interests of the working class, peasantry or middle class and strengthening the popular aspirations for democracy. In the decades of 1950s and 60s, revolutionary movements rocked a number of Central American countries against the dictatorial regimes. One of the well-known architects of socialist revolutions during this period was Ernesto Che Guevara, the Argentina-born guerilla leader. The first socialist country in Latin American continent was established in Cuba in 1959. Cuba established the revolutionary government under the leadership of Fidel Castro overthrowing the dictatorial regime of Batista in 1959. From a client state of the USA during the Batista government, Cuba transformed into a socialist state. Nationalization of economy and enhanced role of the state and the Communist Party in politics and economy marked the feature of the socialist state in Cuba. In the age of neo-liberal reforms in the Latin American continent, Cuba leads the anti-finance capital movement and US interventionism in the continent. In the last decade of the 20th century, Latin America has witnessed the rise of centre-left governments in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador or Uruguay. The new regimes were mainly articulating a strong anti-US sentiment and upheld the historical legacy of left mobilizations in Latin America. The political shifts were based on the movement of the 'Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas' (ALBA), as an alternative to Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) that came into being in 1994 to enhance trade relations among the countries. Venezuela under the leadership of Hugo Chavez and Bolivia led by Evo Morales emerged as the leading countries in propagating 'a socialism for the twenty-first century'. Chavez initiated a state-sponsored transformation of Venezuela with his much-quoted idea of 'Bolivian Revolution'. It meant mixed economy, popular participation, anti-imperialist independent foreign policy and liberation of the hemisphere. Venezuelan state promoted popular mobilizations in upholding socialism and democracy and resisting neo-liberalism. On the other hand, mass mobilizations paving political regime changes in Ecuador and Bolivia were based on movements from below by the autonomous indigenous organizations.

4.7 Challenges to democratization in 21st century

Democratization processes face a number of challenges in Latin America in the new millennium. Democratic governments in many states of the continent continue to suffer from “legitimation crisis”. Beside the issue of stability of civilian governments, the prospect of democratic transition in Latin America depends on the role of different social classes that have emerged in the context of post war economic developments. The waves of democratization have facilitated new spaces of popular participation and aspirations. It has evoked increasing claims of the indigenous population for autonomy and the rise of indigenous voices in the arena of national politics. The indigenous communities are forging unity at different levels, both horizontal and vertical, to reclaim their political-economic and cultural rights in Mexico, Bolivia, Uruguay, Peru or Colombia. These movements pave the way for democratization from below. The fate of democratic governments also depends on the increasing radicalization of the grass root mobilizations of the workers and peasants in Latin America against neo-liberal model of economic development.

One of the crucial factors in the growth and sustenance of political democracy in Latin American continent is the legacy of US-Latin America relationship and its future course. In the post independence period, Latin America has historically evolved with a strong and dependent, often conflictual, relationship with the North American continent. The relationship was broadly developed on the political, economic and security interests of the USA, constraints of dependent Latin American economy and the close association of the ruling elites with the US governments. It started with US President Roosevelt’s ‘Good Neighbour Policy’ and matured in John Kennedy’s more aggressive ‘Alliance for Progress’ in 1961. The political hegemony of the USA prompted a number of economic and military arrangements between the two continents, and there have been allegations of intervention of the US governments in transforming the political regimes in many Latin American countries. The interventionist policy prompted strong legacy of anti-Americanism in the continent as well, particularly in the post-Second world war period that had crucial implications on political developments of Latin America. In the last decade of the 20th century President Bill Clinton conceived of ‘a genuine hemispheric community of democracies’ focusing more on mutual economic benefits.

The contemporary phase of democracy in Latin America also witnesses a new role of the military in the civilian governments by limiting its political power. However, in some countries, the military plays a pro-active role in the “war on drugs” or suppressing

autonomy movements. Illicit drug trafficking is increasingly emerging as a serious threat to the democratic political regimes in countries like Peru, Colombia or Mexico. Many observers have even described the political regimes in these countries as “Narco-democracy” where drug cartels exercise de facto power over the elected political systems. Democratization in Latin America is also associated with the political leverage of the Church institutions. The political history of Latin America has always incorporated the struggle between the Catholicism and the Protestantism. The growth of liberation theology has contributed greatly to the development of popular movements or grass root mobilizations in articulating democratic aspirations. For example, in Brazil, numerous ‘base communities’ were developed among the marginalized sections of the population prompted by liberation theology. Anti-clericalism was also popular in many Latin American societies that paved the growth of the Radicals in Argentina or Chile.

4.8 Conclusion

Democratic transition in the Latin American continent is integrally linked to its entrenched legacy of colonial history. The independence movements unleashed the forces of modernization and paved the way for the growth of political aspirations for self-determination. However, the post-independence period witnessed the critical moments of political and economic transformations around the tussle between the authoritarian and popular forces. Democratic transition has never followed any unilinear course in Latin American countries; rather, it has passed through different tumultuous phases producing unstable political regimes and legitimization crisis.

4.9 Questions

Essay answer type:

1. Briefly discuss the course of Latin American independence struggle and the rise of modern Latin America.
2. Explain the phase of ‘third wave of democratization’ in the history of Latin American political transformation.
3. What are the broad traits of Latin American politics in the first half of 20th century?
4. Write a short note on the “second wave of democratization” in Latin America.

5. What challenges democratization process are facing in contemporary Latin America?

Short answer type:

1. Write a short note on democratization in post-1980 period in Argentina.
2. Discuss briefly the challenges to democratization in Uruguay in post-1973 period.

4.10 Suggested Readings

1. Skidmore T. E. and Peter H. Smith. (2001) *Modern Latin America*, New York, Oxford University Press.
2. Hagopian, F and Scott P. Mainwaring. (2005) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, New York, Cambridge University Press.



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