

POLITICAL SCIENCE

PRELIMS

1. **PARTY SYSTEM & POLITICAL PROCESS:** Theories of party system, national and regional parties, political parties of third world, pattern of coalition politics, interest and pressure groups.
2. **FORMS OF GOVERNMENT:** Parliamentary and presidential, federal and unitary, modes of decentralization.
3. **THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT:** Meaning and various approaches. Concept and theories of underdevelopment, debates in third world.
4. **BUREAUCRACY CONCEPT:** Theories, Weber and critiques of bureaucracy.
5. **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:** Meaning, theories and forms, role of environment, feminist, peasant and workers movement, role of NGOs.
6. **NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.**
7. **THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:** Realist, Marxist, Systems, decision making and game theory.
8. **STATE AND THE GLOBAL ORDER:** Neo-liberalism, globalization, structural adjustment, regional economic integration, nature and impact of globalization

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The modern democratic governments are classified on the basis of legislature-executive relationship between parliamentary and presidential forms of government. In a parliamentary democracy, the two organs are closely related, the legislature exercises control over the executive and the real executive (ministers) are bound to function in accordance with the wishes of the legislature. This system is found in India, Great Britain, Canada and Australia. The system of American Government, on the other hand, is presidential. In the presidential system the President (executive) is free from the control of the legislature, and the government is organized on the principle of separation of powers. In other words, the parliamentary government is

'responsible', while the presidential system, though ultimately answerable to the people, is not responsible to the legislature. The distinction was clearly explained by Bagehot thus : "The independence of the legislative and executive power is the specific feature of the Presidential Government just as fusion and combination is the principle of the Cabinet Government."

Features of the Parliamentary Government. The parliamentary government is also known by two other names. These are 'responsible' government, and 'cabinet' government. It is called cabinet government because the actual power of executive is exercised by the cabinet. The cabinet itself is responsible to, and removable by, the legislature. Hence, this system is known as responsible or parliamentary government.

A prominent feature of parliamentary government is that its executive is divided into two sections or parts—one : nominal executive, and two: the real executive. Constitutionally, all executive powers are vested in the head of state. He may be a monarch, as in Great Britain, or President, as in India. The entire administration is carried out in his name, but not by him. The Cabinet (or the Council of Ministers) performs all the administrative duties of the titular head. Thus the real executive is the cabinet, and its head the Prime Minister. In theory, the powers of the British monarch are vast and unlimited, but in practice he is bound

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to sign on the dotted lines. Article 74(1) of the Constitution of India has provided for a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at its head, to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. The executive powers are vested in the President by Article 53. In practice, the office of the President is formal and ceremonial. The actual authority is exercised by the Cabinet under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

The ministers, who are members of the cabinet, are the real administrators. They are heads of executive departments. The policies are collectively formulated by them. The leader of the majority party in Parliament—in the lower House— is invariably appointed as the Prime Minister. All the other ministers are selected by him, and it is he who distributes portfolios among them. The ministers are appointed by the head of state on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. They hold office during the pleasure of the Prime Minister, though in theory they remain ministers during the pleasure of the President. The Prime Minister himself holds that office so long as he enjoys the confidence of the lower House of the Parliament —Lok Sabha in case of India. It is essential for the ministers to be members of Parliament. They are responsible to the Parliament.

While it is true, in theory, that the ministers are responsible to the Parliament, and have to quit when they lose the confidence of the lower House. The fact is that so long as well-organized majority party supports the cabinet, the latter can do anything and can get anything done by the Parliament. Thus, the cabinet is free not only to take administrative decisions, but can also get legislation and budget adopted by the Parliament with the help of solid majority. It is true that the Parliament, with the help of several methods, can check and control the ministers. These are: Questions, supplementary questions, adjournment motions, and calling attention notices etc. If

these methods fail to keep the ministers under parliamentary control, the Parliament can get rid of the cabinet with the help of a vote of no-confidence.

It is argued that the cabinet functions like a committee of the parliamentary majority party. Efficiency and stability of administration require that there should be close co-operation between the Cabinet and the Parliament, and that political homogeneity should be the basis of the cabinet which should be disciplined as a team. This is possible if (a) all the ministers belong to the same political party ; and (b) the Prime Minister should possess the qualities of providing leadership. The Prime Minister is the actual chief administrator. The Prime Minister has dual capacity. He is not only a creator, leader and guide of the cabinet; but he is also the leader and guide of the Parliament—or of its majority party. As leader of the parliamentary majority, he can have the decisions taken according to his wishes. He is the chief spokesman of the country

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on foreign affairs, and being leader of the popularly chosen majority party, he is leader of the nation. According to C.F. Strong, "If it is the party system which gives the cabinet its homogeneity, it is the position of the Prime Minister which gives it solidarity."

The position of the Prime Minister has become so strong and effective that writers now prefer to use the term 'Prime Ministerial Government' for the parliamentary, responsible or cabinet form of government. The Parliament in practice has become a docile supporter of the cabinet, and the cabinet itself is for all practical purposes, obedient supporter of the Prime Minister. Thus, so long as the Prime Minister has a clear support of parliamentary party, he is the government. Even parliamentary elections, particularly in two-party system, have now become referendum between the two prospective Prime Ministers. Thus, the Prime Minister is virtually direct choice of the people, and with the power to dismiss any minister or to dissolve the parliament itself, the Prime Minister has virtually become supreme ruler, subject only to popular control and free press and opposition attacks. The parliamentary government is, therefore, aptly described as Prime Ministerial Government.

Another feature of the parliamentary government is that neither the tenure of the cabinet is fixed nor the term of the Parliament is rigidly adhered to. It is true that legally, the British House of Commons is elected for 5 years. But, it is usually dissolved earlier than 5 years whenever the Queen is advised by the Prime Minister to do so. Similarly, our Lok Sabha can be dissolved on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The Ministers, on the other hand, can be removed whenever the Lok Sabha—or the British House of Commons—so desires. The Prime Minister and the cabinet may be dismissed by the Parliament at any time.² Thus, the tenure of the cabinet as well as Parliament depends on the pleasure of each other.

2. For details, see chapters 6 below..

Mode of Operation of the Cabinet Government. We have seen above that the close relationship between the legislature and the executive is the main feature of the parliamentary government. The executive invariably means the cabinet. The position of the cabinet has been best explained by Bagehot. He said: "Cabinet is a hyphen that joins, a buckle that fastens the executive and

legislative departments together." The cabinet is described as a committee of legislature. Actually, it is a committee of the majority party in Parliament. Thus, both the major organs of government are controlled by the same political party. Both are led by the same person—the Prime Minister. The government, as we have seen, is known as the Prime Minister's Government. The cabinet ministers themselves are prominent members or leaders

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of the party. The party has well defined programme and policy. All the parties seek verdict of the people, at the time of general election, on the basis of their programmes. The people authorise the party, whose policies are acceptable to them, to govern on their behalf for a fixed period of time. The Prime Minister and his colleagues are responsible to the Parliament. They can be ousted by the Parliament whenever they lose its confidence. They submit their proposed policies, bills and resolutions for parliament's approval. They retain their offices so long as their proposals are approved by the Parliament.

The Prime Minister is the creator of the cabinet. He summons its meetings, and presides over them. He is friend, philosopher and guide of the ministers. He advises them, can reprimand them, change their portfolios, and, if necessary, can ask for their resignations. He helps the ministers in the performance of their parliamentary duties. The entire party and administrative apparatus is under his direction. It is true that, with the parliamentary support, the Prime Minister is the key-person of the entire administration. This is also true that much depends on the personality of the Prime Minister. If the ruling party is well-organized and disciplined the Prime Minister cannot assert, and most of his time may be spent in adjusting the conflicting claims of the factional leaders. Despite all these problems the cabinet government is becoming more and more Prime Ministerial Government.

Merits of Parliamentary Government

Parliamentary government is the most popular form of liberal democracy. It has several merits.

Firstly, it ensures harmony between the legislature and the executive. The Cabinet is a committee of the legislature. The ministers are drawn from the majority party in the legislature. They work in close cooperation. The Prime Minister is leader of the Cabinet as well as of the majority party. Therefore, there are no possibilities of conflict between the two principal organs of government. Secondly, decisions can be quickly taken and vigorously implemented. Unlike the presidential government, the executive has no fear that its decisions may not be approved by the legislature. The Cabinet, therefore, takes decisions knowing that they will be endorsed by the Parliament. With the parliamentary support being assured the Cabinet can effectively implement its policies and programmes. Thirdly, parliamentary government is more responsible to the public opinion than any other system. Bye elections are time and again held to fill casual vacancies in the parliament. These elections give an opportunity to know the mood of the people. The ruling party wants to win not only next general election but even bye-elections. Its government has to act according to wishes of the people. Fourthly, parliamentary government is a flexible system of

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democracy. The legislature can be dissolved whenever wants to seek a fresh verdict from the people. There is no need till the expiry of full duration of the lower House. At the time of emergency, like a war, the elections may be postponed so that the country can devote its undivided attention to the national crisis. Fifthly, an alternative government is easily available in this system. Normally there are two major parties in the Parliament. If the government is defeated on the floor of the House the opposition may be called upon to form the government. There need be no fear of political instability or vacuum. Sixthly, this government cannot become irresponsible. A well-organized opposition party in the Parliament keeps it alert. Mistakes and lapses of the government are highlighted by the opposition both inside the Parliament and outside it. No government wants to give a^o opportunity to the people to throw it out for inefficiency or corruption. Thus, the opposition acts as watchdog of democracy. The government remains alert. It cannot afford to become complacent.

Demerits of Parliamentary Government

Firstly, it violates the theory of separation of powers. This occasionally endangers the liberty of the people. All power is, in the theory, concentrated in the Parliament. It is said to be sovereign. In practice all powers get concentrated in the hands of the Prime Minister. We have seen, he is leader of the majority party. He distributes offices. Ministers do not go against his wishes. The majority party cannot afford to annoy him. He may refuse to give party tickets for the next general election to the members who do not obey him. Thus, the Prime Minister becomes so powerful that he may not tolerate any criticism and people's interest may be ignored. Secondly, very often parliamentary government leads to political instability. If there are three or more parties and none of them is in clear majority in the Parliament coalition governments may be formed. These governments tend to collapse because of infighting. In our own country Janata Government collapsed in 1979 because of infighting leading to political instability. The story was repeated in 1990 when Janata Dal government collapsed under its own weight. This was very common in France. Several Indian States have suffered from instability. Same is true of Italy. No effective governance is possible when governments change quickly. Thirdly, interests of the nation are often ignored for the sake of party interests. The ruling party leaders always have their eyes on the next election. They often encourage undesirable and antisocial elements so that they may be used for winning the election, party workers are sought to be pleased even at the cost of national interest Fourthly, the executive often becomes dictatorial. If the Cabinet is sure of majority support in the Parliament, it may take harsh and undemocratic decisions. It may ignore not only criticism by the opposition

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but even public opinion. Fifthly, a serious defect of the parliamentary government lies in the fact that opposition criticises the government even if there is no occasion for it. Opposition for the sake of opposition can be very harmful for the country. But opposition parties also keep their eyes on the next election and keep on agitating to attract the public attention. Sixthly, parliamentary government is a government by amateurs. Ministers who head the administrative departments do not have specialised knowledge. The Prime Minister may allot any portfolio to any of his ministers. Their portfolios are often changed. This leaves the actual administration in the hands of civil servants. They are not elected representatives of the people. They are

appointed for their skill and administrative capabilities. Ministers become dependent on them. The government remains democratic only in name. It becomes bureaucratic.

Conclusion. There is indeed some truth in the criticism of parliamentary democracy. The governments become unstable and policies may not be effectively implemented. Opposition for the sake of opposition consumes most of the time of ministers in answering the charges leveled against them. Ministers depend too much on civil servants. But, if the defects were really more harmful than its merits are advantageous, parliamentary government would have been long discarded. Actually, it is the most popular government. The ministers can be dropped, governments can be changed if they do not work according to national interest. Therefore, parliamentary government remains responsive to public opinion and people's aspirations. It has proved to be most suitable for our country. People exercise their sovereignty. They freely elect their representatives. If necessary, they do not hesitate even in defeating the Prime Minister or chief ministers if that becomes necessary in national interest.

PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

The presidential form of government, unlike the parliamentary system, is based on separation of powers, not on the fusion of legislature and the executive. The executive is constitutionally independent of the legislature. The President, is the actual head both of the state and the government. That means, there is no nominal or titular executive in the presidential government. The United States of America is the best example of presidential government. The American cabinet has no constitutional sanction. It has grown to assist the President. All the executive powers of the government are actually vested in the hands of the President. The ministers are men and women of his own choice. They assist the President to the extent he needs it. They are not members of the legislature. The President himself is not allowed to be a member of the legislature. The President and his ministers are free of legislative control. They are neither responsible to nor removable by the legislature.

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The President has no power to dissolve the legislature.³

Thus, in the presidential government the executive and the legislature are independent of each other. The President's tenure is fixed. He cannot be removed except through impeachment. Similarly the term of the Congress is also fixed. It cannot be dissolved earlier under any circumstances, nor be extended beyond the stipulated period.

Some critics are of the opinion that it is not proper to refer to this system as presidential government. Their argument is that there are several Presidents in the world who do not possess any real powers. They are nominal executive heads in the parliamentary governments. That is the position of our own President. The critics, therefore, prefer to describe the system as 'the fixed executive system'. The argument has obvious weight in it. But the traditional name continues to be used all over the world.

There are four obvious characteristics of the presidential or fixed executive system. The system is based on separation of powers. The President and legislature are independent of each other. Secondly, all the executive powers are vested in the President. He is the real executive head of the state. Thirdly, the President is the source of all administrative decisions. He is not bound by the recommendation of the cabinet. The cabinet is not provided for in the Constitution. The President is free to dismiss any or all of his ministers whenever he so desires. Lastly, the executive is not responsible to the legislature. The legislature cannot question the President and his ministers. They cannot be removed by the legislature. The legislature cannot be dissolved before the expiry of its fixed tenure.

The presidential system is found, besides the United States of America, in several Latin American countries.

3. The American legislature is called the Congress. Its two chambers are: the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Merits of Presidential Government

The principal merit of the presidential government is that it ensures liberty of the individual. It is based on the theory of separation of powers. The independence of three organs of government from each other makes for efficiency in administration and liberty of the individual. Second. Presidential government is stable. The tenure of the President is fixed. He does not have to strain his nerves to remain in office. The President can formulate and easily implement long term policies. There is no danger of sudden fall of government. The administration becomes efficient and free from corruption. Third. The ultimate power to take decisions rests with the President. He is free to appoint his ministers. He is free to seek their advice or not. He may or may not accept their

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advice. Thus, quick decisions are made possible. Time is not wasted on account of unnecessary debate and discussion. Fourth. The evils of party system do not adversely affect the administration in presidential government. There are no heated exchanges between various political parties. The President cannot be removed before the expiry of his tenure. Therefore, the parties, do not waste their time in trying to dislodge the government. Fifth. There is no fear of government becoming dictatorial. The executive is free from the legislature. The party to which the President belongs may not be in majority in the legislature. There is a government with limited powers. Peaceful changes make the working of a presidential democracy stable, yet responsive to public opinion.

Demerits of Presidential Government

The main defect of the presidential government is artificial separation of the principal organs of government. The executive and the legislature are two principal organs of body politic. To separate them is to destroy them. Sometimes deadlocks arise between legislature and the President. Solutions cannot be found till the next general election. Second. Complete

independence of the President can make him authoritarian. The President is not responsible to the legislature. He cannot be removed by the legislature. The mistakes of the executive cannot be punished by the legislature. The President can develop the attitude of ignoring people's interest. Third. If the President and the legislature do not belong to the same party, tensions and deadlocks often occur between them. This leads to wastage of time and money. Efficiency also suffers. In case of deadlock neither the country can properly progress, nor any suitable policy can be evolved. In the United States sometimes, tension develops between the President and the legislature even if the President belongs to the party that is in majority in the legislature. During 1995 - 96 Republicans were in majority in both Houses of U.S. Congress and the President was a democrat. Their clash resulted even in partial shut up of 215 departments as proper budgetary proposals could not be cleared. Fourth. Presidential government is rigid. It lacks flexibility. Election schedules are rigidly observed. The elections must be held even if the country is engaged in a war or facing famine. Similarly, the fact that election cannot be held earlier is defective. Even on important issues verdict cannot be sought from the people. Neither an inefficient President can be removed earlier, nor an uncooperative legislature can be dissolved before time. Fifth. Direct election of the President creates nation-wide heat and commotion. This causes disturbance in the efficient administration. Since the President as well as the legislature both are directly elected by the people, both assert their authority. This causes deadlocks and often embarrassment to the President. An uncooperative legislature can create serious difficulties for the President.

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Conclusion. Presidential government like the parliamentary system, has both good and bad aspects. But both are different versions of democratic government. If rigidity of presidential system can create administrative deadlocks, then the flexibility of parliamentary system can also make the administration often paralysed. Actually, it depends how the system is worked. Presidential system has been a remarkable success for 200 years in the United States of America. The same is true of parliamentary government in the United Kingdom, where it has worked for several centuries.

Parliamentary system has been successfully working in many other countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India, and has recently been revived in Pakistan. Countries like France and Sri Lanka have adopted parliamentary government with some features of presidential government weaved into it.

UNITARY AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

The governments are also classified on the basis of territorial distribution of power. There may be concentration (or centralisation) of powers or decentralisation of power. A country in which the entire power is centralised in one government is a unitary state. On the contrary, if the power is distributed between one central and several regional governments, it is federal state. We may use the terms unitary system and the federal system for two types of states. The unitary system is based on the principle of geographical centralisation of power. Almost all the countries in the past had unitary systems. At that time, the states comprised small territories, and the administrative problems were limited. The states performed limited functions because they were

usually 'police states'. The United States of America was the first modern state to have adopted federalism when her Constitution was framed in 1787. The federal system has now been adopted by several countries, including India. The federal systems is more suitable for large countries, and for the countries with various religions, languages, and cultures. Prominent among the federal countries are: Australia, Canada, Switzerland and the United States Great Britain, France, Nepal, Sri Lanka and China still have unitary system. In the federal state the authority is of the same character as in the unitary state. However, a federation is not a single collective person, but a number of collective persons ordained together in a specific way.

UNITARY GOVERNMENT

All power of the state belongs to one government in a unitary state. It is supreme. There is no division of powers. The central government can legislate on all subjects, and administer them without reservation. The Parliament in Great Britain is sovereign, for there are no limits on its powers. No court of law in England is competent to question the validity

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of any law enacted by the Parliament. It does not mean, however, that the central government can take arbitrary decisions. It cannot take decisions of purely local nature. Even in a unitary system the country is usually divided into several provinces for the sake of administrative convenience, although they do not. enjoy any autonomy. The provincial governments are mere agents of the centre. The centre, in the interest of administrative decentralization, delegates some of its powers to the provincial governments. Since the powers of the provinces are delegated the centre may, whenever it so desires, increase or reduce the powers of the provincial governments. The centre may even abolish any provincial government altogether.

This was the system in India also prior to the enactment of 1935. There were well organized provincial governments, but they were not autonomous. They enjoyed delegated powers. France is another very good example of unitary system. France, from European standards, is a fairly big country. The central government at Paris is all-powerful, but the country is divided into a number of provinces which are known as the 'departments'. Each 'department' is administered by a 'prefect' who is a nominee of the central Ministry of the Interior. Similarly, the provincial governments in Sri Lanka and other countries are agents of the centre. Garner, while defining the unitary government said that in such a system all powers of the government are vested by the constitution in one or more central organs and where the local governments acquire from the centre little or more authority or autonomy. According to Prof. Dicey, "... the habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority by one central power" is the definition of a unitary government.

According to Willoughby, in a unitary government "all the powers of government are conferred in the first instance upon a single central government and that government is left in complete freedom to effect such a distribution of these powers territorially, as in its opinion is wise." Herman Finer said : "A unitary government is one in which all the authority and powers are lodged in a single centre, whose will and agents are legally omnipotent over the whole area." Similarly, Jean Blondel wrote : "In a unitary state only the central body is legally independent

and other authorities are subordinate to the central government." Thus, all power is vested in one central authority which may create two or more provinces and delegate them some of its powers.

The unitary government can be better understood by comparing it with the federal system. The power is divided by a constitution between the centre and the local governments in a federal system. The governments of centre as well as states derive their authority from the constitution. The regional governments are autonomous, not subordinate. In the unitary system, on the other hand, the central powers are unlimited; the provinces are not autonomous and their powers are delegated.

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The above discussion brings out two main characteristics of unitary government. They are (a) sovereignty of the central parliament and (b) lack of provincial autonomy. However, it does not mean that the powers of the centre are authoritarian. Although the British Constitution is unwritten and the Parliament is sovereign, yet it is under constant check of the public opinion. Even in those unitary states which have written constitutions there are restrictions on the powers of the central government. For example, the Constitution of the Irish Republic does not permit the Parliament to legislate allowing the system of divorce. The Constitution of Japan has provided for unimpeachable fundamental rights of the people. Thus the unitary system is based on centralisation of powers, but is not superior to the constitution. A unitary government is not an authoritarian regime. Within a constitution framework it enjoys all powers.

Evaluation : There are both merits and demerits in a unitary government. On the positive side, it ensures uniform laws and administrative system for the whole country. As power is not divided, there are no conflicts and quarrels. Provincial administrations do not enjoy any original power. Therefore, they cannot challenge the centre. There is a good sense of unity in such a system, though for other reasons like ethnic or linguistic differences there may be some problems, but not on account of legislative or administrative sharing of powers. The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is one such example, but ordinarily unity is better assured in unitary government than in a federation. Secondly, the sense of unity is connected by single citizenship which is a distinguishing feature of unitary government. This secures loyalty of people to one government and minimises chances of civil strifes. The secessionist tendencies are discouraged and feelings of nationalism are more easily inculcated. Thirdly, as there is only one legislature and one administrative system, time is saved and wastage of money is avoided. This means less financial burden on the people, quick decisions and uniform implementation. Fourthly, unitary government is more effective in handling the crises like war or aggression. Delay can be dangerous in crisis situations, which is avoided in unitary government. Lastly, the unitary system is more flexible. The government does not have to take consent of states. As in case of constitutional amendments unless three-fourths of U.S. States agree, centre can make no change in the American Constitution. Laws can be easily changed and duplication of administrative structure does not occur; But, these advantages are more easily secured in smaller countries than in large states.

Unitary government has certain shortcomings also. Firstly, concentration

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of power often leads to authoritarianism and arbitrary government. One of the conditions for the success of democracy is decentralisation. But, there is a possibility of abuse of power when it is centralised. Secondly, in the absence of distribution of powers, the amount of work of central government, in modern welfare states become too heavy. This, in turn, can adversely affect efficiency. Thirdly, it has been observed that military coup becomes easy in small unitary states. In federal structure where power is divided revolutions and coups do not generally occur. Thus, unitary state is prone to revolutionary changes as only one government is to be overthrown. Lastly, in unitary set-up all decisions are centrally takes. But, unless a country is very small, it often becomes difficult for one central government to find out the aspirations and difficulties of local people. This often leads to neglect of local administration, and government becomes heavily dependent on bureaucracy. Concentration of power in the hands of civil servants makes for an unresponsive administration. This, in turn, may lead to indifference on the part of people living in far off places. As Laski said, many of the problems are local in nature and can best be tackled by local level administration.

Evaluation of unitary government brings out both merits and shortcomings. As no system is perfect, it is not fair to reject completely either the unitary or the federal government. A federal government will be unnecessary and not needed for such small countries as Belgium, Cuba, Israel or Nepal. But, in large countries with diversities of various types a unitary government may be misfit. Therefore, unitary government is more suitable for smaller countries and homogeneous societies.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The federal system was born along with the birth of the United States of America. The erstwhile thirteen colonies decided to surrender their sovereignty when they adopted the new Constitution in 1787. The Constitution which was an agreement among the thirteen colonies gave sovereignty to the new United States of America. The term 'federation' is derived from the Latin term 'foedus', which means agreement. Thus, the federal system is based on agreement or contract. Like the United States of America, Switzerland was also brought into existence as a result of an agreement among several independent cantons⁴ who surrendered their sovereignty and framed their Constitution. Although the country is officially known as the Confederation of Switzerland it is a federal system not a confederation.⁵

4. There are at present 23 cantons : 20 full cantons and 6 half cantons.

5. Distinction between a federation and, a confederation is explained in another section in this chapter.

All the federations are not brought into existence in the same

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fashion. There is another method of the creation of federal system. A unitary state may be split into a number of autonomous provinces and their powers guaranteed by a constitution. This is what was done when India was converted into a federal state. Thus, India is not a federation based on the type of agreement that created the United States. Nevertheless, the present Constitution of India, which formally divides powers between the centre and the states, is an agreement between the Union and State Governments. The federation in Canada was also created in similar circumstances.

The federal government has been defined by several eminent scholars. The essence of all the definitions is that, a number of independent countries situated in a contiguous area constitute a new state, create its central government, and themselves become units of the new state. They part with some of their powers, which are of national importance and entrust them to the new central government, and retain the remaining powers for themselves. The powers are permanently divided by the constitution, which is supreme. Neither the centre, nor the states, deprive each other of its powers without a constitutional amendment, which requires their mutual consent. "A federal state", according to Finer, "is not in which part of the authority and power is vested in the local area while another part is vested in a central institution deliberately constituted by an association of the local areas". Dicey's well-known definition of federalism is : "Federalism means the distribution of force of the state among number of coordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution." Whatever may have been the method of the creation of a federation, the principal objective of every federal system is to bring about coordination between two contradictory tendencies. These are preservation of regional languages, cultures, customs and autonomy, and protection of national interest and unity. This point is summed up by Dicey thus : "A federal state is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights". This coordination is made possible through a constitution. Garner says: "A federal government is a system in which the totality of governmental power is divided and distributed by the national constitution... between a central government and those of the individual states."

The constituent units are variously designated in different federations. They are known as 'states' in India, Australia and the United States of America⁶. The federal units are called 'provinces' in Canada, they were Union Republics in the former Soviet Union, and are cantons in Switzerland.⁷ Irrespective of their designations, all the units in a federation are given same status. A unit may be as big as Uttar Pradesh in India or California in the United States, or as small as Sikkim, or Nevada, all are treated equal in respect of constitutional provisions. The constitutional amendments in India are to be ratified by any 13 states— big or small. In America ratification by 3/4 of total number of states is required. In Switzerland each full canton has one and each half canton half a vote in the constitutional revision.

6. There are 25 States in India, 6 in Australia and 50 in the United States.

7. Canada has 10 Provinces, Soviet Union had 15 Union Republics and Switzerland has 23 Cantons

The equality of states is expressed in another form also. Each of the American States is equally represented in the Upper House of Congress— Senate. The State of California is represented by 43 members in the Lower House, and Nevada has only one representative; but both send two Senators each to the Upper House. All the Australian states send 10 members each to their Upper House. The similar equality is found in Switzerland where each full canton sends two members to Council of States, and each half canton is entitled to one representative. However, India and Canada are exceptions in this respect. The Indian states and Canadian provinces do not have equal representation in their Upper Houses.

Features of the Federal System. The federal system is usually the result of an agreement. The constituent units of a federation enjoy autonomy. The federation attempts at the coordination of national interest and the regional culture. There are certain essential features that ensure the proper working of a federal system. It is true that every country has its special features. We may, however, briefly mention the common features of federalism as a system.

1. **Constitution.** The agreement that creates a federal polity takes the form of a federal constitution. The powers of the federal and state governments and the details of their rights and duties are listed in the constitution. The centre and states both derive their powers from the constitution. Thus the supremacy of the constitution is accepted by the centre as well as the states. None of the organs of state authority is independent of the constitution, and none can violate it. The constitution is sacrosanct. The federal constitutions usually have the following characteristics:

(a) The constitution in federal countries is written. It incorporates the conditions of the agreement. In case the constitution is not written there can be frequent disputes on the exact jurisdiction of the centre and the states. There are scholars who prefer to compare a federal constitution with a treaty whose provisions have got to be obeyed by all concerned.

(b) It is necessary that the federal constitution should be rigid. It does not mean that amendments are not possible in a federal constitution. But a rigid constitution is essential so that the centre may not

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change the provisions of the constitution without the consent of the states. There are always two parties to an agreement. Therefore, the two must agree for any change in the constitution. The federal constitution makes a clear distinction between the constitutional law and ordinary laws. The procedure of constitutional change is invariably different from the process of ordinary legislation.

(c) The constitution in a federal system is sovereign. The legislatures of centre as well as the states are subordinate to it. This is necessary to ensure that the rights of the people are protected and neither legislature should be able to go beyond its limits. The federal government is government with limited powers.

2. Division of Powers. The federal system is a combination of one centre and several regional governments. It is, therefore, necessary that their spheres of action should be clearly demarcated. Distribution of powers is an essential feature of every federal constitution. The subjects of national importance—defence, foreign affairs, railways, communications and currency—are usually entrusted to the centre. Subjects with regional approach—education, local self-government, irrigation, police and jail—are normally looked after by the state or provincial government. The division of powers varies from country to country. In some cases the centre is more powerful, while in the others, the states have more powers. In the United States of America, where states existed prior to the formation of the union and they had parted with some of their powers, the powers of the states are comparatively more. In Canada and India, on the other hand, the centre is more powerful.

The system of division of powers also varies from country to country. In the Constitution of the United States of America only those powers are listed which are within the jurisdiction of the centre. All the remaining powers, though unspecified, are with the states. Thus only the powers of the centre are listed but both the central and the states have governments with limited powers. Secondly, it is possible that the powers of the state may be reduced to writing and the remaining are left for the centre. The Canadian Constitution follows this pattern. In India, we have adopted yet another system. In our case, not only the powers of the Union and States are separately listed but there is a third—Concurrent—List also. The last list includes subjects which though of national importance can be managed by the states. The Union Parliament and the State Legislatures both are competent to legislate on these subjects but in case of conflict the central law always prevails.

Another problem can arise in connection with the distribution of powers that concern the subjects that may arise after the constitution has been framed. Almost all the constitutions take care of the future. The American Constitution has given the residuary powers to the states while in India they belong to the centre. The government that is given the residuary powers is usually considered more powerful.

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Whatever may be the basis of division of powers the centre as well as the states must have the independence to function without interference.

3. The Supreme Court. In view of the distribution of powers, occasional conflicts between the several governments in a federal polity cannot be ruled out. The centre may be tempted to interfere with the autonomy of the states, or the reverse might happen. It is, therefore, essential that there should be an independent institution, to settle the disputes, which is neither controlled by the centre nor by the states. Such an institution can only be the Supreme Court of the country which may act as an umpire between the centre and the states. J.S. Mill had opined, "It is evidently necessary...not only that the constitutional limits of the authority of each should be precisely and clearly defined, but that the power to decide between them in any case of dispute should not reside in either of the governments...but in an umpire independent of both." Powerful Supreme Courts in the U.S.A. and India ensure observance of the Constitutions.

Double Citizenship. In addition to the essential conditions listed above, some other features may be found in certain federations. The citizens in the United States and Switzerland enjoy what is called double citizenship. Every person is a citizen not only of the country as a whole but also of the state or the canton in which he resides. The American citizens, for example, can become federal officials but cannot get employment under a state government except in the state to which they belong. Similarly, they can seek election only from the state whose citizenship they enjoy. In India, however, we have single citizenship.

In most of the federal countries states are allowed to frame their own constitutions and adopt their own flags subject to the condition that the national constitution shall not be violated. In India, this privilege is not enjoyed by the any state except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Distinction between Federation and Confederation. The Constitution of Switzerland describes the country as a confederation. Actually this is not the correct position. Switzerland is as good a federation as the United States of America is. It means that the terms federation and confederation are sometimes erroneously used as synonyms. We have seen that in a federation the powers of the centre and the states are defined and limited by the constitution. The sovereignty rests in the constitution, not in the states. In a confederation, on the other hand, two or more independent sovereign states unite through a treaty for certain common objectives. Their aim may be defence against foreign aggression or some internal problem. Thus while a federation is a sovereign state and its constituents are autonomous, the confederation is a loose association of several sovereign states. These states do not give up their sovereignty.

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When the thirteen American colonies declared their independence from the British in 1776, they created a confederation. Its only central agency was a single-chamber Continental Congress. There was neither a President nor a Supreme Court. The colonies were free to accept or not the decisions of the Congress. The Congress thus was a recommendatory institution. In the present American Constitution, however, the States and the Centre both are subordinate to the Constitution. There are several distinctions between a federation and a confederation.

Organisationally, the confederation is weak. In a federation the centre and the states cooperate with each other; there is no competition between them. In a confederation the constituent states are sovereign. There is no distribution of powers. The centre does not have any authority of its own. Its decisions may or may not be accepted by the states.

Secondly, the basic difference between the federation and the confederation is in respect of sovereignty. The sovereignty in a federation resides in the country as a whole ; in the confederation each state is sovereign in itself. The units of a federation lose their sovereignty and acquire only autonomy. The scholars are of the opinion that a confederation is not a state. It does not have a separate entity in the eyes of international law. A federation, however, is an independent international person.

Thirdly, a confederation is temporary arrangement which may be dissolved at any time. A federation is permanent and cannot be dissolved. A federation has its own legal entity. Its

member states, once they join a federation, can not secede. The member states of a confederation, being sovereign, may withdraw whenever they so desire. The Soviet Union, however, was an exception. The Union Republics there had the constitutional guarantee to secede. But, this provision was never used because in view of the strong control of the Communist Party none of the Union Republics ever desired to leave till 1991 when USSR was actually broken up into 15 sovereign states.

There is yet another aspect of the situation. A conflict or a war between two member states of a confederation is, in the eyes of international law, an international war. It is not a civil war. Any conflict between two parts of a federation, however, is a civil war, an internal affair of the country and the central government must resolve it.

Historically speaking, the confederations have generally been short lived. The federations are permanent. The United States for over two hundred years has existed as an independent sovereign federation. In a

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confederation on the other hand, either the member states withdraw from it and it is dissolved or, as happened in the United States, the confederation becomes so stable that after some time it is converted into a federation, or thirdly, a confederation may after some time turn into a unitary state and its units may even lose their autonomy.

The citizens in a federal system abide by the laws of the centre as well as of the states, they pay taxes to both, and obey the administrative orders of both of them. But in a confederation the centre is directly concerned only with the states, not with the citizens. The citizens are governed only according to their state laws. The states are members of the confederation, the citizens are not. Thus, the federation and the confederation are vitally different from each other.

Conditions Necessary for the Success of Federal Government. We have seen that the essence of a federation lies in the coordination of national unity and regional aspirations. It is, therefore, necessary that the units constituting a federation should not only have strong desire of national unity, but they should also have meaningful local aspirations. But, the latter should not be so strong that the national interest may be sacrificed, and parochial feelings might dominate. The true federal system must have proper co-ordination between the two. We may examine the conditions that help in the coordination and ensure success of the federal system.

It is essential that there should be physical nearness between various units of a federation. The units should not be separated by high mountains, sea or the territory of another country. If there is no geographical contiguity, the national consciousness cannot easily develop. In that case, the feeling of oneness and desire to live together and to defend the country will be difficult to develop. We have the example of Pakistan that was created in 1947 had, between its two wings, thousands of miles of Indian territory. The two wings of Pakistan could not develop the desire of one nationalism. The people of East and West Pakistan spoke different languages; their cultures, their ways of life, their food habits—everything was different. To top all this, they were geographically separated. Consequently, the people of erstwhile East Pakistan felt they did not

receive justice, and that the Centre gave them step-motherly treatment. Finally, in 1971 the erstwhile East Pakistan declared her independence, and after a bitter struggle and war Pakistan was split into two parts; Bangladesh was born. If there is lack of desire to live together, the national interest is sacrificed.

Nothing should be done that smells of parochialism. The centre must respect the wishes and aspirations of all the provinces. All the regions must be satisfied. While constituting the central Council of Ministers, for example, attempt is made to include ministers from as

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many states as possible. This is equally true for India, Switzerland and Canada. The people of any state should not be annoyed because their state is not represented in the government. The same principle applies to different religious and linguistic groups.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the size and population of different states within a federation should not be widely different. The lack of equal size or population may create inferiority complex in certain areas. In practice, however, this type of equality is not possible. Both in India and the USA there are very small as well as very large states.

It is argued that the success of a federal system is possible if there are no distinctions of religion, culture or language. However, this view is neither fair nor universally acceptable. English is spoken in some of the Canadian provinces, while French is the language of some other provinces. They have been able to maintain unity of Canada, though French - speaking Quebec has been asking for succession. French, German and Italian, all the three, are official languages of Switzerland. People of different faiths live in that country. In our own country people of different faiths live together and speak numerous languages. Despite these divergent facts, federalism is successful in all these countries. What is actually important is the desire for union, even if there are different languages, faiths, cultures and traditions.

It is necessary that different parts of a federal state should have similar social and political institutions. If there is strong democratic tradition in one part of the country, but in the other people are indifferent towards public affairs, or there are authoritarian tendencies, then federalism may not work very successfully in that country.

Another significant requirement, that makes for national unity, is the availability of wise, enlightened and efficient leadership. It is possible that a federation may be created due to oneness of language or religion or need of national defence. But, it is essential that, if the federation has to last, the national feelings should not be allowed to subside. An able leadership can ensure this. This lack of capable leadership was mainly responsible for the split of Pakistan in 1971.

Merits of Federal Government. Like other governments, federations have both strong and weak points. Broadly speaking merits of unitary government are demerits of federations and weaknesses of unitary system one strong points of federation. Firstly, when a number of small states are united to form a federations, power is energised in the new set-up. Money and time

both are saved as in many areas one common policy is adopted and implemented. A common foreign policy and one single diplomatic service ensures better foreign relations. Federal government is more useful in times of emergencies, like war, as the resources, of all the constituent states are pooled together and foreign

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threats are more effectively faced. Even domestic troubles are easily tackled. Secondly, unity and diversity are very well coordinated in federal system. Nation's unity can be ensured without sacrificing regional aspirations. The states in a federation are given full freedom to preserve their cultural identity and languages. The units of a federations (states or provinces) enjoy political and economic autonomy in their internal administration. If small states remain independent, and they do not joins a federation, they may not be able to defend themselves against external aggressions, nor may secure enough resources for economic development. On the other hand, if unitary system is maintained in large countries their cultural and linguistic identities are likely to be adversely affected. Thirdly, federalism is based on principle of decentralisation. It implements the idea that the government should be nearer the people so that they can easily reach it. Local problems can be more easily solved by the local and regional governments, rather than one over-burdened central government. Fourthly, people tend to take direct interest in their problems, which inculcates political awareness. Enlightenment of people makes for better citizens who can effectively contribute in nation-building. Fifthly, division of powers leads to greater efficiency. Besides, possibilities of revolution and military coup are minimised because not one but many governments are to be overthrown if a sudden change is sought by means other than democratic elections. Thus, stability is better ensured in federal system. Lastly, neither bureaucracy is over-emphasised nor dictatorship can easily emerge in a federation. People's participation at national, state and local levels strengthens democracy and makes for civil servants' accountability to the elected government. Powerful democratic roots do not allow emergence of authoritarian tendencies.

Demerits of Federal Government : Federal government has certain shortcomings also. If different political parties are in power at the centre and in some of the states, possibility of political clashes is increased. In a multiparty democracy like India, there may be (in fact, are) different parties in power in different states. Their differences and conflicts among leaders cause tensions in the system. These tensions sometime lead to litigation and consequent wastage of money. Secondly, even if there are no conflicts and there is no tension, federalism is certainly an expensive system. The same subjects, like police and education, are handled by all the different state governments. This causes lot of available expenditure. Finer said: "It is financially expensive since there is much duplication of administrative machinery and procedure. It is wasteful of time and energy, in that it depends on much negotiation, political and administrative, to secure uniformity of law and proper administrative fulfillment thereof. Thirdly, certain difficulties arise on account of rigid constitution, which is an essential condition

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of federalism. Changes in the constitution often become necessary, yet impossible due to reluctance of states to ratify the amending bills. In the United States, for example, an amending

bill to provide for direct elections of the Senate (upper House of the Congress) was passed several times by the Congress but denied ratifications by required number of states. It was after many unsuccessful attempts that it was adopted in 1913 as the seventeenth amendment. Later, in 1970s, a bill to provide equality in wages to men and women, in all spheres, was adopted by the Congress but lapsed in 1982 as only 36 states (as against required 38) ratified it. Lastly, history of federations shows that there is a tendency to strengthen the powers of the centre. Whenever federations have faced any crisis—internal uprising, economic crisis or an international war—people look towards the centre to solve the problem and save the country's integrity and sovereignty. This has happened in the United States a number of times. After every crisis the centre has emerged more powerful than before. This shows that crisis can be better solved by a powerful central government, which proves weakness of federalism and strength of unitary government. China, despite having largest population, is a unitary state and its government is all powerful.

To conclude, despite certain shortcomings, the federal government appears to be a better alternative. Even if it involves duplication and some wastage of money, federal government ensures greater participation of people at different levels, and is, therefore, more democratic. While unitary government is less expensive, it is generally, not suitable for big countries. China, being a one-party state, is an exception. Federalism has been found useful not only in large countries like India, Canada and the United States, but even Switzerland has opted for it. Switzerland is a small landlocked country, but her religious, linguistic and cultural diversities made it necessary to have a federal system which has made unity possible in that country. While authoritarianism generally flourishes in smaller unitary countries, federalism is surely more responsive and democratic.

CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST SYSTEMS

THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT

Based on the relationship between economy and politics, modern governments are being classified as capitalist and socialist governments. This distinction is highlighted by the leftist scholars who generally criticise liberal democracy as capitalist government. For example, Ralph Miliband in his book *Capitalist Democracy in Britain* indirectly deals with the concept of capitalist government. He also refers to Harold Laski's *Parliamentary Government in England* (1938), John Gollan's *British Political System* (1954), and Kieth Middleman's *Politics*

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in *Industrial Society* (1979). These books generally examined the British Government from Marxian angle and tried to prove that the government performs its functions in defence of class-based society. According to Middleman the "crucial preoccupation" of the British Government in the twentieth century has been the avoidance of class-conflict. This has been made possible by propaganda, the "management of opinions in an unending process, using the full educative and coercive power of the state".

The idea of making reference to Miliband and other leftist's opinions is to establish the point that the concept of capitalist government is related to the nature of socio-economic structure of the country concerned. The growth of capitalism after the industrial revolution resulted in concentration of economic power in the hands of bourgeoisie and political power in the hands of the ruling elite supported by the bourgeoisie. The class structure in a society determines the nature of politics and the form of its government. The property owning class used its money power not only to promote its vested interest by denying the needs of the working people, but also to ensure management of the country's politics to serve its interests.

A capitalist government is a government that is supported by the property owners, capitalists, big traders and business houses. In turn, this government protects the class that supports it. The capitalist government, in other words, is government of a capitalist society. A country where means of production are still owned by one class of exploiters, and where the have-nots are denied share in the management of industry and commerce, is a capitalist country and its government may be described as a capitalist government. Such a government may be either liberal democracy like that of U.S. A. or an authoritarian government like Nazi Germany or a military rule. Thus, the classification between capitalist and socialist government is not related to the possession and exercise of only the political power. It is directly concerned with economic power-political power relationship. A dictator in a capitalist country is dependent on the bourgeoisie for retaining his power. He, therefore, encourages capitalism and does not hesitate in ignoring the welfare of the working classes. In a democracy, the elections are not only financed by the capitalists, hoarders and other owners of big money but even the choice of candidates is often dictated by pressure groups controlled by them. The government that is installed after elections is normally expected by the supporting groups to work for the promotions of their interests.

In the United States, there is a definite role of money power in winning elections. Even when many welfare activities are promoted by the governments in USA, UK and India, they are still described by the

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leftist critics as capitalist governments. Ralph Miliband, while discussing 'capitalist democracy' in Britain argues that the government in that country tries to avoid conflict between the classes. This action amounts to protecting the vested interests and in the process the poor, the workers and peasants suffer. The government, thus, is controlled by the capitalist, protects the interests of the capitalists, helps them in the exploitation of masses and is, therefore, a capitalist government. The working classes are convinced by the ruling elite that the existing system is fair and just, that it protects their legitimate interest, and that there is no need to alter the class arrangement. Explaining the containment of pressure in capitalist democracy in Britain, Miliband writes :

The smooth functioning of capitalist democracy requires that the working class should accept the general validity and legitimacy of the social order; that it should believe that any grievance or demand that it may have is remediable within the confines and by the traditional procedures of the political system ; and that it should also be convinced that any radical change in existing arrangements must be highly detrimental to its best interest."8

Thus, the capitalist government concerns itself with resisting pressure for social change. Its governance is directed against the legitimate interests of working class if they are in conflict with the interests of the capitalists. The government itself is a class institution which works to ensure continuation of existing arrangement.

In Britain, Labour Party is perceived as a socialist party promoting the interests of working class. But, critics argue that even a Labour Party government does not want replacement of private sector of economy by the public sector. Even if it seeks to promote the public sector, it still considers the private sector superior and the public sector as subordinate to it. This is more true of the Conservative Party government. But, essentially the British Government, irrespective of party affiliation, is capitalist government. This is more true of the United States and other capitalist countries. By the same standard, India is also a capitalist country and its government may be described as 'Capitalist government'.

8. Miliband, Ralph : Capitalist Democracy in Britain, 1982, p. 54.

It is not only liberal democracies that may be called capitalist, but dictatorships are even worse. Mussolini's Fascist Party was not only financed but fully sustained by capitalist support. The Fascist dictatorship in Italy (Mussolini), Germany (Hitler) and Spain (Franco) were clearly anti-socialist. They systematically destroyed socialism, encouraged private property and jailed socialist and communist leaders.

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SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT

Meaning of Socialist Government

When we talk of a socialist government or a socialist country we generally mean those countries which are ruled by their communist parties. But, these countries cannot be called communist countries or states or governments, because, as we will see below, in a communist society (as visualised by Karl Marx), there will be no state. Therefore, there can be no communist government. Since the ultimate objective of these governments is to establish communism in accordance with the ideology of scientific socialism they are called socialist states, or governments of socialist countries.

Scientific socialism is not the only variety of socialism. One of the popular varieties is evolutionary socialism which means socialism not through revolutions, but through gradual, evolutionary methods of liberal democracy. Thus, Labour Party of Britain firmly believes in equitable distribution of wealth, economic justice and welfare state. They realise the evils of private property and want to establish social control over property. But they do not believe in revolution. They want to establish socialism through laws enacted by democratically elected parliament. But even when Labour Party in Britain is in power we do not call it socialist government. Similarly, a government by socialist party in any other country is not called socialist government. By tradition, the term socialist government is used only for communist party government.

Karl Marx was the founder of the ideology of scientific socialism. The essence of his theory is that politics is invariably influenced by socio-economic conditions. He said that there have always been two economic classes whose interests could not be reconciled. These two classes earlier were landlords and peasants and now, after industrial revolution, they are capitalists (bourgeoisie and the labourers (proletariat). These two classes always fight against each other. This continuing conflicts called class-war. The result of earlier struggles was the victory of the poor and exploited. Marx had predicted that a class-war between capitalists and workers was unavoidable. He had called upon all the workers of the world to unite and overthrow the capitalist system. The workers are the have-nots (because they do not have private property, or means of production), while the capitalists are haves (as they have or own, means of production or private property). After the workers unite, they will, through a revolution, end the capitalist system and open the path to socialism.

Marx had analysed the theory of socialism in a scientific manner. The Marxists believe that private property, religion and state are the three evils. State is an instrument of exploitation which must end with the establishment of socialism.

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Russian revolution took place under the inspiration and leadership of Lenin. He said that after the revolution there will be a stage in which state will exist but it will be fully controlled by the workers. This state is called dictatorship of the proletariat, because workers will use their might to destroy capitalism. Under the system of dictatorship of the proletariat, production will be increased to its maximum capacity as there will be no capitalist to check production for his profit. With the increased production, everyone will get what he needs, crime will automatically finish, making the state useless. It will disappear. That will be ultimate communism, because that will be the situation of classless, stateless society. The first socialist government was established in 1917 in Russia, later called U.S.S.R.

So far, state has not withered away or disappeared anywhere. After the second world war a number of other countries also adopted communist ideology. These include People's Republic of China, Albania, Cuba and Vietnam. All these countries are governed by communist parties which claim that they represent the working people. No other political party is allowed to exist in these countries and political activities contrary to the wishes of the Communist Party are not permitted. Anything said or done against the party and its leadership is condemned as counter-revolutionary, or reactionary or anti-people. Since freedom is thus restricted, critics say that these socialist governments are actually dictatorships. This charge is vehemently denied by the leaders and supporters of socialist governments. They claim that after the revolution and abolition of exploiting capitalist class, only one class comprising workers and peasants remains. Its interest are protected, and its wishes expressed by the Communist Party. Therefore, there can be no justification for any political activity contrary to the wishes of the Party. Thus, socialist governments rule in one party systems. Many East European countries including Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, who had come under communist rule after second world war, discarded socialist governments during 1990-91.

Socialist state represents the working people who were exploited in the past by those who owned means of production. Such a state is expected to ensure abolition of exploitation, and building up of a communist society in which there will be no state. The government controls the entire economy and directs it to attain socialist objectives. All means of production, agriculture and industry, all mean of transport and communications, and even media of mass communication are controlled by the government. The total power—political and economic is in the hands of the government. Nothing can be done against the wishes of the government, which in practice means against the will of the party.

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The ultimate objective of scientific socialism is classless and stateless society. But, the socialist governments are so powerful that the state appears to be in complete control of all aspects of life. There is, for the present, no sign of the disappearance of state. Socialist state may eventually wither away, but at present they are more powerful than any of the liberal democratic state is. Mr. Gorbachev who took over as leader of the Soviet Communist Party in 1985, and as President of U.S.S.R. in 1988 initiated a policy of openness and liberalisation. This was in contrast with what socialist governments were used to. However, his reforms misfired and fast moving developments led to collapse of communist regime and disintegration of former Soviet Union into 15 independent non-socialist countries.

Economic factors dominate the analysis of socialism and communism. The nature of society is determined by the ownership means of production and place of private property in the system. Class-conflict determines the nature of state, which is regarded by the socialists as a class institution. According to Marxists the state is bound to wither away. When private property is abolished, and production and distribution are brought under social control exploitation will end. Interests of the individuals will merge into the interest of the society. There will be no exploitation, no class conflict and no state. But this will be made possible only through revolution. Thus, unlike evolutionary socialism in which many liberal democracies believe, there is no role of state or of evolutionary processes in the scientific socialism. It is based on revolution. It aims at the end of private property, exploitation and the state.

The number of political parties is closely connected with the economic structure of the society. Leaders of the socialist countries argue that parties represent the interests of different classes. Since in non-socialist liberal democracies there are many economic classes, many political parties are essential to protect their interests. On the other hand in socialist countries, called people's democracies, exploitation is already ended and class conflict replaced by classless society. Thus, there is only one class in these countries. This is the class of workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals, collectively called the working class. There are no idlers and no exploiters. Thus, when there is only one class in the society, only one political party is needed to promote its interest. It is on this basis that only the Communist Party is in effective control of government in China and Cuba. That was also the case in the former USSR. Soviet leadership had once said that the only place of other political parties was in the jail. Thus, socialist governments are organised by the communist parties which are the backbone of the entire social, economic and political structure.

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Originally, Soviet Union looked down upon all parties other than communist parties of friendly countries. But, now in some of the socialist countries one or more other parties have also been permitted. But these parties accept the superiority of communist parties, and accept scientific socialism as the correct ideology. These parties are termed as 'friendly' parties of the Communist Party. They are, so to say, subsidiaries of the Communist Party. They perform only such functions as are assigned to them by the concerned communist party, for example, the Chinese Constitution while recognising the primary role of the Communist Party accepted the utility of minor democratic and friendly parties. But, communist party enjoys predominant position.

In some of the east European countries which had socialist governments there were one or more friendly parties to assist the Communist Party in building up a socialist society. Poland, for example, had besides the Communist Party, the United Farmer's Party and the Democratic Party Bulgaria had Bulgarian Agrarian Peoples' Union. There were four non-communist friendly parties in the former German Democratic-Republic. They were Christian Democratic Union, Democratic Farmers Party National Democratic Party of Germany, and the Liberal Democratic party of Germany. Although some of the socialist countries had one or more friendly parties, yet it would be appropriate to describe all of them as one-party-states. This is so because minor parties were only complimentary to the Communist Party. They were not its competitors. In the former Soviet Union, which was the first socialist country the Communist Party was organised on the principle of 'democratic centralism'. This principle, in simple language means a combination of democracy and centralism. Democracy because all the organs of the party, from lowest to the highest, were elected by the members of the party, and all organs were responsible to their electors; centralism because all policy decisions were taken at the highest level and implemented by lower organs under the supervision of immediately higher organ. Critics say that the system smells of dictatorship, while leaders of the Communist Party claimed that this was the ideal democratic arrangement.

Elections in the Socialist Systems. We in India are familiar with elections in which different parties put up their candidates and people vote for any of them freely, according to their choice. Any of the candidates who secures maximum number of votes is declared elected. This is how elections are held in all other democratic countries including Britain, the United States of America, France, Sri Lanka etc. But, in socialist countries choice of the people is generally limited to only one candidate. Let us take the example of former Soviet Union prior to 1989. At the time of elections only one candidate was put up by the Communist Party in each of the constituencies. In some areas party permitted a non party (independent) candidate to seek election. But, in that case the Party did not put up any of its own candidates. The

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non-party candidates were supported by the Party. Thus, each constituency had only one candidate. He could be a member of the Communist Party or supported by it.

Voter found only one name printed on the ballot paper. They either voted for the candidate or against him. Only when more than half the number of voters voted for a candidate he was

declared elected. In practice, almost all the votes were cast in favour of the lone official candidate. This system is criticised by western writers as undemocratic. But the former Soviet Union took pride in it as the person elected had the 'support' of vast majority of people. For the first time in 1989, elections in the former Soviet Union were held on the basis of 'multicandidate system' within one-party state. The freedom thus tasted by the people enabled them to demand multi-party system and democracy which when conceded (1990) led to collapse of the socialist system in the Soviet Union in 1991.

Conclusion. Socialist government is, for all practical purposes, government by the Communist Party. Although there have been many writes including St. Simon and Robert Owen who advocated socialism yet their views were not adopted as the basis of governance in any country. The theory of Karl Marx as interpreted by Lenin is the basis of governance in China and other socialist countries.

Many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who adopted socialist governments after the second world war had been under the foreign imperial rule of European nations. After they gained independence they were impressed by the socialist model that was offered by the former Soviet Union and China. Most of the European colonial powers were believers in capitalism. Many of the newly independent countries had been victims both of the foreign imperialism and capitalist exploitation. Therefore, they were attracted towards socialism so that they could do away with exploitation and secure social justice for their people, who were poor and deprived. But most of the Third World countries who tried to experiment with socialist governments in one-party states have discarded the system after 1990. Most of them have introduced economic liberalisation and reverted to liberal democracy.

There is another variety of socialism which is called evolutionary socialism. It believes in continuation of state. It wants to bring about the abolition of private property and establishment of social justice with the help of the state. It believes in multiplicity of political parties and free democratic elections. Many people in different countries have been attracted to this variety of socialism. In our own country leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Jayaprakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia were

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advocates of evolutionary socialism. But, when we talk of socialist government we still mean Communist Party governments. The forty second amendment of Indian Constitution describes India to be a Sovereign, Secular, Socialist, Democratic Republic. Nevertheless, we do not come in the traditional definition of socialist government. By 1991 'socialism' as initiated by Nehru and Indira Gandhi had proved to be completely ineffective. The chaotic economic conditions were then sought to be set right by the introduction of large-scale liberalisation and privatisation by Narashimha Rao Government in 1991-92.

Theories of Development and Underdevelopment

A prolific literature exists on the subject of development and underdevelopment. Contemporary writers have tended to differ according to their preference for capitalism or socialism. Thus,

conservative and liberal social scientists and policymakers from the advanced industrial countries have proclaimed the need to diffuse capital and technology outward as a means of promoting development in the less developed parts of the world. Third world intellectuals and policymakers, including some Marxist social scientists, have argued that diffusion of capital and technology can produce negative consequences for backward areas. Indeed, development and underdevelopment might be conceived in terms of the advance of the forces of production through the accumulation and reproduction of capital along alternative paths of capitalism or socialism. Competitive, manufacturing, monopoly, and welfare forms appear in capitalism; all are guided by the capitalist market, the drive to make a profit, and the rule that under capitalism the threat of unemployment serves as a means for incentive in raising productivity despite worker alienation. In contrast, social democratic, democratic socialist, bureaucratic command, and revolutionary forms appear in socialism; central planning, state hegemony, and sometimes a partially open socialist market usually characterize socialist economies.

These distinctions may help initially in grasping many of the meanings in the literature on development. For example, within American political science, development usually is equated with political democracy or formal and representative institutions, often under capitalism and sometimes under socialism, based on a division of powers in government (executive, legislative, and judicial) and a parliamentary system based on political parties and coalitions of parties. This sort of development may be measured in terms of the number of parties (usually two but also a multitude of parties), the degree of interest group competition, and recognition of individual (but not necessarily collective) rights. Among the problems of this approach is that the hegemony of the state usually is not addressed; neither is the alienation of civil society from decision making due to the actions of elected

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or appointed officials who lose contact with the people. Class distinctions are not examined so that exploitation and inequality between dominant and dominated classes are overlooked. Participation is measured in political terms, not according to social needs or equitable distribution of available resources and economic achievements. Development is also often referred to as modernization. Traditionally, it was measured in terms of per capita income and other criteria that would distinguish advanced industrial nations from backward and less developed nations. Within capitalism this form of development emphasized private ownership of the means of production, sometimes in conjunction with state agencies that coordinate and plan societal activities leading to competition for profit and exploitation. Modernization is sometimes also associated with socialism, usually in social-democratic regimes that are willing to distribute resources to people to meet some needs (ensuring high levels of learning and education for all, medical service for all, food distribution so as to prevent hunger, housing for all, and so on) while at the same time advancing the forces of production. China has promoted "modernization" through reforms aimed at creating a socialist market while maintaining central planning and opening up the economy to foreign capital investment. Finally, development may be understood in terms of human needs, a concept promoted by development specialists at the United Nations where indicators are tabulated country by country in relation to literacy, schooling, health services, housing, provision of food, and growth. According to these criteria, the United States

would score low-no universal health care (as of early 1994), millions of unemployed, homeless people in the streets and would fall well down the list of advanced industrial nations.

A reassessment of development, together with criticism of capitalism and socialism, was prompted by traumatic upheavals in the world, including the overthrow of conservative dictatorships in southern-Europe (Spain, Portugal, and Greece) during the mid-1970s and in the southern cone of South America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay) during the early 1980s as well as the popular uprisings that overcame the dominance of intransigent socialist and communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989. The political changes in southern Europe and South America from formerly conservative, fascist-leaning dictatorships to democratically representative regimes were also accompanied by capitalist transformations from relatively stagnant and retarded economies under the aegis of a strong state to growing economies under neoconservative policies that favored the wealthy and dominant classes. The fall of the regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was accompanied initially by euphoria over freedom and bourgeois democracy, the abandonment of socialism, and the adoption of neoconservative practices in the West in a push toward the capitalist market. Later this enthusiasm was dampened by disruptions that undermined basic social services, limited prospects for employment, and brought food shortages.

The complexity of these issues becomes awesome for the student recently initiated to the literature on development. In an attempt to clarify the issues, this

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chapter sets forth a synthesis and an assessment of six general themes that run through the literature.

Political development

Development and nationalism

Modernization

Underdevelopment

Dependency

Imperialism

Mainstream comparativists favor the first three of these topics, progressive comparativists prefer the last three, although differences are obscured by overlapping theory as well as by contradictions and imprecisions of terminology.

Some comparativists seeking alternative theories and frameworks have turned to theories that emphasize modes of production, class struggle, the world system, and internationalization of capital. As noted in Chapter 4, these perspectives of development are demarcated by the varying

interpretations of Marx and Weber. Marx concerned himself with development premises on the interaction of people with the material world of productive forces and modes of production. Weber identified distinctive rational characteristics of the bureaucratic order of industrial states. Both thinkers focused on bourgeois capitalism, but Marx looked for transformations in the structural base and attempted to ground his theory on facts of historical reality, and Weber dealt with the requisites of development emphasizing routinization, efficiency, professionalization, secularity, differentiation, and specialization and related his theory to ideal conceptions. Some critics would characterize Marx's perspective as revolutionary and realist, his conception of development as dynamic, his method as dialectical; and Weber's understanding would be seen as static, his conception of development as evolutionary and idealist, and his method as rooted in ideal typologies. The influence of these different approaches is evident in the contemporary literature on development.

Political Development

The traditional literature on political development emphasizes a political dimension, distinguishing political from economic development. This literature clusters into at least three types: one associating with notions of democracy; another focusing on aspects of political development and change; and a third examining the crises and sequences of political development.

Traditionally political scientists have addressed questions of democracy. James Bryce's *Modern Democracies* (1921) and Carl J. Friedrich's *Constitutional Government and Democracy* (1937) are representative of this trend. Attention to democracy incorporates issues of elections and constitutional legitimacy into political

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analysis. Seymour Martin Lipset (1959) outlined the requisites of democracy in the context of economic development and political legitimacy. His conditions of democracy included an open class system, economic wealth, and a capitalist economy; the higher the level of industrialization, wealth, and education, the greater the prospects for democracy.

These premises about democracy continue to pervade conceptions of political development. The effort of Almond (1965) to tie orthodox systems and culture theory to political development exemplifies this unchanged view of reality. In his *Aspects of Political Development*, Pye (1966, especially chapt. 4) revealed his biases toward Western democracy while acknowledging a diversity of definitions, generally associated with change. For example, he referred to political development as institution building and citizen development; mass mobilization and participation are essential to democracy and order. He argued for pluralistic participation, multiparty systems, and competitive politics, as well as political stability and an avoidance of excessive tension. Democratic development, however, must balance with strong government and ordered authority. Inherent in the references to democracy are value-laden and Western-oriented assumptions, and, thus, attention to political development rather than to democracy implies a more value-neutral basis.

What is clear from these and other studies of change is that no single mainstream theory of change prevails in comparative politics. This lack of theory was recognized by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council, which turned to the study of crisis and sequences of development.

The product of the committee's deliberations comprised contributions by Leonard Binder, James S. Coleman, Joseph LaPalombara, Lucian Pye, Sidney Verba, and Myron Weiner. Their studies were published in a series of volumes on political development (Binder et al. 1971). While attempting to transcend "the formal and institutional bias" of comparative studies, these specialists searched for a theoretical basis. Their conception centered on a "development syndrome" or the three dimensions of a political systems differentiation, equality, and capacity. Differentiation refers to "the process of progressive separation and specialization of roles, institutional spheres, and associations in societies undergoing modernization." Equality relates to "national citizenship, a universalistic legal order, and achievement norms." Capacity involves how the polity manages tensions and stimulates new change. As the polity develops through increases in differentiation, equality, and capacity, crises may occur: crises of identity, legitimacy, participation, penetration, and distribution.

Each of these crises is described separately. An identity crisis relates to mass and elite culture in terms of nationalist feelings about territory, cleavages that undermine national unity, and conflict between ethnic loyalty and national commitments. A legitimacy crisis arises because of differences over authority for example, when a ruling group is forced to compete for power with other groups or a

ruler's claim to authority is rejected as illegitimate by the masses. A crisis of participation occurs when "the governing elite views the demands or behavior of

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individuals and groups seeking to participate in the political system as illegitimate." A crisis of penetration is characterized by "pressures on the governing elite to make institutional adaptation or innovations of a particular variety" (quotes in Binder et al. 1971: 77-80, 187, 205-206). A crisis of distribution is analyzed in terms of such problems as ideology, physical and human resources, and the institutional environment.

Binder and his colleagues raised questions about the sequential or evolutionary theory that underlies the attention to a development syndrome. Two decades of study and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of research funds did not result in a new theory of development. Holt and Turner offered a critique of this conceptual framework by noting the lack of emphasis during the early stages on rigorous concept formation, systematic analysis, or the development of interrelated propositions (1975: 987). As to the conceptualization of the live crises, Holt and Turner argued that 'the categories are not defined with sufficient sharpness, and there is considerable overlap' (1992). Only the broad outline of a conception was revealed. Kesselman argued that although Binder and his colleagues were able to transcend prevailing assumptions that pluralism, political stability, and the end of ideology would inevitably characterize development, they emphasized change and crises yet gave "no satisfactory explanation ... for the

dynamics of change.... In the absence of a theory of structural change, change appears to occur in a random, inexplicable, and a historical fashion" (Kesselman 1973:148-149). Moreover, Kesselman argued, those comparativists were ideological in their desire "to freeze alternatives and reduce irregularity" (153). They placed priority on "an implicit belief in the superiority of American political values, institutions, and processes an ethnocentric premise that "originated during the cold war, a war the United States was never in danger of losing" (153-154)

Development and Nationalism

Development often is associated with nationalism, and this relationship has been emphasized in reference to the emerging national states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where a "new nationalism" seeks a common political loyalty for groups divided by major linguistic, ethnic, and religious differences through a struggle for independence and nationhood. The "classical" origins of nationalism, however, are European and are based on common cultural traditions such as a single language or closely related dialects; a heritage of customs and interests common to people; symbols of national experience, including the flag, anthem, parades, processions, pilgrimages; institutional solidarity, including a single government; sovereignty of the "state" or nation; a territorial unit; and a creed of loyalty and a common feeling or will associated with the consciousness of the nation in the minds of the people. Such characteristics are identified by major writers on

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nationalism, including Carlton Hayes in *Nationalism* (1960) and Hans Kohn in *The Age of Nationalism* (1968).

Most historians date nationalism to the French Revolution, although nationalism sometimes is associated with primitive peoples or was submerged in the city state, local villages, or region. Some writers root nationalism in mid seventeenth century England where new institutions emerged such as Parliament, civic interests, and new national symbols. Classical nationalism, however, was spurred on by the French Revolution as well as by Napoleon's expansion into Europe, which brought together opposing states into bonds of national unity and a shared community interest. According to Hayes, nationalism evolved through four historical periods thereafter: 1815 to 1871, when nationalism and an emerging capitalism unified states formerly subject to feudal division; 1871 to 1900, when nationalism forged unity in Germany and Italy and prompted other nationalities to call for independence based on unity of geography, language, and culture; 1900 to 1918, a period of international rivalry in which imperialism was disguised in the form of supra nationalism; and 1918 to date, when the new nationalism challenged colonialism and imperialism with the formation of new states.

Historians and social scientists have suggested a classification of nationalisms, and at least nine types of nationalisms are identifiable in the general literature. Indigenous nationalism is associated with primitive and tribal organizations, which are small but homogeneous and held together through a system of beliefs and practices that shape the loyalty and devotion of individual members to their "nation." Traditional nationalism favors the preservation of an aristocracy, upholds God as the supreme arbiter of a nation, and encourages the "civilizing" of

backward peoples. Religious or symbolic nationalism is characterized by emotion-laden symbols and, in secular form, is like a religion whose god is the national state. Humanitarian nationalism arose from eighteenth-century thought and is similar to traditional forms of nationalism; it promises an escape from present evils to a future millennium, substitutes the natural for the supernatural and science for theology, and exalts human reason and promises for the perfection of the human race.

Liberal nationalism also originated with eighteenth-century thought, and it stresses political democracy, humanitarian values, and individual liberties as well as patriotism and sovereignty as the bases for the nation-state. Integral nationalism rejects liberalism, insists on patriotic allegiance, is hostile to foreign influences, and exalts the nation as a stepping-stone to a new order, which will evolve through physical force, militarism, and imperialism. Bourgeois nationalism is expressed through old and new forms. The old variant is supported by the commercial and professional middle classes who profess national unification and political and economic liberalism; they profess national unification while believing that the nation can be strengthened through foreign investment, enterprise, and culture. The newer form of bourgeois nationalism is manifested by the "national bourgeoisie" whose interests are rooted in private capital tied to the nation rather than to foreign influences. Technological nationalism is evident in industrializing

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countries where progress is promoted through centralized planning and development; this nationalism believes that heavy industry will provide a panacea to developmental problems and that an infrastructure of transportation and power should be established as the base of all development. Finally, Jacobin or radical nationalism is identified with contemporary liberation movements; it advocates disciplined political and economic centralization, popular sovereignty, liberty, and equality as well as a reliance on force to attain its ends. (For elaboration of these "nine types of nationalism, see the synthesis in Chilcote 1969.)

The "new nationalism" caught the attention of comparative politics specialists. Karl Deutsch wrote, "Nation-preserving, nation-building, and nationalism. ... these still remain a major and even a still growing force in politics which statesmen of good will would ignore at their peril" (1953: 4). This theme runs through Deutsch's writings. Other contributions include Reinhard Bendix's *Nation-Building and Citizenship* (1969), Leonard Doob's *Patriotism and Nationalism* (1964), and Rupert Emerson's *From Empire to Nation* (1960).

The literature on nationalism usually interprets development as an incremental or asynchronous process of change and growth. Incremental development implies a linear progression from traditional to modern stages, and asynchronous development involves a complex series of changes in the rates of growth from sector to sector in society; the establishment of a manufacturing plant, for example, may lead to pressures for the training of a new type of labor force.

Comparative political scientists tend to emphasize political development in relation to nationalism. They stress socialization as the means through which nationalism provides the

ideological impetus and motivation for development. They also give attention to patterns of inculcating behavior so that people not only will recognize their nation with pride but also will render respect and obedience to authority and governmental legitimacy. The literature, however, also examines the impact of nationalism on economic development (through demands for higher levels and varied styles of production and consumption, egalitarian distribution, and degrees of specialization); on social development (through an awareness of the gaps between classes and the potential for mobilization and aggregation); and on cultural and psychological development (through learning and the common patterns of life and thought shaped by the day-to-day and generation-to-generation experiences).

Thus nationalism provides an ideological impetus for all development—political, economic, social, cultural, and psychological. Although some nationalism may be more effective than others in stimulating national development, a basic assumption runs through the literature: the stronger the nationalism, the greater the probability that new demands and actions will arise for involvement in national life; these demands and actions may lead to change and development.

The pervasive nature of nationalism gave relevance to the study of nationalism in emerging socialist societies. Horace Davis analyzed the connections between nationalism and socialism by initially distinguishing destructive tendencies from constructive ones. "While nationalism has been used as a cloak to cover up some

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of history's greatest crimes, it has also inspired constructive movements. The problem of the Marxist is to distinguish between these two aspects of nationalism—to learn to harness nationalist movements where possible to serve the interests of progress while condemning and curbing them when they are used for antisocial ends" (1967: xi). Nationalism therefore may be progressive. Citing Marx and Engels, Davis described how nationalism becomes the necessary condition for the emergence of an internationalism with the harmonious cooperation of people under the rule of the proletariat. The nation is the basis for the building of the international society of the future. Although the internationalism of the advanced industrial nations accompanies ruthless imperialist expansion and capitalist development in the undeveloped nations, the contradictions inherent in this process may eventually permit the rise of socialism.

The question of nationalism as a force leading to socialist development is much debated in the literature. Lenin, Luxemburg, Stalin, and Mao held divergent views on the question. Marx and Engels generally viewed nationalism in relation to the development of West European nations, but the revolutions in Russia and China brought new conditions and necessitated new theoretical perspectives. The breakup of the European empires and the emergence of many new nations provoked more interpretations and theories. Consequently, considerable confusion continues to characterize the literature on nationalism and development today, and a clear theory has yet to establish itself in comparative study.

Modernization

The experience of Western Europe has suggested a linear path toward modern development. Nineteenth-century theories of evolution asserted that the western world had pursued a path through successive stages of development. Implied in this view of progress was the belief that the Western world could civilize other less developed areas and conquest and expansion would combine with the spread of European values to these areas. In social science Max Weber contrasted traditional and modern societies, and Talcott Parsons offered dichotomous variables so that ascriptive statuses, diffuse roles, and particularistic values of traditional society were juxtaposed with achievement statuses, specific roles, and universalistic values of modern society. This ideal typing of traditional and modern societies influenced the orthodox approaches to the study of development as modernization. For example, S.N. Eisenstadt (1964) identified the major structural characteristics of modernization somewhat along the lines suggested by Weber and Parsons. He associated modernization with a highly differentiated political structure and the diffusion of political power and authority into all spheres of society. In *Modernization and the structure of societies* Marion J. Levy Jr. (1966), known for his neo-Parsonian structural-functional framework in *The Structure of Society* (1952), assimilated his basic categories in a two-volume work that presents a

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comprehensive outline of propositions for the analysis of societies undergoing modernization.

Although the literature on modernization is extensive and varied, three examples will reflect the contrasting approaches.

Stage Theory and Modernization

After the Second World War the interest of the Western capitalist nations in the poorer nations focused not only on profits extraction of raw materials and new markets but on the assumption that massive financial and technical assistance would transform the agricultural subsistence societies into modern industrial societies. Western scholars have described this transformation in terms of developmental stages. Inherent in this theory are some premises: through change higher levels of order may be achieved, change continuously and necessarily occurs through a consequence of stages and toward certain qualities characteristic of Western Europe, and change emanates from uniform causes.

The most influential proponent of this theory was the U.S. economic historian Walt W. Rostow, who in his *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960) outlined five stages: (1) traditional society, (2) preconditions for take-off, (3) takeoff, (4) drive toward maturity, and (5) age of high mass consumption. The takeoff stage is especially relevant to new nations, when growth becomes a reality. A decade later Rostow added "the search for quality" as a sixth stage in his treatise on "Politics and the Stages of Growth" (1971). Rostow's stage theory has been adopted by many political scientists. A.F.K. Organski examined the role of government through four stages in his *Stages of Political Development* (1965): (1) primitive national unification, (2) industrialization, (3) national welfare, and (4) abundance. Organski defined political development in terms of increasing government efficiency in the mobilizing of human and material resources toward national ends. His notion of development assumes, as was the case

for the new advanced nations, that the Third World will grow from a stage of underdevelopment to one of capitalise democracy, abundance, and mass consumption. C. E. Black (1966) described phases of modernization in an effort to avoid the unilinear and evolutionary implications of the simplistic stage theory. He referred to criteria that facilitate the assessment of such phases as (1) the challenge, of modernity to traditional society, (2) the consolidation of modernizing leadership as traditional leaders decline in significance,(3) the transformation of economy and society from rural and agrarian to urban and industrial 4) the integration of society

Modernization and Decay of Society

Samuel P. Huntington in Political Order in Changing .Societies (1968) placed emphasis on 'stability' in the face of the rapid social and economic changes that ac-

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company modernization. Modernization implies industrialization ,economic growth, increasing social mobility, and political participation. He advocated a control and regulation the process of modernization by constraining new groups from entering into politics, limiting exposure to mass media and access to higher education and suppressing the mobilization of the masses. Preferring the status quo to the uncertainty of instability and revolution ,Huntington focused on the issue of political decay. Political decay is a reflection of instability ,corruption ,authoritarianism, and violence and is the result of the failure of development which is defined as enhancing of capacity to sustain the continuous transformation necessiated by the challenge of modernization and the demands of expanding participation. An imbalance toward institutionalization and order thereby enhancing capacity may result in repression. whereas an excessive increase in demands leading to greater participation may lead to decay and instability.

Huntington's complex model attempts to avoid the pitfalls of writers who understand the political change as the outcome of social and economic conditions or of those who emphasize unilinear growth. Yet Hungtington revealed an emphasis on containing change. His fundamental understanding of development was essentially conservative ,resting upon values of stability, order ,balance and harmony. Notwithstanding his claims that his approach to development was dialectical, fluctuating between demand and capacity ,Huntingtion ultimately leaned toward institutional stability rather than toward the potentially disruptive demands of a participating and mobilizing society. Curiously he repeatedly referred to Leninism and the ability of communist societies to govern, provide effective authority, and legitimize a mobilizing party organization. In fact he emphasized (especially military) order and institutionalization as essential to all political systems and as such he slighted modernization in the form of mobilization and participation.

In a later work Huntington and Nelson (1976) examined participation in relation to five models of development The liberal model evident in U.S. society assumes that modernization and development will enhance the material conditions of society and correct the inequality ,violence, and lack of democratic participation found in backward societies. Such a model however, "has been shown to be methodologically weak, empirically questionable, and historically irrelevant." (1976:20).The bourgeois model of development accounts for the political needs of an emerging

middle class whose demands center on urban economic growth and the development of electoral and legislative institutions. In the autocratic model government authority may use the power of the state to suppress middle class participation and to secure the support of lower classes. The technocrat model of development is characterized by low political participation and high foreign investment; participation is restrained in favor of economic development and increases in income inequality. In contrast, the populist model emphasizes high political participation as well as economic equality along with low economic growth. Huntington and Nelson applied these models to two phases of development, one in which economic development begins and economic inequalities

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appear and the other in which social classes begin to demand access to political participation and power. All models were cast as ideal types but the authors attempted to distinguish the positivist and determinist liberal type from the other four, thus trying to explain how the expansion or contraction of political participation affects the degree of socio economic equality.

The Politics of Modernization

David Apter in *The Politics of Modernization* 1965 presented a typology of government and some theories about change. He distinguished between development and modernization.

Development, the most general results from the proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community. Modernization is a particular case of development Modernization implies three conditions-a social system that can constantly innovate without falling apart ;differentiated flexible social structures ;and a social framework to provide the skill and knowledge necessary for living in a technologically advance world, Industrialization a special aspect of modernization may be defined as the period in a society in which the strategic functional roles are related to manufacturing.[1965:67]

After identified two models: "secular-libertarian" or pluralistic systems and "sacred-collectivity" or mobilizing systems. These models are formulated as a dichotomy of ideal types along a continuum of authority. The secular-libertarian model is represented by the modern reconciliation system, characterized by diversified power and leadership, bargaining, and compromise as exemplified by a liberal democracy such as the. United States. The sacred-collectivity model is represented by the modern mobilization system, characterized by personalized and charismatic leadership, political religiosity, and the organization of a mass party. China under Mao, Ghana under Nkrumah, and Egypt under Nasser are examples of mobilization systems. Apter conceded that reconciliation systems do not seem to work in the new nations; many parties, for example, tend to fragment and disunify a political order. The mobilization system tends to involve people in rallies and demonstrations; involvement in a single-party system enables the voter to Engage in tangible, albeit largely symbolic, participation.

Apter remained optimistic about the future of democracy and the reconciliation system, however. On the one hand, he believed that the reconciliation system will lead to new "consummatory

values" and to a search for humanness irrending the alienation of the individual. On the other hand, he assumed that the reconciliation system will benefit from science and that science will regenerate democracy. Apter described this scientific ethic in terms of rationality and empirical research. In this notion of science, Apter appeared to be affirming the prevailing scientific paradigm of comparative politics.

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In his appraisal, Gianfranco Pasquino linked Apter's political system types to Rostow's stages of economic growth. Rostow's preconditions for the takeoff stage are created by Apter's reconciliation system or, alternately, by a modernizing autocracy or a military oligarchy. The takeoff stage is achieved by a mobilization system that draws on national resources, disrupts social stratification, and destroys the agrarian sector. Apter's reconciliation and mobilization systems are in effect during Rostow's stage of the drive to maturity. Both systems may be replaced by; the final stage of development, that of the age of high mass communication. Pasquino offered a fourfold critique of Apter's concept of mobilization. First, the concept is too broad and not operational in research. Second, Apter focused exclusively on the capability of the system rather than on its demands. Third, Apter imprecisely and loosely formulated three stages—traditional, transitional, and modern. Fourth, Apter resorted to the use of ideal types, which sometimes are mistaken for accurate descriptions (Pasquino 1970:308-318).

Criticism of Mainstream Theories

The mainstream theories of development were uncritically and nearly universally accepted during the early 1960s, when they experienced their greatest reception by the specialists of comparative politics. A synthesis (Chodak 1973) suggests five currents of thinking. One deals with the evolutionary theories of development, including the formulations of Lewis H. Morgan, Marx, Comte, Spencer, and others. Another approach concerns the macrosociological theories of industrialization found in the writings of Durkheim, Bendix, and Neil Smelser. A third approach looks at the mechanisms of development, relying especially on the psychological explanations found in Max Weber's study of capitalism and the Protestant ethic or David McClellan's theory of achievement motivation. A fourth approach emphasizes political and economic development, in particular in planning and goal-oriented actions. A last approach emphasizes theories of modernization as found in the writings of Levy, Bendix, Apter, and Eisenstadt.

There has been abundant criticism of these theories of development since the late 1960s, even though they continue to pervade policy areas of government and the classrooms of mainstream political science. The following discussion concentrates, first, on some modest assessments, then turns to several indictments that appeared to put the old questions to rest, and, finally, looks at the effort of mainstream intellectuals to revive old ideas two decades later.

Dissatisfaction was clearly evident among younger scholars who searched for alternative views. Some critics reached for middle ground, sympathetic to a leftist view that had indicted the idea of progress through a diffusion of capital and technology from the advanced industrial nations to the less developed nations. Chalmers(1972), for example, acknowledged the exploitative

relationship of developed to underdeveloped nations; noted the failure of developmentalism to deal with the special conditions and cultural backgrounds of the underdeveloped

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nations; and questioned the assumptions and values of developmentalism, in particular the emphasis on stability. The search for a theory of development remains a worthy enterprise, he believed, although the advocacy of developmentalism by the United States and other developed nations in the underdeveloped parts of the world should be avoided. Schmitter (1972) discussed varying types of modern politics, ranging from pluralist democratic to corporatist authoritarian to collectivist monocratic. He favored the corporatist-authoritarian explanation for Latin America and suggested that Latin Americans need not continue, as in the past, to employ alien conceptions and theories but now can utilize their own models. Tipps (1973) found that modernization theory was a product of an ethnocentric world view and representative of the expansion of U.S. interests throughout the World; Sachs (1972) observed that development theories were crude and simple interpretations based on a grossly mechanistic and materialist understanding of history. Coulter (1972) suggested a tendency toward reductionism. O'Brien (1972) showed that the theories inclined toward authoritarian solutions and totalitarian regimes.

Leftist intellectuals offered a blistering attack on development theory through scrutiny of principal approaches in social science. One was the ideal typical approach conceived by Weber, systematized by Parsons, and elaborated by Bert Hoselitz and others, all of whom were faulted on theoretical as well as on empirical grounds because their attempts to apply theory to underdeveloped countries proved to be totally ineffective. The stage theory of Rostow was criticized for its assumption that underdevelopment is an original stage of traditional society when in fact underdevelopment in the underdeveloped countries is the consequence of the economic and political expansion of Europe since the fifteenth century. Stage theory ignores both historical conditions as well as the relations of the underdeveloped countries with the now developed countries. The fallacies of a second approach were exposed—the diffusionist view that development can evolve through the spread of knowledge, skills, organization, values, technology, , and capital from the advanced to the backward areas of the world. Finally, weaknesses of psychological approaches to a theory of development were revealed. By utilizing the jargon and terminology of the very theory he sought to demolish, Andre Gunder Frank penetrated and revealed the weaknesses of main-stream theories of development. His solution rests with the underdeveloped countries themselves.

If the developed countries cannot diffuse development, development theory, or development policy to the underdeveloped countries, then the people of these countries will have to develop them by themselves. These three modes of approach are the emperor's clothes, which have served to hide his naked imperialism. Rather than fashion the emperor a new suit, these people will have to dethrone him and clothe themselves. [Frank 1967b: 73]

Criticisms abound of political scientists for their failure to build a theory of development and for dealing with trivia, abstractions, and obscure terminology.

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Dennon sounded the tone: "The literature is not only a historical and apolitical but, behind all the analytical techniques, it is consciously or unconsciously prostituted to the goals of American foreign policy" (1969: 285). Apter, for example, replied on static categorization, with catastrophic results. "On the particular level, a country once placed in the appropriate box is frozen in time and cannot be discussed as a living entity with a past and a future—it has only an eternal present; on the general level, once a model has been raised to such a level of abstraction that its historical significance is obliterated, it makes just as much sense for it to occur at one time as at another, and a multitude of useless generalizations can be deduced from speculation on its occurrence at any given time" (1969:288). Blacks criteria of development became irrelevant to his concept of modernity. Further he imposed ideas upon his data, uncritically fit countries to his typologies, and projected a Utopian conception of modernization that restricts attention to political conflict. As to Pye, "his preoccupation with the surface characteristics and formal institutions ... developed to the point where he believed the government capable of acting independently of society" (291).

Bodenheimer examined the "ideology of developmentalism," in particular criticizing the "notion that knowledge is built up through patient piecemeal accumulation of new observations, which has reached its triumphant culmination in the modern data bank" (Bodenheimer 1970:100). Such practice lends credence to theory that stresses continuous and linear progression from traditional to modern stages through an irreversible process. The idea that development can be diffused from developed to underdeveloped nations also was debunked.

The debates on mainstream theories of development have not faded away. The old ideas on industrialization, urbanization, modernization, and growth were largely dehumanized, so that a reconceptualization might incorporate the means for obtaining the good life and sustaining life in terms of food, shelter, health, survival, esteem or recognition, self-respect, dignity, and freedom from oppression (Goulet 1968). Thus, development evolves primarily through the realization of human needs (Park 1984) and by means of struggle for liberation (Kruijcr1987).

This theme served to expose "mythical undercurrents" on which both capitalist and socialist models of development might be premised because Western capitalism's "anemic" formulations are weak and of little use, and Marxism's synthesis of science and socialism often becomes relegated to bureaucratic formulas because revolutionary leaders fail when they turn to the practical concerns of administration and planning (Berger 1976: 28-29). For example, [underdeveloped countries] may need foreign aid in order to achieve higher rates of growth. Their problem is to transcend the negative impacts of foreign aid strategies that may serve the interests of other nations and lead to the concentration of income in a few hands and other contradictions. They must avoid this income dilemma and implement, a policy leading to self-sustained growth as well ns to equity and social justice within a capitalist or socialist framework (Hamid 1974). As another example, Barrington Moore, Jr., in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*: Lord and

Peasant in the Making of the Modem World (1966) traced three distinct paths to development and modernization, each leading to a political outcome: democracy, fascism, and communism

through particular national experiences. Thus, Moore did not postulate one path through which the national experiences and development of all nations pass; nor did he rely on a single class, say the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, to carry out the modernizing revolution. Consequently, his work stands as "virtually the only well-elaborated Marxist work on the politics of modernization to which one can point" (Skocpol 1973:1).

The old ideas have been recycled in recent years. The decline of the political development school was due not only to the popularity of alternative approaches but to the need for terminology and conceptualization (Riggs 1981). David Golds-worthy picked up on this issue and argued that clarity in terminology might be achieved once development is recognized as "a political problem, a political issue, and a political process" (1988:526).

The field of political development has been both a success and a failure, but today it generally is "a muddle" and the consequence of "all the traits of too-rapid, -built growth, and of its concomitant, 'decay'" (Eckstein 1982: 451). Yet the liberal development theory of political science is drawn from the belief that pragmatic pluralism is the basis of a science of politics as well as a justification of the American political system, according to Binder (1986). He showed how both liberals and conservatives emphasize culture rather than class or political institutions so that political development came to be defined more conservatively by Samuel Huntington and others in terms of control, planning, technology, and stability (see Weiner and Huntington 1987). Tony Smith affirmed that developmentalism failed because its models were formal and abstract: "loose and incomplete at a heuristic level on the one hand, and deficient in genuinely interdisciplinary empirical propositions at the level of comparative theory on the other" (1985: 542). Although he deemed the dependency school "coherent and complex" and "an alternative paradigm of study" (550), he argued that one must expose dependency's "myth of imperialism at the same time as its myth of the logic of change on the periphery" (557). Undeterred by these views, Lucian Pye, in his 1989 presidential address to the American Political Science Association, looked at the crisis of authoritarianism and events during the 1980s that were throwing into question the legitimacy of all authoritarian regimes and attributed the changes to modernization. Pye's appeal was not in vain if one turns to recent serious efforts to recast modernization to show its strengths and weaknesses in the search for alternative theory (for example, Dube 1988 and So 1990).

This synthesis and assessment of the mainstream theories of political development, development and nationalism, and modernization leave the student with the choice of revising or rejecting most of these contributions to comparative politics. A major problem has been the attempt to apply theories and ideas drawn from the experience of the advanced-nations to an understanding of the rapid and perplexing events in the underdeveloped nations. The results have been unsatisfactory, prompting scholars and political leaders to turn to alternative theories

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and interpretations of underdevelopment, dependency, and imperialism. Radical perspectives proliferated, but the issues and debates that ensued have stimulated a new generation of thought and intellectual and practical activity that deserve serious consideration in the field of comparative politics. Thus, we now turn to a critical overview of underdevelopment,

dependency, and imperialism, themes that are manifest in this new thought and that also have been largely incorporated today into the thinking of mainstream comparative and international politics (see Caporaso 1980, for example).

Underdevelopment

Theories of development generally relate to the experience of the advanced nations. Thus traditional perspectives of development in the less developed nations usually assume the possibility of development everywhere; capital and technology might filter down from the advanced to the less developed nations. Diffusion of capitalism, it is believed, will resolve the problems of poverty, hunger, health and the like. After the Second World War however, it was clear that this approach was not resolving the problems of the less developed nations. The intellectual reaction that followed (principally from the less developed nations) included differing perspectives, both non-Marxist and Marxist.

The non-Marxist reaction sprang from the economists associated with the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), under the aegis of Raul Prebisch of Argentina. Essentially ECLA accepted the proposition—that a new bourgeoisie, commercial and industrial in character, would emerge as a supporter of national interests in the face of foreign penetration into the domestic economies of the less developed nations. ECLA thus assumed a nationalist yet an anti-imperialist stance. ECLA, figuratively speaking, divided the world into an industrial center and a periphery producing raw materials and assumed that both could benefit from the maximizing of production, income, and consumption. This bifurcation of the world kindled an interest in underdevelopment as well as in development. The writing of Celso Furtado, a Brazilian economist once active in ECLA, is representative of this approach.

Furtado criticized bourgeois neoclassical as well as Marxist theories in his *Development and Underdevelopment* (1964). Furtado examined various trends in the development of the European industrial economy and noted that expansionism led to dualism—some structures characterize the capitalist system and others perpetuate the features of the previous precapitalist system. European industrial development manifested itself in various stages so that underdevelopment was not necessarily a stage in the formation of the modern capitalist economies. Furtado then went on to analyze the structural causes of the external disequilibrium in the underdeveloped economies. Elaborating a contrasting perspective to traditional bourgeois theory, Furtado essentially favored autonomy as a solution to national development. He opposed imperialism and foreign penetration.

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into the domestic economy, but his approach did not embrace a Marxist framework.

It has been argued that the idea of development is firmly rooted in Marxist origins but that underdevelopment is essentially non-Marxist in its original conception, and thus, Marxist attention to underdevelopment should be viewed as critically as bourgeois theory. Aiden Foster-Carter (1974: 69) noted Marx's aversion to dealing with forms of underdevelopment, yet acknowledged that Marx was aware of the tendency of capitalism to generate both wealth and

poverty. Foster-Carter argued that Marx saw such a dichotomy as occurring within national societies, not in the international sphere. Further, Marx saw capitalism as inherently progressive and not as a process in which the relationship between unequal partners would allow one to develop at the expense of the other—as in the less developed nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, areas that are not the major concern of his writings. According to Marx:

Capital strives after the universal development of productive forces, and thus becomes a prerequisite for a new means of production. This means of production is founded not on the development of productive forces in order to reproduce a given condition and, at best, to extend it, but is one where free, uninhibited, progressive and universal development of productive forces itself forms the prerequisite of society and thus of its reproduction. [1976:111]

Samir Amin, The Egyptian scholar, who reminded us to look for understanding of development outside Eurocentric thinking, stressed Marx's "brilliant insight" about non-European societies, given the dearth of knowledge at the time Marx wrote. Amin argued that Marx foresaw that no colonial power would be able to preclude for long the local development of capitalism. With the rise of monopolies, however, the "development of capitalism in the periphery was to remain extraverted, based on the external market, and could therefore not lead to a full flowering of the capitalist mode of production in the periphery" (1976: 199).

A view on both progressive and negative development emerges in the thinking of Marx: "A new and international division of labor, a division suited to the requirements of its chief centers on modern industry, springs up and converts one part of the globe into a chiefly agricultural field of production, for supplying the other part which remains a chiefly industrial field" (1967: 1:451). Marx wrote that merchant capital exploits and destroys but does not necessarily transform precapitalist social formations in a backward country such as India. British rule in India created misery and backwardness along with the conditions for capitalist development, but full-fledged capitalism and industrialization never took hold there. However, as Brewer noted: "While merchant capital and its allies exploit and destroy without transforming, industrial capital destroys but at the same time transforms" (1990: 50). In contrast to his view of India, Marx's writing on the Irish question more closely resembled contemporary writing on underdevelopment, as Mohri (1979) observed. Marx argued that the Irish needed self-government and independence, agrarian revolution, and protective tariffs against England.

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Marxism, as interpreted by Lenin, was concerned with precapitalist societies, and Russia, in spite of its long European tradition, was viewed as a backward nation at the time of the 1917 revolution. David Lane (1974) synthesized Lenin's views on social change in backward areas. First, despite his condemnation of the evils of capitalism, Lenin recognized the benefits of advanced forms of industrial organization, even under capitalism, which he opposed. Second, Lenin's theory of imperialism condemned capitalism as it affected the less developed countries. Third, his theory embraced centralized decision making. Fourth, his theory envisioned mass participation. These views led to the belief that industrialization on a large scale and modern technology constituted elements of a model for development that was implemented by the Soviet Union, but the model did not conform to all of Lenin's original concerns. State ownership and

control, the facilitation of rapid economic growth, and direct forms of political participation for social equality must be combined in the less developed areas. The consequence may be a policy of industrialization without capitalism in combination with greater participation and equality than was evidenced in the Soviet Union.

Several theories of underdevelopment have become influential. Three overlapping theoretical tendencies will now be looked at: capitalist development in the center and underdevelopment in the periphery, unequal development, and uneven development.

Capitalist Development in the Center and Underdevelopment in the Periphery

While Celso Furtado and other ECLA economists critiqued, then modified, bourgeois theories of development, Andre Gunder Frank and a handful of others attempted to formulate a theory of underdevelopment. Frank (1966) distinguished center and periphery by referring to metropole and satellite. He argued that an adequate theory of development could not be formulated without attention to the past economic and social history of underdevelopment suffered by the majority of the world's population. He was concerned that most theory fails to account for the relationship between metropolis and colony in times of mercantilist and capitalist expansion.

Frank set forth a number of premises. First, underdevelopment is not original or traditional. The now developed countries may once have been undeveloped, but they were never underdeveloped. Contemporary underdevelopment is a consequence of the relationships between the now developed metropolitan countries and the underdeveloped satellite countries, a reflection of the development of the capitalist system on a world scale. Second, the view of dual societies—one modern, capitalist, and developed and the other isolated, feudal or precapitalist, and underdeveloped—is false because the underdevelopment of backward areas is a product of the same historical process of capitalist development that shaped the development of the progressive areas. Third, metropole-satellite relations thus are found at the international level as well as in the economic, political, and social

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lives of the colonies and neocolonial countries. A chain of metropolises and satellites connects all parts of the world system from the metropolitan center in Europe or the United States to the hinterland of the backward countries. Fourth, times of war and depression allowed for some autonomous capitalist development in the satellites, but within the present capitalist system such development is destined to result in underdevelopment. Fifth, the most underdeveloped regions are those that in the past had the closest ties to the metropole. They were the greatest exporters of primary products and a major source for capital, but they were abandoned once business declined.

The theory of a capitalist development of underdevelopment stimulated writing about underdevelopment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Frank in *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (1967a) used Brazil and Chile as case studies to back up his theory. While Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972) amassed historical detail in support of his thesis that Europe underdeveloped Africa, he perceived underdevelopment to be

related to exploitation. The underdeveloped countries are products of capitalist, imperialist, and colonialist exploitation; they are underdeveloped, not developing, because they are not escaping from their backward conditions. Like Frank, Rodney examined metropolises and satellites and the dependent relationship between them. Malcolm Caldwell's *The Wealth of Some Nations* (1977) followed in this tradition with its focus on Asia. Szentes (1976) examined imperialism and the underdeveloped world in general, relating data to a Marxist analysis.

Beyond these studies, there have been attempts to rework the theory of underdevelopment. Geoffrey Kay (1975) offered a contribution that analyzes both mercantile and industrial capital in the process of underdevelopment. He identified contradictions in radical theory and clarified the place of Marxism in a theory of development and underdevelopment. He felt that historical accounts of underdevelopment are elaborated through such empirical categories as metropole and satellite, "which collapse into hopeless contradiction in the face of close investigation" (104).

Unequal Development

Utilizing somewhat similar arguments as the theorists of underdevelopment, several writers have focused on questions of unequal exchange. Arghiri Emmanuel (1972), for example, stated that relations between the center and the periphery are unequal and therefore necessitate an analysis of the problem of class struggle. According to Amin, such a sweeping generalization has provoked misguided criticism. With transfers of value from the periphery to the center, might not the world be analyzed in terms of bourgeois and proletarian nations? If the transfer of value from the periphery to the center improves the reward of labor at the center might not the proletariat align itself with its bourgeoisie to ensure the status quo? Amin answered in the negative, arguing that we cannot think of class struggle as occurring within separate national contexts but must think of it as occurring

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within the context of the world system. We turn now to a summary of Amin's views as elaborated in his *Unequal Development* (1976), then to an assessment of his approach.

The theory of unequal development acknowledges the different patterns of transition to peripheral capitalism and to central capitalism as the consequence of the impact of the capitalist mode of production and its mechanism of trade upon precapitalist formations, resulting, for instance, in the destruction of crafts without their being replaced by local industrial production. Unequal international specialization is manifested by distortions in the export activities, bureaucracy, and light industries of the periphery. Given its integration within the world market, the periphery is without adequate economic means to challenge foreign monopolies. The underdeveloped countries should not be confused with the advanced countries at an earlier stage of their development, for the underdeveloped countries are characterized by an extreme unevenness in the distribution of production, which primarily serves the needs of the dominant center. Underdevelopment is accentuated and growth is blocked in the periphery, making autonomous development impossible. The capitalist mode of production tends to become exclusive at the center, but not in the periphery where other modes may be evident. In the periphery national capitalism may be limited to activities of the state.

Two issues are apparent in theoretical discussions of inequality. One is the question of national and international development to which I have already alluded. Amin leaned to an interpretation that sees capitalism as a world system upon which national entities may be dependent. Class production struggle, and transition all must be analyzed in a world context. Thus, the transition from capitalism to socialism must be on an international order, and it must begin in the periphery.

The other issue is the debate as to whether analysis should concern exchange or production. Writers such as Emmanuel and Frank stressed exchange and market inequalities, whereas Amin seemed to use concepts such as the mode of production to move beyond market categories while focusing on the world system, center, and periphery. Amin followed in the tradition of Marx who noted the crises generated by financial and trade cycles in the capitalist system, but who also focused on the development of productive capacity by capitalism (including technology and resource accumulation), which would create the conditions, probably spurred on by these exchange crises, that would lead to change. These distinctions between production and exchange have fueled debates about the origins of capitalism and the transition from feudalism to capitalism. These concerns are dealt with in the next chapter.

Uneven Development

Notions of uneven development were partially a response to nineteenth-century ideas of evolution and gradualism, which became associated with the advocates of

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capitalist progress who maintained that all activist peoples would emerge from their precapitalist state to a world of bourgeois capitalism and free competition. Events of the twentieth century have demonstrated the accumulating effects of world capitalist development and have manifested extreme irregularities, because capitalist commerce, banking, and industry have concentrated in Western Europe and the United States while the majority of people have been relegated to backward conditions. Marx, Engels, as well as Lenin, and Trotsky all noted uneven development. But Trotsky went so far as to formulate his understanding into the law of uneven and combined development.

The uneven and combined features of development were succinctly described by George Novack. For uneven development,

The mainspring of human progress is man's command over the forces of production. As history advances, there occurs a faster or slower growth of productive forces in this or that segment of society, owing to the differences in natural conditions and historical connections. These disparities give either an expanded or a compressed character to entire historical epochs and impart varying rates and extents of growth to different peoples, different branches of economy, different classes, different social institutions and fields of culture. This is the essence of uneven development. [Novack 1966:5]

For combined development,

These variations amongst the multiple" factors in history provide the basis for the emergence of exceptional phenomena in which features of a lower stage are merged with those of a superior stage of social development. These combined formations have a highly contradictory character and exhibit marked peculiarities. They may deviate so much from the rule and effect of such an upheaval as to produce a qualitative leap in social evolution and enable a formerly backward people to outdistance, for a certain time, a more advanced. This is the gist of the law of combined development. [Novack 1966: 6]

In an analysis of the early phase of the Russian revolution, Lenin attributed the success of the revolutionary events to an unusual historical conjuncture involving the combination of dissimilar movements, different class interests, and opposed political and social tendencies. In his History of the Russian Revolution, Trotsky related those laws to his theory of permanent revolution, which was applicable to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Dependency

Dependency is a concept popularly used in comparative analysis of the Third World countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It evolved in Latin America during the 1960s and later it found favor in some writings about Africa and Asia. Both mainstream as well as progressive writers have assimilated dependency into their interpretations of development and underdevelopment, resulting in considerable

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confusion. This effort concentrates on distinguishing among various usages of dependency. Briefly I trace its origins and attempt to differentiate between a non-Marxist and a Marxist view of dependency; I look at some applications and finally conclude with some critical observations and affirm that there is no unified body of thought called dependency theory.

Definitions of Dependency

In his elaboration of a theory of imperialism, Lenin referred to the concept of dependency. He understood capitalist imperialism to be a manifestation of the struggle among the colonial powers for the economic and political division of the world. Although the colonial powers were sharply distinguishable from the colonies formally independent yet dependent countries also were evident. "Not only are there two main groups of countries, those owning colonies, and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency" (Lenin 1967: 1:742-743).

Contemporary perspectives of dependency reveal the contrasting forms of dominance and dependence among the nations of the capitalist world. Capitalism may be either progressive or regressive. Dependent nations may develop as a reflection of the expansion of dominant nations or underdevelop as a consequence of their subjective relationship. Brazilian social scientist Theotonio Dos Santos affirmed the duality:

By dependence we mean 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. The relation of inter-dependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development. [Dos Santos 1970: 231]

Those who employ dependency in the analysis of development and underdevelopment often focus on the problem of foreign penetration into the political economies of the Third World. Outside economic and political influences affect local development and reinforce ruling classes at the expense of the marginal classes. Chilean economist Osvaldo Sunkel elaborated on this interpretation.

Foreign factors are seen not as external but as intrinsic to the system, with manifold and sometimes hidden or subtle political, financial, economic, technical and cultural effects inside the underdeveloped country. ... Thus the concept of "dependencia" links the postwar evolution of capitalism internationally to the discriminatory nature of the local process of development, as we know it. Access to the means and benefits of development is selective; rather than spreading them, the process tends to ensure a

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TABLE 7.1 Approaches to Dependency	
Non-Marxist Anti-Imperialist	Marxist Anti-Imperialist
Desarrollista, structuralist, and nationalist autonomous development (Prebisch, Furtado, and Sunkel)	Monopoly capitalism (Baran and Sweezy) Subimperialism (Marini)
Internal colonialism (Gonzalez Casanova)	Capitalist development of underdevelopment (Frank, Rodney)
Poles of development (Andrade)	New dependency (Dos Santos)
Dependent capitalist development (Cardoso)	

self-reinforcing accumulation of privilege for special-groups as well as the continued existence or a marginal class-[Sunkel 1972: 519]

Marxists as well as anti-Marxists might find that these definitions depict the world today. At the same time, it is clear that there is no consensus about a theory of dependency. Indeed no common theory exists, dependence moves in many directions, and critics set forth a multitude of positions. Some critics attack the nationalist inclinations of some advocates of dependency who oppose outside influence. Many argue that attention to external considerations of dependency avoids considerations of the internal class struggle, and others believe that dependency obscures the analysis of imperialism.

Approaches to Dependency Theory

Table 7.1 outlines the major approaches to a theory of dependency. All these approaches assume, an anti-imperialist stance, yet they are distinguishable through non-Marxist and Marxist categories. These categories are suggested because many of the diffusionist theories of development are incorporated into a theory of dependency. The consequence has been a great deal of confusion and contradiction in the writing on dependency. For example, Marxists seeking to influence radical bourgeois reformers frequently have utilized bourgeois social science concepts. Marxists who have opposed such an approach have associated dependentistas with non-Marxist perspectives of imperialism. At the same time social scientists unfamiliar with Marxist thought often have assumed that dependentistas were Marxist because of a common opposition to foreign penetration. Some clarification of this problem is found in Brenner (1976), Chilcote (1984), and Blomstrom and Hettne (1984). We turn now to the non-Marxist antimperialist approaches to dependency, then look at the Marxist anti-imperialist approaches.

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Desarrollista, Structuralist National Autonomous Development

For centuries dominant nations have intervened in the internal affairs of other nations. In the case of the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, intervention occurred with the advances of U.S. manifest destiny. The establishment of international financial institutions helped ensure the hegemony of dominant nations over dependent ones, and the establishment of aid programs such as the Alliance for Progress served as a facade for old strategies to serve U.S. capitalism. The United States was to serve as benefactor to rid the backward world of underdevelopment and to diffuse civilization everywhere.

Since colonial times Latin America has depended on its export of raw materials and agricultural commodities in pursuit of development, but this strategy of outward desarrollo (development) was undermined by a decline in export earnings during the depression of the 1930s. Under ECLA and Argentine economist Raul Prebisch, strategy turned to inward desarrollo. The new strategy was premised on the achievement of national autonomy through state control and planning of the political economy under the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the industrial bourgeoisie. Under the modernizing state the bourgeoisie would become progressive and a supporter of national interests as capitalist development diffused itself into rural areas and as economic and political policies restricted the influence of Foreign interests.

The ECLA approach was based on two essential propositions. One held that the developing nations are structured into dual societies, one advanced and modern and the other backward and feudal. Under the capitalist state and the growing autonomy of national Interests, an infrastructure of roads, power, and other essentials could be established to ensure the path toward industrialization. The other proposition divided the world into, an industrial center and a periphery. Under unrestrained competition the center tends to appropriate most of the increment in world income to the disadvantage of the periphery.

The ECLA approach was anti-imperialist in that it linked Latin American underdevelopment to the international economic system. Its preference for autonomous capitalist development was echoed by the democratic leftist or social democratic politicians of the times, such as Haya de la

Torre of Peru, Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela and Arturo Frondizi of Argentina. Although Haya was prevented from coming to power by the military, Betancourt and Frondizi were elected to the presidencies of their respective countries. All three believed that the capitalist stage must be promoted and that a dynamic bourgeoisie would emerge under the leadership of the anti-imperialist state.

Osvaldo Sunkel and Celso Furtado elaborated upon the ECLA position. Furtado examined the inequalities in Brazil throughout historical periods, tracing the shift of major economic activity and production from the Northeast to the Center-South region where Sao Paulo is situated. Before the 1964 military intervention and Furtado's exile, an attempt to rectify the economic imbalance was made by Furtado as head of SUDENE, a regional agency in the Northeast whose

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principal task was to mediate on behalf of the state the future course of capitalist development. In this way the state was to serve the masses by preventing a concentration of income in the privileged sectors, by widening the market to all segments of the population, and by influencing technological change (Furtado 1970). Sunkel agreed that this transformation of the existing structures was necessary for autonomous growth; he believed that participation of the masses, including the marginal population, was essential. Underdevelopment, he argued, is not a stage in the evolution of an autonomous society.

We postulate that development and underdevelopment are the two faces of the same universal process ... and that its geographic expression is translated into two great polarizations: on the one hand the polarization of the world between industrial, advanced, developed and metropolitan countries and underdeveloped, backward, poor, peripheral and dependent countries; and on the other hand, a polarization within countries in terms of space, backward, primitive, marginal and dependent groups and activities. [Sunkel, quoted in P. O'Brien 1975:14]

Sunkel seemed to assume that underdevelopment is a part of the process of world capitalist development, that the manifestations of underdevelopment are normal. He saw a complex of structures, held together by laws and composing a system that is affected by change. Change in a structure is identifiable once one relates the parts to the whole system. Thus, planning and control can result in structural transformations and make development possible.

Internal Colonialism

Sunkel alluded to polarization within countries, reminiscent of the theory of internal colonialism proposed by the Mexican sociologist Pablo Gonzalez Casanova (1969). The same conditions of traditional colonialism, he argued, are found internally in nations today. These conditions include monopoly and dependence (the metropolis dominates the isolated communities, creating a deformation of the native economy and decapitalization); relations of production and social control (exploitation plunders the land and discriminates everywhere); and culture and living standards (subsistence economies accentuate poverty, backward techniques, low productivity, lack of services). These are the conditions of marginal [peoples who suffer from low levels of education, unemployment and underemployment, and lack of nourishment. Such peoples

experience a sense of resignation and fatalism similar to that of colonized peoples. Gonzalez Casanova believed that external conditions no longer have a great impact in Mexico, so that a national solution is possible. This will occur as the marginal peoples are assimilated into a collective society through the formation of a national bourgeoisie. Thus, resistance can be mounted against monopoly capitalism turned inward and capitalist exploitation. (See Love 1989 for an elaboration of theories of internal colonialism.)

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Poles of Development

A derivation of internal colonialism is the theory of poles of development, first set forth by the French economist Francois Perroux (1968) and elaborated by the Brazilian geographer Manuel Correia de Andrade (1967). Andrade was concerned especially with unequal development, which, he believed, was evident between nations as well as between regions within a single country. The experience in capitalist nations of a concentrated growth of people and markets in areas of natural resources and in socialist nations of planned industrial centers served as the basis of a poles-of-development theory.

This theory assumes that underdeveloped economies are characterized by a lack of infrastructure in transportation and communication; by a dual economy, with advanced areas existing alongside subsistence ones; and by dependence upon external decisions that pertain to the production of primary products. These conditions may be overcome by diffusing capital and technology to undeveloped centers that promise potential for industrialization. Through careful planning a balance in the economy can be achieved, resulting in autonomous development.

Dependent Capitalist Development

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto (1975) contended with the idea that capitalism promotes underdevelopment. To the contrary, they argued that capitalist development can occur in dependent situations. They believed that dependent capitalist development has become a new form of monopolistic expansion in the Third World. Development thus takes place within the new dependency. This development benefits all classes associated with international capital, including the local agrarian, commercial, financial, and industrial bourgeoisie and even the working class employed in the international sector, but it undermines national interests that are not linked to the multinational corporations, such as local entrepreneurs. The consequence is a fragmentation of interests into a structural dualism between those associated with the multinationals and those marginalized by them. Under such conditions the bourgeoisie often becomes unstable, prompting military intervention and rule.

Cardoso defended his approach by suggesting that modern capitalism and imperialism differ from Lenin's earlier conceptions. Capital accumulation is largely the consequence of the activities of multinational corporations rather than of financial control, and investment has moved away from raw materials and agriculture to industry. Further, new trends in international capitalism have resulted in an increased interdependence in production activities at the international level and in a modification in the patterns of dependence that limit developmental

policy in the peripheral countries, of the international capitalist system. He agreed that international capitalism has obtained a disproportionate influence in industry in the peripheral areas, but he found misleading the assumption that there is a lack of growth in dependent economies because of imperialism (Carcoso 1972: 94).

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Clearly Cardoso's approach is anti-imperialist, but is it Marxist? Cardoso probably would respond in the affirmative, arguing that his ideas constitute an updating of a foundation of theory established by Marx and Lenin. Certainly he attempted to transcend the writings of Celso Furtado and Helio Jaguaribe, who Cardoso felt "contributed to conceptual confusion" with "overly static, mechanistic views of the relationship between the economy and the polity" (Cardoso 1973a: 143). He considered unrealistic the possibility that the state, supported by the bourgeoisie, might confront the excesses of international capitalism and promote development along national autonomous lines. And he considered his approach to be flexible in the face of orthodox and dogmatic Marxist conceptions. He was critical of many of the dependency writers, including Frank, and unlike many dependentistas, he attempted to combine his theory with empirical analysis (Cardoso 1971). The test of this theory, then, may rest with its revolutionary potential. One critic, for example, suggested that Cardoso's theory is simply a "non-revolutionary response" (Myer 1975: 47).

Monopoly Capitalism

Although Cardoso's thought might be marginally Marxist, the writings on monopoly capitalism of several independent socialists fall more clearly into a Marxist framework, even though some critics have found fault with them for not following a "pure" Marxist or Leninist line. Lenin of course developed a theory of imperialism. Imperialism, in his view, was simply the monopoly stage of capitalism; this stage combined bank capital with capital of monopolist industrialists. Lenin called this a merger of finance capital under a financial oligarchy. Today such a merger would be represented by the multinational corporations, which are referred to later in this chapter. Some writers on the Left argue that corporate capital today has replaced finance capital as the dominant form of capital, a view that has not been without dissent from economists who write from a classical Leninist position. Perhaps the major contemporary line of thinking on the subject was set forth by Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966) as they attempted to update and refine Lenin's earlier thought.

Baran and Sweezy revitalized what they called the stagnation of Marxian social science. They credited Lenin with advancing Marxist theory from an analysis of capitalism based on an assumption of a competitive economy, generally of small firms, to the proposition that imperialism constitutes a monopoly stage of capitalism composed of large-scale enterprises. Marx acknowledged that monopolies are remnants of the feudal and mercantile past, not intrinsic segments of capitalism. Engels commented on monopolies in the late nineteenth century, but he did not integrate them into Marxist theory. Baran and Sweezy turned to the generation and absorption of surplus under monopoly capitalism. Surplus is "the difference between what a society produces and the costs of producing it" (1966: 9). Attention to surplus, they believed, allows for an analysis that links the economic base of society with the ideological superstructure.

Baran and Sweezy examined the United States in the light of this approach, but their work also serves as a foundation for understanding the external impact monopoly capitalism of the center exerts upon the peripheral nations of the world. Harry Magdoff (1969) traced imperialism from its beginnings to the modern period and attempted to relate the behavior of private enterprise to U.S. foreign policy. Each line of thinking arises from a separate concern, but they converge in their analysis of the large multinational corporations of modern capitalism and their domestic governments. Cardoso related this concern with multinational corporations to a theory of dependency and also attempted to update Lenin. Samir Amin (1974) provided even greater depth in an analysis of monopolies and dependency in an accumulating capitalist world of center and periphery.

Subimperialism

Theories of imperialism in the literature on development and underdevelopment are discussed later in this chapter, but this discussion of the approaches to dependency must not overlook Ruy Mauro Marini's notion of subimperialism as it pertains to Brazilian capitalist development. He characterized Brazilian capitalism as superexploitative, with a rapid accumulation of capital benefiting the owners of the means of production and an absolute poverty accruing to the masses. With the diminution of the internal consumer market and a related decline in surplus, the Brazilian economy reached an impasse in 1964. At that time the military regime initiated its subimperialist scheme on two fronts: first, to further exploit mass consumption and, second, to penetrate foreign markets. Compromised by the interests of the multinationals and the exploitation of the proletariat, Brazilian expansion depended on the ability of the bourgeoisie to compete in foreign markets (Marini 1969:122-129).

Whatever the successes and failures of this model, subimperialism implies a means for military rulers and bourgeoisie to promote national and semiautonomous development. Marini analyzed the difficulties of an escape from dependency and underdevelopment: in the face of ties to international capitalism and imperialism. His approach combined a dependency perspective with a Marxist anti-imperialist framework.

Capitalist Development of Underdevelopment

The early writing of Andre Gunder Frank (1966) provided another foundation for dependency theory. Frank emphasized commercial monopoly rather than feudalism and precapitalist forms as the economic means whereby national and regional metropolises exploit and appropriate surplus from the economic satellites. Thus capitalism on a world scale promotes developing metropolises at the expense of underdeveloping and dependent satellites.

Frank (1975) certainly was influenced by the ECLA structuralist approach and reaction to the orthodox perspectives of development, as demonstrated by David

Booth (1975). Frank's dichotomy of metropolis and satellite paralleled the ECLA formula of center and periphery. Frank, however, was a critic of ECLA, which led him to an anticapitalist and an apparent Marxist, position. He rejected the stage theory of Rostow and others and also indicted orthodox-Marxist theory as placing the history of capitalism into deterministic formulas. Frank was influenced by Paul Baran's early work (1957) and by the efforts of Baran Sweezy, and others to set forth original and imaginative ideas within a Marxist tradition. In this spirit, Frank took exception to the notion of a dual society. He also outlined the major contradictions of capitalism that led to underdevelopment.

New Dependency

Theotonic Dos Santos took exception to Frank's emphasis on surplus extraction as-the principal cause of underdevelopment: "The process under consideration, rather than being one of satellization as Frank believes, is a case of the formation of a certain type of internal structure conditioned by international relationships of dependence" (Dos Santos, quoted in P. O'Brien 1975: 71). Dos Santos outlined several types of dependency. Colonial dependency characterized relations between Europeans and the colonies whereby a monopoly of trade complemented a monopoly of land, mines, and manpower in the colonized countries. Financial-industrial dependency consolidated itself at the end of the nineteenth century with, on the one hand, a domination of capital by the hegemonic centers and, on the other, the investment of capital in the peripheral colonies for raw materials and agricultural products, which in turn would be consumed by the centers. The new dependency, which emerged after the Second World War, was based on investments by multinational corporations. The theory of the new dependency is elaborated in Dos Santos's writings.

This theory understands industrial development to be dependent on exports, which generate foreign currency to buy imported capital goods. Exports are usually tied to the traditional sectors of an economy, which are controlled by the landed bourgeoisie and which, in turn, are tied to foreign capital. Since that bourgeoisie remits its capital abroad, it is not surprising that foreign capital controls the marketing of exported products, even though the dependent countries have attempted to impose policies of exchange restrictions and taxes on foreign exports and have leaned toward the nationalization of production. Industrial development is conditioned by fluctuations in the balance of payments, which in dependent countries often lead to deficits caused by trading in a highly monopolized international market, the repatriation of foreign profits, and the need to rely on foreign capital aid. Industrial development also is conditioned by the technological monopoly of the imperialist centers.

The theory of new dependency attempts to demonstrate that the relationship of dependent countries to dominant countries cannot be altered without a change in internal structure and external relations. Further, the structure of the dependency deepens, leads dependent countries to underdevelopment, and aggravates the

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problems of the people as those countries conform to an international and internal structure strongly influenced by the role of multinational corporations as well as by the international

commodity and capital markets. In particular, the dependent structure affects productivity, according to Dos Santos.

In the first place, the need to conserve the agrarian or mining export structure generates a combination between more advanced economic centers that extract surplus value from the more backward sectors, and also between internal "metropolitan" centers and internal interdependent "colonial" centers. The unequal and combined character of capitalist development at the international level is reproduced internally in an acute form. In the second place, the industrial and technological structure responds more closely to the interests of the multinational corporations than to internal developmental needs. ... In the third place, the same technological and economic-financial concentration of the hegemonic economies is transferred without substantial alteration to very different economies and societies, giving rise to a highly unequal productive structure, a high concentration of incomes, underutilization of installed capacity, intensive exploitation of existing markets concentrated in large cities, etc. [Dos Santos 1970: 234-235]

The Lack of a Unified Dependency Theory: A Critical Assessment

This discussion reveals no unified theory of dependency, a reflection of the various approaches introduced above. We turn now to a critique of those approaches

In setting forth its center-periphery thesis, ECLA correctly linked underdevelopment to the international system and thus affirmed an underlying assumption of dependency theory. Yet the thesis neglects a close examination of the policies and specific needs of the nations of the center, and it mistakenly attributes backwardness to traditional or feudal oligarchies, assumes that development would be promoted by a progressive national bourgeoisie, and advocates import substitution as a solution to consumptive dependence on the outside world. The early work of Prebisch and others argued against specialization in primary product and advocated government intervention in the internal economy in support of the private industrialization effort, for industrialization would provide the basis for the establishment of a genuinely national economy.

Sunkel elaborated on the need for national development but departed from the mainstream of ECLA thinking by advocating (1) regional economic integration and national investment in heavy industry, such as steel and petrochemicals; (2) redistribution of income and land to the agricultural population; (3) state intervention and even nationalization in traditional export sectors; (4) joint national multinational arrangements for the introduction of foreign technology and the development of national technology; and (5) the formation of large, specialize units under joint national and multinational control. Sunkel referred to mechanisms of dependency (agricultural stagnation, commodity concentration of exports,

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foreign ownership of industry, and foreign public debt) and incorporated them into a global view of an economic process characterized by external dependence. His policy suggestions focused on changes in the structure of internal production so as to eliminate the mechanisms of dependency and in the structure of institutions, namely the multinationals, which reinforce the mechanisms of

dependency. Furtado also was concerned with the structural and institutional context of dependency, particularly external dependency.

Although these writers rejected old developmental formulas, they also set into motion a new orthodoxy, which soon outlived the reality it sought to depict. Others sometimes cast these views into a conception of interdependence, implying a connection between a capitalist center and the developing periphery whereby mutual cooperation presumably would benefit both sides, although it actually would serve the multinational corporations by keeping intact the foundations of capitalist dominance and exploitation. The search for a national and autonomous development was offset by the challenge of other theorists who believed that independent capitalist development was not feasible and that, instead, socialism must be introduced along with a planned political economy and an intensive utilization of natural resources. Likewise, Andrade's poles-of-development theory envisaged a rational allocation and use of resources around geographical centers in the dependent country, thereby implying that international capitalism need not be a great concern.

Other non-Marxist but anti-imperialist approaches to dependency also suffer from weak conceptualization. The internal colonial model of Gonzalez Casanova stresses national rather than external conditions. It appropriately focuses on monopoly and relations of dependency, on relations of production and social control. However, the emphasis on internal forms or conditions of colonialism may be misleading. The assimilation of marginal peoples into a collective society through the formation of a national bourgeoisie remains an unrealistic proposition. The belief that autonomous development under capitalism may resolve the contradictions of dependency in backward nations overlooks the force of international capital, technology, and markets. The internal colonial model was adapted to the situation of minorities in the United States. Munoz (1970) first referred to the internal colonialism of the Chicano, and Almaguer (1971) elaborated the concept. There followed a critical assessment by Barrera, Muftoz, and Ornelas (1972), who affirmed that "a colony can be considered 'internal' if the colonized population has the same formal legal status as any other group of citizens, and 'external' if it is placed in a separate legal category. ... Chicano communities in the United States are internal colonies, since they occupy a status of formal equality, whatever the informal reality may be" (quoted in Munoz 1989: 147). Acuna referred to the U.S. Southwest as having been subject to a traditional colonization during its conquest but its people being controlled by U.S. imperialism, the result being an internal colony. (1972: 3). Donald Harris (1972) critically examined the black ghetto as colony in the United States. Symposia organized during 1973 criticized this conception and argued that

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internal colonialism must incorporate a Marxist analysis of colonialism. Mario Barrera had by then criticized the concept as having influenced academics in its polemic against liberal interpretations of minority groups, and Gilbert Gonzalez (1974) argued that although it focused on the national question, it did not reflect a "correct theory" of class struggle. He believed that because questions of class and racial exploitation were miscast and sexual exploitation was ignored altogether, the internal colony model was ineffective—indeed, it was a counterrevolutionary theory.

Cardoso's theory of dependent development was partially in response to the inadequacies of the assumptions that depend on the emergence of a national bourgeoisie. With the view that capitalist development can indeed occur within dependency, Cardoso attempted to avoid deterministic interpretations. He desired not to fit Latin America into an inflexible mold. His theory has been the subject of criticism, however. Rather than utilize class as a central concept, he focused on the structural relations of various groups, and he overlooked the role of class struggle.

The Marxist, anti-imperialist approaches to dependency attempt to throw fresh light on the relations between center and periphery. The principal concerns are imperialism and the hegemonic impact of capital in the form of monopolies whose global strategy is oriented toward global expansion. Contradictions in the center may be mitigated by expansion in the periphery through exploitation and a dominance of the workers and peasants; the contradictions shift to the periphery where the corporation increasingly has become decisive in monopoly capitalism. Baran and Sweezy argued thusly. Their attention to the corporation led them to the proposition that corporate capital has replaced bank capital as the principal means of controlling industry. The views of Baran and Sweezy promoted a split among the Marxists over which form of capital remains prominent. James O'Connor (1968) backed the position of Baran and Sweezy and attributed the Marxist split to the absence of a systematic theory of corporate capital. Although the subimperialism of Marini received scant attention, the development-of-underdevelopment thesis of Frank influenced many theorists, yet it suffered from substantial criticism as well. Among the arguments is that underdevelopment must be analyzed in terms of classes, and that the descriptions of class structure offered in dependency theory are overly schematic. Another criticism sees dependency as an external phenomenon imposed upon the periphery rather than as an integral element. Another view holds that the theory statically describes forms of dependency and fails to show changes. It is also believed that the term lacks specific content, is indefinable, and therefore cannot be operational in research. Ernesto Laclau (1971) demonstrated that Frank's theory departs from the rigor of Marxism. For example, Frank defined feudalism and capitalism as social systems rather than as modes of production; thus it is difficult to discern various forms of transition between feudalism and capitalism. Foster-Carter (1976), Leaver (1977), and Leys (1977) also offered useful critiques of Frank.

Still other criticisms of dependency theory abound. Mainstream critics include Ray (1973) who attempted to compare capitalist dependency to socialist dependency

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a view countered by Gilbert (1974). Bath and James (1976) sought a synthesis of radical and traditional approaches to dependency and concluded by suggesting that dependency as a term be replaced by "linkage politics." Horowitz and Trimberger (1976) argued that dependency theories tend to see internal class and political relations as structured primarily by external capital; at the same time these theories do not provide for national differences. Lall (1975) concluded that "the concept of dependence as applied to less developed countries is impossible to define and cannot be shown to be causally related to a continuance of underdevelopment" (1975: 808).

Agustin Cueva (1976) offered a Marxist overview of dependency. He believed that Frank failed to root his discussion of capitalism in an analysis of the prevailing modes of production and thus his insistence that capitalism has prevailed throughout Latin America since the sixteenth century departed from Marx's own 'understanding of capitalism.) In reference to the theories of internal colonialism, Cueva argued that Gonzalez Casanova replaced questions of class conflict and exploitation with a concern for regional and national differences, thus conferring a nationalist character on dependency. Further, although acknowledging the usefulness of a dependency critique of orthodox political economy, dependency theory tends to become entrapped by traditional developmental thinking; thus questions of class conflict and exploitation are replaced by a search for balanced development and assumptions that development occurs under capitalism rather than socialism. Cueva went on to accuse Dos Santos of confusing the worldwide expansion of capitalism with economic growth in the periphery. At the same time he indicted Cardoso and Faletto for ambiguously mixing Marxist and desarrollista concepts.

The criticism of the dependency theories reflects the lack of conceptual clarity in the interpretations of mainstream and progressive writers alike. Distinctions between these types of writers are clear, however. An orthodox or bourgeois view of dependency usually concerns itself with the building of national capitalism within the context of international imperialism. Reform of capitalism through an understanding of and a struggle with dependency, it is believed, can lead to independent national development and the emergence of autonomous social classes. A national bourgeoisie, with the support of the state, will promote the interests of the nation on the path toward development. The radical or Marxist view relates the elimination of dependency to the struggle of workers to supplant the capitalist owners of the means of production and to establish socialism (Chilcote 1978).

In this light there were only a handful of studies that attempted to apply assumptions of dependency to real situations (see the summary of empirical research on dependency in Jackson, Russett, Snidal, and Sylvan 1979). Frank (1967a) offered a historical analysis of Brazil and Chile, and Rodney (1972) presented an overview of Africa. Country studies of Latin America appeared in Chilcote and Edelstein (1974), and Norman Girvan (1970) examined dependent underdevelopment in satellite economies structured around mineral-export industries run by large multinational firms in the Caribbean. Norman Long (1975) used the case of

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Peru to analyze, the mechanism by which the expropriation and utilization of economic surplus occur at the local and regional levels; he examined patterns of dependency and dominance as well as inequalities in the national economy and society. Tyler and Wogart (1973) tested some of Sunkel's assumptions and concluded that "there is not sufficient evidence to reject the dependency hypothesis" (1973: 43). Kaufman, Chernotsky, and Geller (1975) reported on a preliminary test of dependency based on a comparison of seventeen Latin American nations, and they found it necessary to reassess "the extravagant claims sometimes made for dependency theory as a framework of understanding all of the problems of Latin American development" (1975: 330). Szymanski (1976) analyzed data for Latin American nations and concluded that a synthesis of contemporary and classical Marxist positions was in order. He affirmed the thesis of Baran, Frank, and other dependency theorists that the less developed peripheral nations are

exploited and kept relatively backward by their dependence on advanced capitalist nations. At the same time, he noted that within the dependent countries, the greater the dependence, the more rapid the economic growth, a situation that confirms the classical Marxist position (1976: 63).

Is Dependency Theory Really Dead?

The discussion thus far has concentrated on the many theories and lines of thinking about dependency. Many of the ideas emanated from radical intellectuals of the Third World, and they provoked extensive debate, especially around the work of Frank who nearly twenty years ago in reply to his critics (1974) facetiously proclaimed that dependency was a dead issue. Many leftist scholars agreed with that assessment. Colleagues and I (Chilcote 1982) explored the differences between dependency and Marxism and noted these features: the assimilation of many notions of dependency into mainstream social science; the failure of dependency formulations to relate explicitly to a class analysis; the tendency to emphasize relations of exchange; the exaggerated attention to questions of nationalism and development; and the possibility of obscuring analysis of imperialism.

Frank (1966) argued that national economies compete to maximize the appropriation of surplus and that all nations were originally undeveloped and became underdeveloped as the consequence of the advance of capitalist accumulation and the unequal relationship of metropolitan and satellite countries. Therefore, the underdeveloped countries must "delink" from the capitalist world economy to allow them surplus for their own accumulation. His thesis drew criticism for its emphasis on exchange relations and market; for attention to countries or groups of countries as units of analysis in the international economy; and for a strongly mechanistic methodology that tends to obscure the dynamics of class and popular struggle within the underdeveloped countries. Bernstein and Nicholas asserted that Frank's work is not within a Marxist tradition notwithstanding his commitment to the anti-imperialist struggle: "His problematic combines a

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deductive and a priori determinism drawing on a few global propositions about the world system (and its history), and a verificationist empiricism in which any set of facts illustrates and 'proves' these global propositions" 1983: 620); theoretically Frank's version of "world systems" "lacks concepts of relations of production, contradictions and class struggle; its form is that of a mechanical and deductive determinism" (621); methodologically Frank "essentially packages facts in a few global categorical boxes" (621); politically he offers a voluntarist conception of development and socialism that "neither starts from the concrete struggles of the exploited and oppressed nor puts them at the centre of analysis" (621). Simon and Ruccio (1986) pointed to similar weaknesses, and Stern (1988) situated these problems in his historical overview of underdevelopment theory, Foster-Carter (1985) backed up his critique of Frank by reference to the newly industrialized countries in East Asia, such as Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea. Hettne (1983) argued that these countries have been taken seriously as models of development, although one must consider the favorable economic and political support given them by the United States and the capitalist world as strategic consideration of the "free world" mentality.)

New directions in Marxism include the mode-of-production approach, evident in Laclau's criticism (1971) of Frank and in French and English anthropological writings on modes of production (Foster-Carter 1978 and Taylor 1979) and the theory of internationalization of capital (Palloix 1977 and Marcussen and Torp 1982). Other emphases include the role of the state as a mediator between global and local-level forces, and the shift from analysis of dependency and focus on individual nations or groups of nations to analysis of global accumulation or world accumulation, as evidenced in the writing of Amin, Frank, and Wallerstein.

Alice Amsden, an economist and specialist on East Asia, suggested in a New York Times article (April 6, 1990: A15) that Eastern Europe might benefit from the experience of countries like South Korea and Taiwan where institutions were implemented that used the impetus of the market but restrained its impact so that new industries eventually could compete with foreign firms. In her view, late industrializing countries require government intervention to ensure competition, full employment, and price limitations. The vision of a free market may lead to control by big corporations and foreign investors and to unemployment and other problems. Thus, "an authoritarian politics of industrialization" may advance not only industrialization and economic betterment but eventually also popular democratic governments—in which case the course for East Asia and for Eastern Europe is popular control of government but also government discipline to prevent domination by big corporations.

In 1985 Booth wrote of an "impasse" in the theory, and although it is clear that many of these problems continue with work on dependency, it is premature to proclaim its demise altogether. First, there has been a resurgence of interest and reappraisal—for example, Frank's retrospective examination (1991) of his earlier contributions as well as important new scholarship on dependency and underdevelopment by Hunt (1989), Kay (1989 and 1991), Larraín (1989), Lehman (1990),

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Mittelman (1988), and Post (1989). Second, those who question what has happened to dependency can turn to Packenham's impassioned review (1992) and learn that the "movement" is very much alive. Although he acknowledged some dependency propositions as "innovative, interesting and correct," he voiced deep concern about its "Marxist socialism" and impact on intellectuals and, in particular, on mainstream social science and development studies. His is an unusually strong polemical, critical, and contentious perspective featuring defense of liberal and conservative views in the search for scholarship and truth; the view that partisan activities are illegitimate; and affirmation that dependency scholars are misled in their policy preferences and theoretical understandings. In an effort to overcome two decades of silence and frustration with an academic community perceived by him as infused with radical views and committed to combining scholarship with activism and change in the real world, Packenham cast his net widely, presumably with the intention of influencing academics to return to the traditional mainstream of their disciplines. Yet he ignored much of the Marxist literature appearing from the mid-1970s on that either rejected or transcended the dependency question through different approaches, such as the theories of internationalization of capital, state, or new social movements.

Packenham offered a useful, detailed, and critical textual analysis of the work of Fernando Henrique Cardoso but exaggerated his influence on dependency thinking by focusing on U.S. social science. He contrasted Cardoso's thinking with that of Frank but only cursorily referred to Dos Santos, Marini, Gonzalez Casanova, and other writers who also were prominent and should be dealt with more carefully in a study of the dependency movement. Further, he did not fully examine how the positions of dependency thinkers changed, especially after the democratic transitions from dictatorships in the early 1980s. For example, Bowles and Gintis (1986) argued for a postliberal position between liberalism and Marxism; Becker and colleagues (1987) transcended dependency with their theory of postimperialism; and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) established a post-Marxist position premised on pluralistic politics and pluralism. Packenham's assertion that the dependency approach is fundamentally about capitalism versus socialism is correct, but the assumption that all dependentistas envisage a socialist rather than capitalist system distorts the fact that many of them initially preferred reformist and peaceful capitalist development, while others have argued for revolution as the means to overcome dependency and eventually reach socialism.

Theories or Approaches to the Study of International Politics

(The Realist Theory, Systems Theory and Decision Making Theory)

"One of the reasons for the wide range of approaches to the study of international affairs and for the absence of an agreed-upon frame of reference is the lack of a basic theory."

— Morgenthau

As noted in the introductory chapter the scope of international relations has greatly expanded over the years and of late scholars have tried to build up certain theories of international politics. Till very recent times scholars studied international politics as it is and paid no attention to the problem of policies as it ought to be. They conceived international relations as a generalised picture of the international scene and did not build up any theories with a view to explain the behaviour on the international scene. However, in recent years scholars under the impact of behavioural sciences have tried to build up theories of international politics and the scope of the subject has undergone great changes. The scholars instead of giving a historical narrative of the world events have preferred to discuss the events with a view to theorise.

Approaches

Scholars have adopted different approaches for the study of international politics. Before we examine these approaches it shall be desirable to understand the meaning of term 'approach'. According to Vernon Van Dyke, an approach "consists of a criteria of selection—criteria employed in selecting the problems or questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear; it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data." In simple words an approach is a set of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of

questions and data for academic purposes. It implies looking at the problem from a particular angle and explaining the phenomenon from the same angle. As different scholars have adopted different criteria for selecting problems and data

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and adopted different standpoints, this has resulted in different approaches for the study of international relations.

The various approaches for the study of international policy have been divided by Hedley Bull into two categories (1) classical approach and (2) scientific approach.

Classical or Traditional Approach

The classical approach is also known as traditional approach. This approach was in vogue till the middle of the present century, even though at present certain writers continue to subscribe to this approach. These writers mainly made descriptive analysis of international relations. The main objective of the scholars adopting traditional approach was "to report and analyse current international problems and to speculate on these sources and outcomes of various policy alternatives for specific states or for international organisation." Accordingly to Hedley Bull the traditional approach is "the approach to theorising that derives from philosophy, history and law, and that is characterised above all by explicit reliance upon the exercise of judgement and by the assumptions that if we confine ourselves to strict standards to verification and proof there is very little of significance that can be said about international relations that general propositions about this subject must therefore derive from a scientifically imperfect process of perception or institution, and that these general propositions cannot be accorded anything more than the tentative and inconclusive status appropriate to their doubtful origin."*

In other words the traditional approach is basically normative, qualitative and value judgement approach. According to Grievies, the value of a work based on this approach is "usually measured by the reputation of the scholar, the extent to which his or her judgement is trusted, the evidence of thorough research, the lucidity with which the discussion is presented, or the nerves touched with an eloquent or moving philosophical discourse." The traditional approach was adopted by most of the scholars till the scientific approach made its appearance. It nourished two dominant scholars of international political thought; 'idealism' and 'realism' and greatly contributed to the sophisticated understanding of the nature and determinants of international relations.

The traditional approach mainly concerns itself with the historical dimensions and lays emphasis on diplomatic, historical and institutional studies. No wonder, the classical approach had various variants, viz., historical approach; philosophical approach; legal approach and institutional approach. The historical approach focussed on the past or on a selected period of history to find out an explanation of what institutions are—how they came into being and makes an analysis of these institutions as they stand. This approach helped in illuminating the present by drawing on the

* Hedley Bull, "International Theory: the Case for a Classical Approach," World Politics, April 1966, p.361.

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wisdom of the past. The philosophical approach regarded the state as an agent of moral improvement of international relations, and stood for attainment of perpetual peace. But this approach was defective in so far as it was abstract and speculative and far removed from reality. The legal approach laid emphasis on the need of having a system of world law to regulate the behaviour of nation-states and insisted on a code of international law to ensure world peace and security. It insisted on evolving some legal machinery for resolving state conflicts through mediation, arbitration or judicial settlement. Finally, the institutional approach focussed on the formal structure for the maintenance of peace and enforcement of principles of international law. It laid special emphasis on the study of the organisational law. It laid special emphasis on the study of the organisation and structure of the League of Nations, the United Nations, and other specialised agencies like ILO, UNESCO, etc. It is noteworthy that all the above traditional approaches possessed an element of normativism and the scholars adopting these approaches made no effort to convert the study of international relations into a science.

Scientific Approach

On the other hand the scientific or the behavioural approach for the study of international politics, which became popular in the wake of the Second World War, lays more emphasis on the methods of study rather than the subject-matter. This approach is based on the simple proposition that international politics like any other social activity involves people and hence it could be explained by analyzing and explaining the behaviour of people as it is reflected in their activities in the field of international relations. The scientific approach applies scientific method and ignores the boundaries of orthodox disciplines. It insists that central aim of the research should be to study the behaviour of men. A notable feature of this approach is that it is inter-disciplinary and draws from various social sciences like sociology, psychology and anthropology. The scientific approach differs from the traditional approach in so far as there is a definite trend away from description, legal analysis and policy adviceIts objective has not been to assess the main issues in the cold war or describe current international developments, but to create explanatory theories about international phenomena, and in some cases, even to propose the development of a general and predictive science of international relations."*

In short, it can be said that the scholars who are concerned with the substance rather than the method adopt classical approach, while the scholars who are concerned with the method rather than the substance adopt scientific approach. However, it would be wrong to assume that these two approaches are necessarily incomplete. In fact a number of scholars have successfully combined these two approaches and produced fruitful results.

* K.J. Holsti, International Politics: A Framework for Analysis, p.9.

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The Realist and The Idealist Approach

Before we examine the controversy between the classicists and the behaviouralists, it shall be desirable to examine the two variants of the classical approach, viz., Realists and idealists.

(a) The Realist Approach: Realism in international relations does not mean reality as abstract ideas as Plato expressed to the political expediency which Machiavelli propounded, or the philosophic doctrine of empiricism given by John Locke. "It is rather a set of ideas which take into account the implications of security, and power factors." The ideas emerge out of the individual's belief that others are always trying to destroy him- and therefore, he must be always ready to destroy others whenever need be in order to protect himself. Thus the basic assumption underlying the realist theory is the perpetual existence of conflict among nations in one form or the other. This is taken as a fixed doctrine. It is, therefore, evident that a contest for power is going on in the world and this can neither be controlled nor regulated by international law or world government or an international organisation. Thus, realism unequivocally accepts as its guiding principle the permanence of the struggle for power.

The prominent realists include the classical theorists Thomas Hobbes and Nicolo Machiavelli. In recent years George Kennan and Hans J. Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger etc have been the leading exponents of the realist theory. The best exposition of the realistic theory of international relations has been offered by Morgenthau. He says: "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Statesmen and people may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity or power itself. They may define their goals in terms of a religious, philosophic, economic or social ideal. They may hope that this ideal will materialise through its own inner force, through divine intervention, or through the natural development of human affairs. They may also try to further its realisation through non-political means, such as technical co-operation with other nations or international organisations. But whenever they strive to realise their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power."

Morgenthau in his Realist Theory laid emphasis on six principles which are as under:

Firstly, politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology. We can understand the political phenomena by developing a political theory based on human psychology and reason. He laid emphasis on ascertaining of facts and giving them meaning through reason.

Secondly, Morgenthau lays great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he defines in terms of power. He says that politics cannot be understood in moral or religious terms. It can be understood only on

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rational basis. In other words he laid emphasis on presentation of a rational theory rather than indiscriminate description on the political study.

Thirdly, Morgenthau holds that interest is not fixed and is moulded by the environments. Thus he assigns important role to environments in the determination of political action.

Fourthly, Morgenthau asserts that universal moral principles cannot be applied to state's actions and these must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place. He says that the state is not expected to observe the same standards of morality as are observed by the individual. He argues, the individual may say for himself "Let justice be done even if the world perishes" but the state has no right to say so. The individual may sacrifice himself in defence of moral principles but the state has no right to sacrifice its liberty for moral principles. Realism also holds that prudence is the supreme virtue in politics; without prudence there cannot be any political morality."

Fifthly, Morgenthau does not find any identity between moral aspirations of nation and the moral law which govern the universe and asserts that all political actors pursue their national interests. It is this concept of interest which saves the nation from political folly and moral excess.

Finally, Morgenthau says that political sphere is as autonomous as the spheres of the economist, or the lawyer or the moralist. The political actor think in terms of interest as the economist thinks in terms of utility; the lawyer in terms of conformity of action with moral principles. Though the realist theory admits the relevance of non-political standards of thought, but treats them as subordinate to the standards of politics.

Similarly Kennan also asserts that the national interest is a reliable guide to intelligent policy and each state tries to safeguard its national interest. However, Kennan insists on adopting moral approach in the formulation of policy while safeguarding the national interests. On the other hand Morgenthau completely ignores the moral aspect and insists on taking national interests as they are, the real guide to the formulation and understanding of international relations. However, both of them regard the power politics as the basis of world political relations.

Criticism: The realist approach has been severely criticised on the following grounds:

First, the theory suffers from ambiguity and is inconsistent with reality. No universally acceptable definition of power is offered. For example Morgenthau takes power as 'psychological relationship among states',but' the psychological relations themselves are quite vague and it is not possible to measure to study the same. The study of complex psychological relationship among more than 160 nation states of the modern world renders them even more complex.

Secondly, the theory wrongly assumes that all men and states seek their national interests in terms of power. If it were so, there would be constant struggle going on between various states and there would be no systematic conduct of international relations. In fact, the element of mutual

co-operation among the members of the international community exercises profound influence on the conduct of international relations. Stanley Hoffmann has rightly observed: It is particularly uncomfortable when one's basic postulate about human nature is such that history cannot be anything but a tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. For it is a postulate which stresses the inevitability and universality of evil and which assumes that reason far from following its own inherent impulses is driven towards its goal by the irrational forces the end of which it serves. Now, this view makes it almost impossible to understand how there could be a rational theory of rational human behaviour.*

Thirdly, the theory wrongly assumes that power is the most important tool which the nations pursue. In fact other considerations like wealth, cultural welfare, security, protection and promotion of ideology also greatly influence the actions of the states.

Fourthly, theory is defective in so far it treats the world as a static unit in which power is a permanent guiding factor. This is against the well-accepted fact that the nations keep on changing from time to time.

Fifthly, Dyke has severely criticised the Realist theory. He says "If power were always the end in itself, politics could be likened to a game the object of which is to select the current. It would presumably be a more bloody game than is chess or baseball, but still the outcome would be without moral significance. The victory of one participant in the game would be followed sooner or later by the victory of another, and life would be made up of endless round of meaningless struggle. Each victor would have demonstrated his power and that would be that."

Sixthly, the critics point out that Morgenthau's conception that national interest carries its own morality holds good only during the stable periods when accommodation of national objectives is possible. But in the present conditions when different nations are often ready to eliminate on other nations, it would be wrong to assume that national interest carries its own morality.

Seventhly, the realist theory is defective in so far it assumes that there is hardly any relationship or activity which does not involve power. Actually there exist a number of non-political relationships and activities which do not involve power, such as international sports events, circulation of books and other reading matter, private letters and telegrams etc. which are not political activities. Morgenthau does not suggest any criteria for the separation of the political activities from the non-political activities.

Finally, the realist theory, that of Morgenthau, is defective in so far as it regards the political sphere as autonomous as the spheres of economists, or lawyers moralists, but he is not quite clear about the nature of autonomy. Though he maintained that a political realist should only deal with limited set of variables, yet in his book Dilemmas of Politics he asserts

* Stanely Hoffman, Contemporary Theory in International Relations, p.30.

that politics must play the roles of the common integrating core. In other words he says that politics must be concerned with all the variables with which the other specialised spheres deal. All this leads to confusion.

Despite these shortcomings of the realist approach, it cannot be denied that the approach has three distinct advantages. First, it is persuasive and is supported by historical experience. Secondly, the realist approach has given a jolt to scholars and compelled them to re-evaluate their own assumptions. Thirdly, even those scholars who challenge the bases of realism have tended implicitly to rely on realist perspectives, which is a great compliment to this approach.

(b) The Idealist Approach: The other aspect of the classical approach is the Utopian or the idealist approach. It regards the power politics as the passing phase of history and presents the picture of a future international society based on the notion of reformed international system free from power politics, immorality and violence. It aims at bringing about a better world with the help of education and international organisation. This approach is quite old and found its faint echoes in the Declarations of the American War of Independence of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. The most important writers in whose works the approach found expression include Condorcet, Rousseau, Kant, Woodrow Wilson etc. In 1795 Condorcet wrote a treatise which contained everything considered as the essential basis of idealism in the international relations. He visualised a world order free from war, inequality and tyranny. This new order would be marked by constant progress in human welfare brought about by the use of reason, education and science. Rousseau's idealist views are reflected from Fragment on War. He says: "When thousands of bellicose people have slaughtered their prisoners, when thousands of doctors in the keep of tyrants have justified these crimes, do in truth man's errors matter or their barbarity to justice? Let us not search for what has been done but rather for what should be done and let us dismiss evil and mercenary authorities who end up by marking men slaves, evil and miserable." Similarly, Kant made a strong plea for the prevention of war among states and creation of conditions for perpetual peace. But probably the greatest advocate of the idealist approach was President Wilson of USA who gave a concrete shape to his idealism through the text of the Treaty of Versailles. He made a strong plea for world peace and international organisation. All the above writers and thinkers visualised a future system free from power politics, immorality and violence. On account of their optimism the idealists regard the power struggle as nothing but the passing phase of history. The theory proceeds with the assumption that the interests of various groups or nations are likely to be adjusted in the larger interest of mankind as a whole.

The difficulty with this approach is that such a system could emerge only be following moral principles in mutual relations in place of power, which is not possible in practice. Secondly, to bring about such an order the totalitarian forces must be crushed by all means through the use of

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democratic methods and the last necessity is the establishment of the world government. The main criticism against this theory is that it runs short of factual position. The nations do not behave as they are expected. As a result the realism in international relations appears to be more near the truth. A rigid adherence to idealism is likely to lead to frustration. Looking at the glaring

defects of the idealist theory a middle course has been adopted by a school of thought called Eclecticism. Eclecticism does not regard either the realist approach Or the idealist approach as completely satisfactory. They offer a synthesis of the pessimism of realists and the optimism of idealists.

According to Prof. Quincy Wright the terms 'realism' and 'idealism' are ambiguous. They can at the most be used to distinguish between short run and long run policies. Realism would aim at the fulfillment of the short run national policy aimed at the fulfillment of the immediate necessities and idealism on the other hand represents the long run policy and would aim at the objectives to be realised in the future. Thus realism cannot ignore the immediate needs for a rosy future and idealism cannot leave out the prospective future only to solve the bleak present. In fact neither of these two approaches is wholly correct and both possess respective merits and demerits. For a balanced understanding of international relations it is desirable that realism and idealism must be intermingled. In the conduct of international relations also the statesmen should neither show total aversion to the norms and values nor complete disregard to reality. Carr has rightly suggested that the combination of realism and idealism is the best solution. He says "Where utopianism has become a hollow and intolerable sham, which serves merely as a disguise for the interests of the privileged, the realist performs an indispensable service in unmasking it. But pure realism can offer nothing but a naked struggle for power which makes any kind of international society impossible. Having demolished the current Utopia with the weapons of realism, we still need to build a new Utopia of our own, which will one day fall to the same weapons."*

The Classicists-Behaviouralists Controversy

In the 1960s controversy started between science and traditionalism. Until the World War II the debate persisted between the two groups belonging to classical schools, viz., idealists and realists. The debate between the scientific school and the classical school centered around the method of study of international relations.

The classicists regarded the application of scientific or behavioural method of study of international relations as unwanted. The controversy started with publication of the article by Hedley Bull in 1966.* Earlier several scholars, e.g., E.H. Carr, Alfred Zimmern, George Schwarzenberger

* "International Theory: the Case for a Classical Approach" in World Politics, April 1966, pp. 361-367:

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Hans J. Morgenthau, Martin Wright and Reymond Aron had produced studies in international relations based on the classical approach But it was Bull who brought to the forefront the question of relative merits and demerits of the classical and the scientific approach under two main heads, method and subject matter.

In Defence of Classical Approach

Bull asserted that the scientific approach was not appropriate for the study of international relations for a variety of reasons. He put these reasons in the form of propositions to be examined by other scholars to clarify the real nature of the controversy between the scientific and the classical approach.

The first proposition made by Bull is that the nature of the subject-matter of international relations is such that it cannot be examined merely with the help of the modern scientific tools. The questions with which international relations is concerned are eventually moral questions.

Secondly, the scholars of scientific approach have not attended to the basic questions and thus have not been able to contribute much to the development of the theory of international relations.

Thirdly, it is not possible to accept the claim of the scientific theorists that their studies so far have only been in the nature of a beginning and that when they attain maturity they would yield a general, comprehensive and dependable science of the subject.

Fourthly the scientific theorists have done a great disservice to the theory of international relations by introducing the so-called method of models.

Fifthly, the scientific theorists are so much devoted to the scientific methods that they have made a fetish of them.

Sixthly, he maintains that there is a great need for precision in the theory of International Relations and it should cover entire range of subject-matter under study and not precision in the limited field of facts and data only as the scientific theorists view.

Lastly, these theorists have cut themselves off from history and philosophy which alone provides the means of self-criticism.

He therefore, concludes that the thinking of the scientific theorists lacks not only the sense of enquiry into the conditions of recent history that have produced the present conditions of international life but also a critical attitude to their own assumptions on the basis of which they have been proceeding with their study of international relations.

In Defence of Scientific Theory

On the other hand the scientific theory has been defended by several scholars. But the most powerful defence came from Morton Kaplan.* In

* Morton Kaplan, "The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations."

his article he made a counter attack on traditionalists and argued how scientific method was more helpful in the study of international relations.

He first of all takes up the contention of the traditionalists that the human purpose can be understood only by methods other than those of science. This contention is based upon the belief that the human purpose is concerned more with motives than with verifications and the motives could be analysed only by intuition and introspection. Conceding that human purpose is concerned with motives, Kaplan maintains that these motives are often confirmed by careful observation and analysis of the behaviour patterns of people. The traditionalists maintain the scientific methods are inappropriate in political world in which surprises may and do occur.

Another attack made by traditionalists against scientific theorists is that they often mistake their models for reality. The reply of the scientists is that this kind of risk is always involved in any kind of human activity. Further, it should not be forgotten that the psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists also are likely to make this kind of mistakes.

Morton Kaplan also denies the charges that the scientific school completely excludes philosophy in its analysis. Kaplan claims that there are several questions which are basically philosophical and with which the systems theory, which is a part of the scientific method, is closely concerned.

The scientific approach is based upon the simple proposition that international relations like any other social activity, involves people and hence it can be analysed and explained only by analysing and explaining the behaviour of the people as is reflected in their activities in the field of international relations.

The traditionalists do not believe in either the desirability or the possibility of such theoretical formulations. The classical school contends that the general theory of human behaviour, which the behaviouralists are trying to evolve is inconceivable, although it concedes that a theory in the narrower field of international relations is not impossible. Thus the two schools are in a state of constant debate over the subject-matter and the method of study. The scientists concentrate on the collection of all the relevant facts and on the basis of these facts reach the conclusions as the facts speak.

The traditionalists say that the facts cannot always speak for themselves and the scholar has to interpret them and give them the real meanings, and for this purpose dependence on individual insight and wisdom is essential which implies dependence on law, history and philosophy. Thus for the traditionalists the judgement is important but for behaviouralists it is not. Behaviouralists stick to the view that real research is possible through the analysis of the facts without interference from the personal likes and dislikes of the researcher.

Conclusion

At present most of the scholars are of the view that both the traditional

and the scientific methods can be used for fruitful study of international relations. David Singer realised this and made his observation: "science is not a substitute for insight and methodological rigour is not a substitute for wisdom—both imagination and rigour are necessary but neither is sufficient." David Vital too wrote that classical approach consists of two elements: the method and the subject matter. As a method the classical approach insists on the need for borrowing from history, law and philosophy and on depending upon judgement; and as the subject matter, it is concerned with the general questions of the nature of the study, the role of the use of force, and the significance of diplomacy. The subject matter of international relations is in fact not the same as classicists believe.

After the Second World War a great deal of changes have taken place which have made it necessary for looking at it from a different angle. The scientific theorists are deeply involved in their techniques and purposes and it is hardly possible to make any generalisation about them. The scientific approach suffers from the serious flaw that it puts exclusive reliance on methods and tends to stress that the method itself will determine the nature of the subject matter. The scientific theorists seem to believe that the real crux of the subject matter of international relations would be revealed if they adopted the right methods and techniques. Those who stand for a compromise between the two divergent approaches, Michael Hass proposed 'the bridge building' and Robert North applied for 'pluralistic posture'. But the idea is the same, both scientific and the classical methods are useful in the study of international relations.

The Systems Theory

The systems theory is the result of the behavioural revolution in social sciences. It developed out of the anxiety of the new social scientist to evolve a general body of knowledge by integrating the various disciplines of social sciences. There has been no unanimity among scholars regarding the meaning of a system. Hall and Fagen defined the system as "a set of objects together with relationship between the objects and between the attributes." Colin Cherry defined it as 'a whole which is compounded of many parts in an ensemble of attributes.' The systems theory has been applied in various disciplines and assigned a variety of meaning and definitions.

The Systems or General Systems Theory

The general systems theory is based on the assumption that there are certain features of relationship that are common to systems of all kinds. In other words 'a system connotes relationships between units or its various components.'

In the recent years efforts have been made to study international relations in the context of systems analysis. Those who believe in this approach are of the view that a scientific study of international relations

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can be made only if the relevant material is treated in terms of system action. The study of the actions of the parts of a political system can be made in terms of an analysis of the actions of participating units. Their assumption is that there is a system in international relations. The

nations (states) being its parts involved in the process of interaction as each nation (a unit) is in constant contact with 'the whole' or the international environment. It shows therefore, that each system besides being a system can be a sub-system in relation to a larger system. A nation's behaviour is "a two way activity of taking from and giving to the international environment."*

It may be noted that international system came into existence with the emergence of the modern European State systems. In the earlier period no doubt, state system existed but these systems were limited to certain well defined areas like, Greece, Italy, China and India and a universal system was absent.

The scholars have assigned different meanings to the concept of systems and used it in different senses. Firstly, the system is described as an arrangement of international actors in which interactions could be identified. Secondly, as explanation it is referred to as a particular arrangement in which the nature of the arrangement itself is considered the most important variable in explaining the behaviour of states, Thirdly, system is used in the sense of application of special types of approaches (methods) to the study of international politics.

James N. Rousenau represents the first usage. According to him "a system is considered to exist in an environment and to be composed of parts which through interaction are in relation to each other." The use of the term in this sense is made to describe the pattern of action among international actors. It does not possess much of theoretical value.

In the second sense the term is used to convey that the world is divided into a number of rational entities possessed of sovereignty which affects the nature of international relations. With no system of law enforceable among these sovereign states, conflicts leading to war are bound to occur. Kenneth Waltz, Kenneth Boulding and Charles McClelland have used the concept in this sense.

In the third sense, system is the application of special types of approaches to the study of international relations. The system as method refers to particular approach adopted for bringing about a theoretical order in the vast data of international politics or relations. The system is used as a tool of analysis and focus is upon arrangement of actors, interaction of actors or recurring pattern of individual behaviour. Thus system analysis in terms of method makes international politics to be viewed as a system in the meaning of 'system as explanation'. In other words it means that there can be no use of system as method without prior commitment

* Charles A. McClelland, Theory and the International System, p.90.

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to certain assumptions. Therefore, it is necessary that there should be complete awareness of all the premises, e.g., ideological preferences which involve assumptions about the influence of values on human behaviour.

The systems theory or general systems theory was first expounded by McClelland in 1955. Later it was developed by many other scholars but the theory was presented in a most systematic

manner by Morton Kaplan who declared that systems approach provides the only possible method which can ensure the development of scientific politics. Therefore, it shall be appropriate to discuss Morton Kaplan's theory in detail.

Morton Kaplan's Systems Theory

Morton Kaplan is one of the best exponents of the systems approach. He is of the opinion that there is some coherence, regularity and order in international relations. International relations or politics implies two things: 'International system, and 'nation state system'. According to him nation state system is political system in the strict sense of the term while international system is not in fact a real political system. He believes that physical force is necessary to keep the system intact and this force is present in the state system which is absent in the case of international system. Nations or states are the main actors in the international politics and the role of the states changes with the change of international system. Kaplan treats six models of major international system—the balance of power system, the loose bipolar system, the tight bipolar system, the universal international system, the hierarchical international system and the unit veto system. Let us examine each one in detail.

1. The Balance of Power System. This system prevailed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. It implied a sort of equilibrium of political power favourable to a particular nation at a particular time. Theoretically it means even distribution of power between various nations to prevent any particular nation from imposing its will upon others. The operation of this system has six important rules: (1) Each State may increase its power without war, i.e, through negotiations;(2) the primary object of each state is to protect its national interests even at the risk of war;(3) one should not eliminate an essential national actor; (4) The national actor should prevent others from forming a coalition and disturbing the international system; (5) The national actor should prevent other actors from subscribing to supranational principles; (6) Defeated actor should be permitted re-entry into the system

The system worked- well for two centuries but since the beginning of the 20th century these rules are not operating well.

2. The Loose Bipolar System. The balance of power may transform itself into loose bipolar system. In this system each bloc has a leading actor. Both supranational actors as well as national actors participate in the loose bipolar system. Supranational actors are divided into bloc actors like NATO and Warsaw Bloc and universal actors like United Nations. Loose

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bipolar system is characterised by two bloc actors (USA and USSR), non-member bloc actors (non-aligned states) and universal actor (U.N). All of them perform a unique and distinctive role within the system, but the rules of the system are not uniform for all the actors. The loose bipolar system has a considerable degree of inherent instability because the actors, or the non-member actors, or the universal actor is rarely of decisive importance in the matter of policy formulation.

3. The Tight Bipolar System. The loose bipolar system may be transformed either into a number of other systems or else into a tight bipolar system. In this system non-aligned states or non-member national actors would either disappear or shall have little importance. Even universal actor shall not be in a position to mediate between the two bloc actors, as after the disappearance of uncommitted national actors the universal actor will not have sufficiently wide frame of preference.

4. The Universal International System. This system could be equated to world Federation. It would be possible when the United Nations or such other international agency becomes sufficiently strong to check war and maintain perpetual peace and the bipolar system would cease to exist. This agency would perform judicial, economic, political and administrative functions. However, the nation state would be left with sufficient autonomy.

5. The Hierarchical International System. This is another Utopian model. It may come into existence when a universal actor absorbs the whole world and only one nation is left as the universal actor. In this system the state would become territorial sub-divisions of the international system rather remaining sovereign, independent, political units. The system would be directive if found by world conquest and non-directive when power would be distributed among units according to hierarchy under the domination of a single national actor. The non-directive system would be based on will while the directive system will be based on force.

6. The Veto System. The essence of this system would be that all states would have equal potentialities to destroy each other. Each state would possess the weapons for others' destruction. The unit veto system would remain stable only if all the actors are prepared to resist threats and retaliate in case of an attack.

Conclusion. Though Kaplan's theory has relevance to the present international system yet it has been subjected to severe criticism.

In the first place it is pointed out that the first two systems in the scheme of Kaplan belong to realm of the actual. The third system is losing its possibility as there is a growing trend in favour of stability and non-aligned nations and, dissensions in the bipolar system. Regarding the fourth, we find that a partial international system is growing. The fifth system has no possibility of being realised. The emergence of the sixth system is very much doubtful in the wake of the non-proliferation treaty.

The six model scheme of international system has only limited merit. Any theory of behaviour of state must deal with the dynamics of value

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formation. Kaplan does not discuss this dynamics of the forces which determine the scale of nation's behaviour. This is his serious omission. The study of international relations in terms of international system is the study of the behaviour of states as units.

No doubt, Kaplan devotes attention to the concepts of national interests which he concedes cannot be separated from national values. But how nation's interest and national values are formed and how they affect the collective behaviour of state has been ignored by him. He also overlooks the facts that the concept of national interest has already undergone a change. In order to control the international system and transform it in accordance with the demands of peace one will have to know the source through which the international system mostly changes.

THE DECISION MAKING APPROACH

Another important approach for the study of international politics which has been developed during the past few decades is the decision-making approach. This approach is associated with the names of Richard C. Snyder, H.W Bruck and Borton Spain. These writers tried to provide a theoretical explanation of the behaviour of the actors in international relations. On the basis of decision making analysis they tried to find out as to why and how do the actors behave. It may be observed that "Decision making is a process or a sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search or information, definition of alternatives consistent with the ranked preferences identified in the first three stages that will maximise or satisfy the actors' goals."

The object of the decision making approach is to devise a conceptional framework that could help us in the reconstruction of the situation as defined by the decision makers. Thus, the facts and data for our study should be selected on the basis of what explains the behaviour of decision makers. The setting in which the foreign policy decisions are made is the one which is perceived by the decision makers. The setting consists of internal and external parts. The internal settings include domestic politics, public opinion personalities and organisations. The external setting implies all the relevant factors in the total situation of the international system existing at a particular time e.g., the factors beyond the territorial boundaries of the state, the decision of other states and the nature of their society.

There is difference of opinion among the theorists of this approach and different lines are followed by them. The first line places emphasis on environmental factor which mean how the environments influence the decision-making. The environment has two aspects—one which the decision-makers can see and the other which is beyond their perception or estimate. This aspect was emphasised by Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout. They assert that decision-making "is a process which results in the selection from a socially defined, limited number of problematical, alternative projects of one project intended to bring about the particular future

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state of affairs envisaged by the decision-makers." The second includes the personality factor. The line seeks to study this behaviour of the decision makers by studying their personality. The study of the personality of decision maker can be helpful in explaining things at least so long as the same decision makers continue to control the foreign policy. This factor was emphasised by Alexander George and Juliette George. They emphasised the important role played by President Wilson in the determination of international relations during his Presidency. Third line of approach is related to a study of those actors who actually participate in the formulation of foreign policy. There are at least five elements which influence the foreign policy making: the

public opinion, interests groups, the media of mass communication, specific agents in the executive branch and specific committees of a legislature. James Robinson says that 'the organisation and internal process of the legislature determines the actual foreign policy.'

The above discussions indicate that the basic idea of the decision making approach is that international politics should be taken as the interaction of foreign policies and that for the understanding of the interaction the only useful approach can be to study it in the context of foreign policy decisions.

Defects. This approach suffers from several shortcomings. In the first place it is too empirical. It completely ignores the norms, values or high principles which exercise profound influence on international politics. In fact the ethical principles of foreign policy formulators inadvertently influence the formulation of the policy. Secondly, the approach is based on the principles of indeterminism in so far it fails to show how the various factors like situation, environment, personality etc. influence the decision. Thirdly, the approach offers a 'statecentric' model of international politics. It merely tries to prove that the decision makers tend to fit incoming information into their existing theories and images. No wonder, this theory lacks the essentials of a theory. As Young has put it, this approach "has been used so imprecisely and indiscriminately by social scientists that it is in danger of losing any meaningful content." Fourthly, the theory mainly focusses on the motives and actions of the decision makers and completely ignores the role of other factors which influence the pattern of international politics. Finally, it ignores the objective nature of international developments. It does not supply any criteria either to explain the patterns of power politics or to prescribe the rules of international behaviour.

Importance. However, the decision making framework is intended to show how and why a nation acts in international politics. Since the direct method of acquiring knowledge is not available the choice of decision making as a focus is wise. The place of greatest convergence after all is government organisation, therefore a great deal of factual details can become available from the examination of the activities of such organisations and their decisions. The knowledge acquired by various disciplines like

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economics, psychology, and sociology can be fruitfully utilised in the study of international relations only by the decision making approach

Conclusion. Thus it would be incorrect to say that the decision making approach is absolutely useless in the study of international relations. It helps us in a comparative study of various foreign policies. However, a general study of international relations cannot be fruitfully made with the exclusive help of the decision-making approach even though it is very useful as a tool in the foreign policy analysis.

DAVID EASTON POLITICAL SYSTEMS THEORY

Introduction

David Easton was the premier political scientist to construct the empirically oriented general theory of political science. Until then, politics was merely a fact accumulating exercise on the formal institutions of government. But, facts alone do not explain events, or the inter-relationship between politics and the society. Thus, Easton aimed to provide the general framework within which three facts would acquire meaning and thus transcend any particular time or place.

He built his political systems theory through the following three phases:

PHASE I

In his work "the Political System" (1953) Easton made the case for a general theory of political science.

The crux of the theory was the study and interpretation of the political system, as a whole, rather than its particular elements.

Easton was aware of the international influences on the political system. He divided the environment into various categories.

1. Psychological environment – personality motivation of the participation
2. Physical environment – flora and fauna
3. social environment – people their actions and reactions

Easton also acknowledged the differences between political life in equilibrium and in disequilibrium. To him, disequilibria were the actual outcomes that take place. While, equilibrium was "a kind of normal situation which is pure abstraction". It never actually materializes.

Easton rejected the concept of "state" and power on the grounds that they were ambiguous and value laden. He argued that political science until then had centered around two aspects 1) nature and characteristics of the state; 2) distribution and use of power.

Easton said that there was no common, concrete, all-encompassing definition of the state. Eg. Hegel called state as the highest embodiments of Reason, while Marx saw the state as an instrument of explanation used by one class against the other. Since 1648, state essentially means the Westphalia nation-state.

Also, most political scientists behave that power ability to control others, distinguished the political from non-political. But, Easton rejects the concept power, because he believes that politics is more than just controlling others or being controlled.

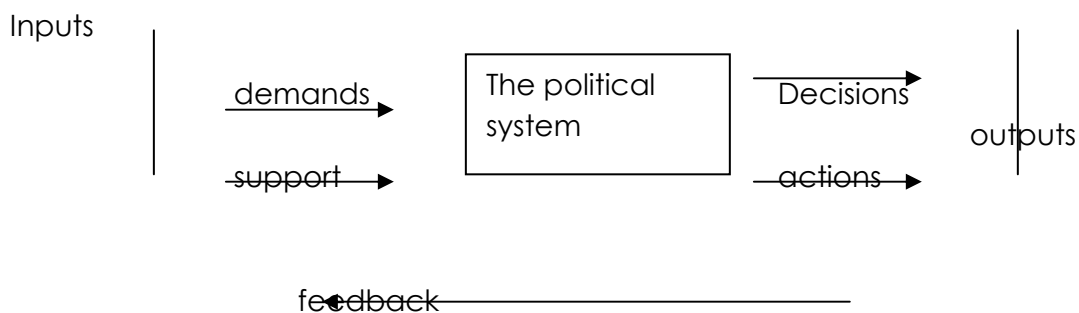
According to Easton, we are engaged in political life when our activities are related in some way to the making and execution of policy. A policy is "a web of actions and decisions that allocates values."

Easton has introduced various new concepts such as inputs, outputs, demands, support, decision, action, and environment.

Demands are the issues addressed and discussed by members of the political system.

Supports are actions and orientations prompting or resisting the system.

Decisions, action and policies are the output when the political system produces . these feedback into the environment, satisfy some of the demands and generate support for the system. Easton explains the Inter-relationship through the following diagram.



PHASE II

In his second work "The Framework of Political Analysis ". Easton separates the political from the society, which he calls as environment.

He defines the nature and scope of political life. He draws boundaries between political life and the other established social science like economics, sociology et.

He defines politics as "authoritative allocation of values for the society". Decisions and actions allocate values, which the people are obliged to follow.

He sees the political system as an open system societal environment as shown bellows.

However says Easton, although the political system faces pressure from the environment, it persists in the times of crises. Thus, the emphasis is on systemic persistence and systemic maintenance.

PHASE III

In his third work, "A systems Analysis of Political life." Easton reviews and elaborates the core concepts and draws a set of generalizations in the process of theory building.

Influences on Easton's work

- 1) The Behaviouralists such as Charles Merriam, George Caltin, Harold Laswell who focused on the informal institutions rather than formal processes of government.
- 2) The Anthropologist such as Radcliffe – Brown and Malinowski and sociologist like Merton and Levy.

- 3) The neo-classical economist Adam Smith whose theories of income – distribution and allocation of resources inspired Easton's allocation of values.
- 4) Physical and life science ie. Biologist like Bertalanffy and psychologists like James And miller.

A critique on Esatonian framework

1. According to Thorson, Easton's theory focuses only on systematic maintenance and does not take into account the political changes occurring in our everyday lives.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. Thus it is ideologically conservative and status – quoits. It is not a dynamic political theory.
6. William Mitchelly critics Easton's definition of politics as “authoritative allocation of values”.
Firstly, allocation of values is not the one and only function of the political system.

Secondly, besides the political system, there are others institutions – economic, educational, religious ets –, which also allocate values.

But, in my personal opinion this criticism can be refuted become here the key word is “authoritative”. The other social systems may allocate values, but people are not coerced to accept these values. They are not binding political system must be obeyed at all costs.

7. David Singer criticizes Easton's separation of the political system because the political and the non- political often overlap. Thus the drawing of disciplinary boundaries poses problems.
8. David Singer also criticizes Easton's emphasis on the whole, while ignoring the parts that make up the system. Even Thorson says that Easton refuses to consider people as individual entities. The system is the analyses of behavior, says Easton, but not a group of people.
9. Easton neglects the two core aspects of political science state and power. The state is the nuclear of political power. Political science is essentially the study of the state. In order to understand why demands are accepted or rejected, how decisions are made and actions implemented, one must concentrate on the state. Moreover, just because the state has not been conclusively defined, this does not undermine the significance of the been refuted by the rising importance of the state particularly under military jintas and communist regimes.

10. Kress criticizes Eastonian theory "lack of substance". It is a set of generalizations that has had as(o)me impact on the study of political science. Best, it is too broad, too general any time, any place theory which has little empirical consequence on the field of comparative politics.
 11. Finally, Eugene Miller points out Easton's ideological inconsistency. Easton's concerns have swayed from intellectual crises to democratic liberalism, from value theory to causal theory. He claimed historicism for the impoverishment of political thought. He also attacked the value – free analyses of positivism.
- Thus, Easton has failed to identify the object of scientific inquiry.

Conclusion

Despite the criticism, it cannot be denied that Easton's theory provided an important foundation for the study of comparative politics. It has had a great impact on all disciplines such as international politics (Kalpan), developmental theories (Karl Deutech) and Herbert spires works Easton's ideas provided the necessary impetus to the behavioralistic revolution of 1950s and 1960s. It made comparative politics one of the seven major fields of political science.

Gabriel Almond

Gabriel Almond, writing in the 1960s, was taken by the concept of structural functionalism. Although Almond himself may not agree with this categorization he was a behavioralist, divided by reason, reflection and experiment he sought to organize the dynamics of political behavior systematically. Adopting an ahistorical approach steeped in positivism Almond sought to abstract a political system from the large social systems.

His model of the political system was based largely on the behavioralist model of organism-stimulus-response

As it dealt with uniformities and regularities in political behavior, his model was considered static and irresponsible to change (a criticism of associated with behavioralists)

Understanding Almond's model becomes clear if one progresses through the various phases in which it developed. Such distinct phases can be traced in the development of his concept of structures of functions in political system.

PHASE I

(1956)- Almond early typology drew from David Easton's notion of system and he defined it as an inclusive concept which covers all of the patterned actions relevant to the making of political decisions. System, of Almond, implied totality, interactions among units within the totality and stability in those interactions, which he defined as changing equilibrium.

Almond also drew on Max Weber and Talcott Parsons in his consideration of political systems of action. Emphasis on action, Almond allowed on political observer to avoid describing the system merely as a formal legal entity.

Instead of relying on concepts such as organization and group he to structures and roles.

He saw roles as the interacting units of the political system and structures as the patterns of the role instructions. Viewing the political system in this manner allowed for the study of both formal and informal offices.

Almond also introduced the concept of political culture. It is not the same as general culture nor does it coincide with any given system or society. Political cultures relate to political systems since every political culture embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political action and these patterns usually extend beyond the boundaries of the political system.

PHASE II

Having provided – framework of concepts, Almond and his collaborators elaborated the theory of structures and functions in a conscious effort to avoid the examination of constitutions and formal government institutions in area value change was widespread (developing areas)

In his attempt to renovate concepts in CPA Almond brought about the following changes.

.....replaces power

Roles values the place of office

And structure substitutes for institution.

Political systems, Almond said, have universal characteristics and that can be conceptualized into a schematic approach.

4 main characteristics.

1. All political systems have political structures
2. The same functions are performed by all political systems
3. All political structures are multi-functional
4. All political systems are mixed in the cultural sense.

It is only by asking the correct functional questions and the structures (which are found everywhere) can be located.

Partial influenced by Easton's framework of input-output +feedback, Almond felt it was limited as it was too close to the generic systematic model for it to prove particularly discriminating in the political field.

Almond went on to outline his own functional categories separating them into inputs and outputs input functions

1. Political socialization: induces people to participate in political culture.
2. Interest articulation: expression of demands/interests for action.
3. Interest aggregation: colasing of those demands/interests articulated by political parties+interest groups.
4. Political communication: the process through which these functions occur.

Output functions.

1. Rule making
2. Rule application
3. Rule adjudication

The major problem with the output functions as elaborated by Almond is that they reveal his bias toward a Anglo-American conception of government and they refuse to a comparative government framework.

In defense Almond argues that it is the input functions not output or government functions that are crucial in characterizing political systems

He saw political systems as evolving through stages of development. Structures, he felt, tend to get more differentiated and specialized as a system moves through these stages.

He referred to primitive, traditional, transitional and modern systems.

Traditional systems, he felt are characterized by diffuseness, particulars, ascription and affecting which modern systems are characterized by more "rational" styles of specificity, universalism achievement and affective neutrality.

He believed his scheme would allow political scientists to move toward a probabilistic theory of polity.

Political systems may be compared in terms of the probabilities of performance of specified functions by specified structures.

PHASE III

Further refinement of the functional approach allowed Almond to account for criticism of his earlier work.

He accepted that system theories were "excessively influenced by mechanical+biological analogies " and the reconceptualized political systems as dealing with interdependence as opposed to harmony. He went so far as to abandon the idea of harmony and equilibrium as it implied a static or conservative bias. He felt his reformulation enabled examination of "developmental patterns" and hence could not be considered static.

He sought a holistic approach yet he constantly gave it substance by referring to actual experiences of functions.

In addition to his six-fold classification his formulation incorporated 3 levels of functions.

Level I consisted of the six conversion functions.

Interest articulation

Interest aggregation

Political communication

Rule making

Rule application

Rule adjudication

Demand are formulated through interest articulation and combined into courses of action through interest aggregation. Rules are drawn up through rule making and enforced +assessed through rule application and adjudication. Political communication still served as the selector of all these activities.

Level II This comprised the capability functions.

Regulation

Extraction

Symbolic response

These functions relate to the performance of a system in its environment.

They also proved extremely useful to Almond in his comparison of totalitarian+democratic systems.

Level III Maintenance and adaptation functions, these functions include political socialization and recruitment and on those functions the systems persistence depends.

Almonds theory of political system was based on an understanding of the relations b/w these levels and of the relations b/w the various functions.

Origins of thought and influence on Almond.

1. Macro-structural functionalism or grand theory. Almond drew deeply from David Easton's framework. The concept of system as an interdependence of parts, inputs, outputs, boundaries, environment especially Easton's definition of political system- as the authoritative allocation of value. Yet he also emphasized the Weberian notion of legitimacy.
2. The idea of persistence of systems and fundamental fractions of political systems is shared by Easton and Almond. Both Almond was influenced by Malinowski's idea of functionalism – defined in terms of needs that serve to maintain the system.
3. He was also influenced by Browns' organics thinking. Two aspects of Talcott parson's scheme (action + social system) influenced Almond. Terms such as maintenance fire and adapt ion was also used with =Parsonian implications. Parsons five dichotomies pattern variable was used by Almond to relate political systems to political culture.

Affectivity v/s affective neutrality

Self-orientation v/s collective orientation

Universalism v/s particularism

Achievement v/s ascription

Specificity v/s different

2. Micro structural functionalism:

Ideas of interaction and equilibrium traced to pluralism and equilibrium in Bentheys "Process of government"

Criticism of Almond + structural Functionalism. Functionalism is frequently identified as deterministic, ideological, conservative, restrictive or simply false.

Functionalism is restricted by its lack of explanatory power and its constricting effect of its assumptions about the nature and working of social systems. - I.C.Jarvie.

Stressing the equilibrium character of functional systems can lead to a tendency to exaggerate the cohesiveness of such systems; highly integrated systems may obscure goals resulting in vague description and lack of analysis. – Shesman (economist)

Sociologist Dan Martindale found 4 drawbacks in functionalism.

1. Conservative ideological bias and preference for status quo (vis his Almonds stress on persistence).
2. Lack of mythological clarity
3. Over emphasis on role of closed system in social life.
4. Failure to deal with social change

Another major criticism of Almond is that his work is both ahistorical and ethnocentric. One scholar believes his theory is implicitly designed to convert the reader to a belief in liberal-democracy and liberal pluralism. Considering he was quite high up in the social science research committee the fact that he was being the official US policy line is not a surprise.

Finally, the difficulties in refining and operationalizing and testing hypothesis lie in the fact that Almonds definition employ too many dimensions and it neglects the problem of variation.

DEPENDENCY THEORY

In his elaboration of a theory of imperialism, Lenin referred to the concept of dependency. He understood capitalist imperialism to be a manifestation of the struggle among colonial powers for the economic-political division of the world.

“Not only are there two main groups of countries, those owning colonies and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent

but in fact are enmeshed in a net of financial and diplomatic dependence".

These have emerged since then various approaches to the study of dependency. They can be broadly classified into Non-Marxist and Marxist. All these approaches share an anti-imperialist perspective.

Non Marxist		Marxist
Desanollisla		Monopoly Capitalism
Structuralist		(Baran + Swcezy)
National Development	Autonomous	Subimperialism (Marini)
(Sunbell, Drebish, Furtada)		
Internal Colonialism		Capitalist Development of Underdevelopment
(Gonzalez Casanova)		(Frank, Rodney)
Poles of Development		New dependency
(Andrade)		(Dos Santos)

Dependent capitalist development theory by Cardoso can be called a mixed economy theory.

For purposes of this answer _____ we shall focus on Andre Gunder Frank capitalist development of underdevelopment as put forth in this article "The Development of Underdevelopment in 1966".

"Underdevelopment, no less than development, itself, is the product, but also part of the motive parts of capitalism. Capitalism development everywhere has been a fundamentally contradictory development based on exploitation and resulting simultaneously in development and underdevelopment.

Additionally, the growth and expansion of European mercantilism of the 16th century lead to the development of a single, integrated capitalist system worldwide. This lead to the development of metropole and related to it, through ties of commerce and force a periphery. These were variously related through colonialism, free trade, imperialism and neo colonialism. The exploitation by the metropole of the periphery has resulted in the metropole becoming what we today call development and the periphery becoming what we now call under development".

Underdevelopment is not just the lack of development. Before development there was no underdevelopment. They are both two sides of the same coin.

Colonization and Underdevelopment

Lacoste claims "the underdeveloped countries cannot be understood of one abstracts from foreign influences... underdevelopment results fundamentally from the intrusion of the capitalist system". Frank goes on to say that "inspite of the fact that a large part of these causes are due to colonialism, underdevelopment is a different phenomena.

"The present state of underdeveloped countries, from the economic as well a the social point of view, comes from the rise in England in the 18th C of the industrial revolution". "Not all colonized countries became underdeveloped nor are all underdeveloped countries forms ____ colonies.

But Frank goes on to say that it was not the political conquest that resulted in UD but the economic conquest that was the essence of colonialism. Economic colonies under capitalism produces UD.

Development of the Developed

Frank sets forth four factors that are crucial to an assessment of the contributions made by the UD to Ds.

1. The economic surplus and the role it plays in capital accumulation.
2. The inefficiency or wastefulness of exploitation and the resulting possibility that sacrifice exceeds contribution.
3. The discontinuities once time in the development of D+UD (due to war etc.) and the possible importance of a marginal but qualitatively important upward or downward crush at a ____ point in time.
4. Organizational or market discontinuities, such as monopoly, and the possibility that a contribution to part is greater than to its whole.
5. Contributions of system maintenance as a whole or, to use Talcott Parson's term "latent pattern maintenance".

Surplus

Economic surplus is critical for eco. and D. and UD. Similarly one understanding of development + underdevelopment depends heavily on the use of the concept – “eco surplus”. It may be called the actual or patterned excess of a social unit's production over its necessary competition which may not be exploited or invested.

Paul Baran argued effectively that it is not so much the total wealth or income of a society but its surplus and the way it is used which determines the kind + type of D or UD that occurs.

However great the contribution to metropolitan development may be the associated sacrifice in terms of underdevelopment can be made by ____ gratis ____.

But D+UD are not the summation only of eco qualities. They are this commutation and whole social structure that determines that accumulation.

However, important that cumulative contribution of capitalism colonization imperialism may have been, it is quite clear that the new underdeveloped countries' participation in the capitalist system has undoubtedly made a (perhaps the most important) contribution to this UD.

On Capitalist Underdevelopment

The underdevelopment experience with mercantilism and capitalism should be understood to be part not only of the development of capitalism out of the development of a single integrated capitalist system. Thought it is integrated in that its far flung parts are inter related (poorest subsistence farms with center of power capital) and that it internally generates its own transformation it is also wrought with contradictions.

One part exploits another, three major such contradictions were identified by AGF in her essay on Brazil + Chile (The thesis of Cap. UD).

1. The expropriation of economic surplus from many and its appropriation by a few.
2. The polarization of the capitalist system into metropolitan center and peripheral statistics.
3. The continuity of the fundamental structure of the capitalist system throughout the history of its expansion and transformation due to the persistence or recreation of these contradictions everywhere and at all times.

At the same time the same fundamental contradictions lead to a D/UD structure within the metropole and its regional and sectoral parts and within the various national and regional parts of the periphery.

“The system has not changed (indeed cannot change) its fundamental contradictory, exploitative structure and character”.

The contradictions between D+UD may be associated with the contradictions between one class and another → exploiting beneficiaries and exploited contributors to the process of capitalist development.

Paul Baran initially popularized the theory that the 3rd world countries are retarded because this capacity for exerting themselves to realize this potential is impaired by internal social and political structure and the dominating effect of the advanced capitalist countries.

On similar lines AGP developed this theory.

In "On Capitalist Underdevelopment" Frank sets forth a number of premises.

1. Underdevelopment is not original. A country may once have been undeveloped but it was never underdeveloped. Contemporary UD is a consequence of the relationship between the new D metropolitan countries and the UD satellite countries, a reflection of the development of the capitalist system on a world scale.
2. The views of dual societies – one modern capitalist and developed and the other feudal, pre capitalist, isolated and UD is false therefore the UD of backward areas is the product of the same historical process of capitalist D that shaped the D of the progressive countries.
3. Metropole – satellite relations are thus found at the _____ level as well as in the economic, political and social lines of the colonies and neo-colonial countries. A chain of metropolises and satellites connects all parts of the world system from Europe to the hinterland of the most backward countries.
4. Times of war and depression allowed for some autonomous capitalist development in the satellites but within the present capitalist system such crisis is destined to result in UD.
5. The most underdeveloped regions are those that in the past had the closest ties to the metropole. They were the greatest exporters of primary products, but they were abandoned once business declined.

By being an integral part of the system, exploitation and UD can be eliminated only by the destruction of, or escape from the system. Socialism has so far proved to be the only alternative. The only people who have been capable of escaping from UD are those who have substituted socialism for capitalism. Only the development of socialism has permitted any people suffering from metropolitan produced peripheral UD to escape structure of world capital system and consequent UD.

Conventional Wisdom and Underdevelopment

Conventional explanation of UD, its causes and ways of overcoming it are inadequate. As is the idea that development is a process and underdevelopment is a state of being. As is the supposition that now developed areas took off and left behind the new UD areas.

FM from diffusing down development, the relation between Metrople and periphery widens the gap between the two and generate deeper structural underdevelopment in the periphery.

Conventional modes of thinking usually view the metrople periphery divide as dual systems separating them along capitalist/precapitalist as feudal lines.

Case in Point. UD in Chile

Capitalism has generated underdevelopment in Chile ever since Chile began to participate in the development of the world capitalist system. UD in Chile is not an original or traditional state of affairs, nor is it a historical stage of eco develop passed through by D countries.

Frank argues that it is not the feudal autocratic, closed reclusive subsistence economy of Chile but the failure to recognize and understood the nature and significance of the open, dependent, capitalist economy which has characterized and planged Chile.

Chile's economy has already been underdeveloping throughout the 3 centuries before independence.

Influences on AGF

He was heavily influenced by the United Nations Economic Council for Latin America. He agreed to the need for high tariff barriers and the encouragement of national industry. However, he believed unlike the ECLA, that socialism, not the development of a national bourgeoisie would bring development and break dependence.

He was also extremely influenced by Paul Baran's innovative work in Marxist alternatives to dependence. Needless to say he continued the tradition of Marx Tiotsky and Lenin.

Criticism of A.G.F.

- A host of criticism has been leveled against AFG.
- UD must be analysed in terms of class and AGF's description of class structures is only schematic.
- Dependency is seen as an external phenomena imposed on the periphery rather than as an integral element.
- UD is linked to the international system and therefore neglects a closer study of the policies and specific needs of the nations of the center.
- AGF's theory statically describes forms of dependency and fails to show change.

- The term UD lacks specific content, is undefinable and can not be operational in research.
- Ernesto Laclan says AGF departs from the _____ of Marxism by defining fundamentalism and capitalism as social systems and not modes of production.
- Trimbesger says AGF's theory cannot account for national differences.
- Lall says the concept of dependence as applied to less developed countries is impossible to define and cannot be shown to be casually connected in the continuance of underdevelopment.
- Agustin Calva – Frank departs from Marx's understanding by claiming capitalism existed in Latin America in the 16th C.
- Entrapped by traditional development thinking dependence theorists replace questions of class conflict and exploitation with a search for balanced development.

Utsa Patnaik in Says Frank adopts a concept of a capitalist system which is by defined primarily in terms of production for the market, ignores the importance of production on the basis of which production is carried on, which in this case is the capital wage labour relation. Commodity production is implicitly identified with capitalist production by AGF. But what of the production relations, the property relations on the basis for which Chikan production for export was taking place.

Frank's generalization that D&UD are two sides of the same coin, though acceptable reveals an enormous concept of capitalism which is market oriented and circulationist in an explicit sense. The logical implication of circulation is ultimately no different from that of Bourgeois eco theory with its emphasis on market relations to the exclusion of the sphere of production.

1. It is impossible to accept AGF's view that the capitalist D of UD in the regions colonized by Eurpe is comprehensive as a direct result of the incorporation of and their subordination to the system of capital accumulation on a world scale.
2. Frank explains the rise of UD in terms of.
 - i) Transfer of surplus from periphery to core.
 - ii) Export dependent role assigned to the periphery in the world division of labour.
3. AGF's comment that because of "commerce and foreign capital the economic and political interests of the mining, agricultural and commercial bourgeoisies were never directed towards internal development" could be misleading. It was nothing but the class structure character of profit opportunities that determined the above.
4. Frank failed to transcend the economically deterministic framework of the ECLS and opened the way for similarly ill-founded political perspectives.

5. Frank's irony is that his analysis can be used to support the political conclusion, that he would himself oppose that the logical antidote to capitalist UD is _____ not socialism.

Anthony Brewer

Frank fails to distinguish between the kinds of monopolistic relations involved. His description fits the monopolistic system of much and capital which has only a secondary relation to production. He does not describe monopoly capital which typically appears in the form of MNCs need exerts direct control over production.

The idea of an economic hierarchy of individuals and classes (few capitalists above exploiting many below) with a special and geographic hierarchy world and national metropolises, regional centers and local centers. This explains much and capital but is unable to fit monopoly capital as the MNC interacts with the laborers as a unit of capital.

It is like a chain with only one link and the relation between worker and capital.

Extraction of surplus by metropolis not sufficient to explain lack of development. One must look at use of surplus. Relation of production and exchange and economic environment are crucial.

Huntington

In order to determine if Huntington's formulation represent a scientific approach to political modernization approach to political modernization it is necessary to do three things.

1. Define political modernization. Political modernization is the move from traditional polity to modern polity. The principle aspects of this multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity are:
 - a) urbanization
 - b) industrialization
 - c) secularization
 - d) democratization
 - e) education
 - f) media participation

These aspects can be categorized into two categories relevant to policy

- i) Social mobilization
- ii) Economic development
- iii) Social mobilization: old patterns of social, eco+psychological commitments are broken + people are available for new patterns of socialization + behavior due to literacy, education rise communication urbanization + mass media exposure.

2. Economic development: the total growth in total economic activity of a society measured in per capita GNP, level of industrialization level of individual welfare ganged on indices.

Simply put SM – change in inspiration

ED – “ ” capabilities

Modernization involves + requires both these phenomena.

Political modenizationcan be further characterized by :

1. Rationalized authority: replacement of a large number of traditional , religious, famillial, ethnic political authority by a single secular national “ ”.
2. Differentiated structure: P.M. involved the differentiation of new political functions and development of specialized institutions for the same . (Legal military admin, scientific become separated from the political domain).
3. Mass participation: P.M. also involves increased participation in politics by social groups throughout society.

II. Contextual zing the scientific approach:

The scientific approach or behavioralizm began in the mid 1950's as a reaction to normative modes of political study and on attempt to separate the positive from the normative. Briefly the behavior list credo can be as follows:

1. Search fro regularities and uniformities in political behavior which can be expressed in generalizations
2. Verification of these generalizations
3. The use of scientific techniques for seeking + interpreting data
4. Scientific ..tification + measurement in the recording of data.
5. Values which relate to propositions involving ethnical evaluation as separated from those relating to empirically explanation
6. Systematization of research
7. integration of political research with that of other social sciences.
- 8.

as will be shown below, Huntington's formulations may have paraded as being scientific and may infact have fulfilled parts of the credo that in many aspects has fallen short of behavioral standards.

Description + critical analysis of Huntington's formulations

There is a difference between the definition of political mod. as a change from traditional to modern polity and political mod. As a the political effects of social economic and cultural modernization.

The implication of this differences is that modernization although inevitable does not always follow a path of progress as it did in the western world. Though Huntington's formulation attempt to addresses the reasons for this digression they fail to do so adequately.

Huntington attributes digressions to political decay. He attributes this decay to the effects social and economic industrialization have on political institution.

In a nutshell Huntington hypothesis is that social mobilization creates aspirations which economic development must create the capabilities to address or this then .. . frustrations which the political system must address otherwise these frustrations take the form of action which destabilizes political institutions.

Aspirations are created by the changing social order. Challenging of domination, the "demonstration effect" formation of new groups + interest, and the arising of new consciousness of identity + interests in old groups.

Economic development while satisfying aspirations also is a politically destabilizing force:

1. it increases no of individual who are creating conditions of revolt.
2. induces geographical mobility, alienation, instability
3. widens gap between rich and poor.
4. acquires restriction of consumption to promote investment
5. creates quarrels on distribution of resources
6. increases capacity of group organization + hence strength of group demands on govt.

to explain this anomaly Huntington says the relations between eco growth + instability varies with the level of eco development

in these the relation between eco development +social mobilization also effects stability.

The larger gap between the two are possibilities of political instability. This is what Huntington termed the gap hypothesis.

This gap is formed largely due to the absence of the potentially intervening variables.

1. opportunities for social+eco mobility

MORGENTHAU

'Politics among Nations' represents the first American attempt at theorizing world politics at the crucial moment after the second World War, as US was emerging as a global power. He makes a clear statement of political realism, or classical realism. He states very clearly what he thinks should drive the foreign policy of a state. He feels that the U.S is too idealistic. Identifies what should be kept in mind while formulation foreign policy. In fact, Morgenthau represents the 'scholarship of yesterday' in academic discipline of International Relations superseded by Waltz. Morgenthau's analysis fundamentally based on the nature of man-first level, first image analysis. But there is a crisscrossing of levels of analysis –even second image analysis at times.

Morgenthau enunciates 6 principles of political realism-

1. Strong statement about the nature of politics. Politics, like society in general, is governed by certain objective levels. Only one part of society. These laws exist independent upon the viewer. Laws which have their roots in human nature which is unchanging. Not historically, culturally determined. It therefore becomes possible to develop a rational theory of politics that reflects these objective laws, human nature. Then discover the objective laws and then through observation build a theory of politics. He claims his theory is based on this.
2. About what political realism is. The main signpost is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. All political behaviour is based on interest defined in terms of power. Central concept of political realism and gives it coherence. It infuses a rational order in the subject matter of politics. He goes on to assert that this concept makes the rational and theoretical understanding of politics possible. Certain broad understandings of politics across a broad range. Political realism lays emphasis upon the rational, objective and unemotional.
3. Interest defined in terms of power is an objective category that is universally valid but does not mean that it has a meaning which is fixed once and for all. The concept is objective but the meaning changes over time, because circumstances, technology, balances of power change. Power is the control of man over man.
4. About morality. Relationship between morality and politics. Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political actions. There is a moral dimension of politics. Any action of state has a moral significance, notwithstanding this, there is a tension between the moral command and the requirements for successful political action. Moral command- imperative that exists in every cultural system. 'Do the right thing'. Clash with political imperative. Realism subordinates morality to political success. Does not abstract morality from politics. Politics must be

judged not by the yardstick of morality but by political success. Eg. Musharaf. Politics replete with instances where political decisions taken in face of moral ambiguity. Politics is based on taking decisions guided by interest defined in terms of power.

5. Different dimensions of morality and politics. No matter how much you as a state are right, it all depends on the successful execution of politics. 'Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. Beware of crusades, beware of imprudent pol.action. Their own moral aspirations are claimed to be the best. It is the concept of interest defined in terms of power that saves us from moral excess and political folly. Morgenthau cautions us not to confuse politics and morality.
6. About politics in relation to everything else, in the larger scheme of things. Other aspects of social existence also exist. Realism maintains that the political sphere is autonomous. Pol.realism maintains the autonomy of politics. Its own internal logic and dynamics. However pol.realism also is based on a pluralist conception of human nature. Politics is only one attribute of human nature. Human beings are not just homo politicus.ie. pol. man but also economic, religious etc. Nevertheless in order to develop a rational theory of politics, there is no option but to abstract the political man from the multi-dimensional personality. Analyse the political by political yardsticks. Keep the political in its place. Does not claim politics is more important than every other aspect. Politics has its own space- one among a multiplicity of spaces.

KEOHANE AND NYE-COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE

Another explanation of world politics. Other theorists, non-realists also present equally compelling arguments.They have different perspectives and different concerns. World politics, for them is not so much an arena of power, but of co-operation and interdependence. Emblematic interaction between states include trade, commerce and exchange, whereas for the realists it is war. Most of the times, states are trading with each other. Lots of more important interactions between states. Classic eg. trade.

How do they explain the fact of trade, exchange relations?

Liberals-neo-liberal institutionalists are a body of scholars who share this perspective.

Neo-liberal because it is a new type of liberalism. Classical liberalism privileges individual, whereas neo liberals consider state as the basic unit of analysis. They also recognize other actors-non-state actors.

Institutionalists- because they all say that through creation of international institutions and international law, it is possible to overcome the central problem of anarchy. Over time build something like world-politics. Creates conditions for co-operation.

Most important neo-liberal institutionalist theory –complex interdependence.C.I. Keohane and Nye-scholars who advance this theory.

Realism-just one explanation of world politics. It is 'an ideal type'-idealistic picture of perfection. It is a concept. Means of comparing . Ideal types are abstractions.

Fundamental postulates of Realism , as identified by Keohane and Nye-

1. States are coherent actors and the most important actors in world politics.
2. Force is a useful instrument of world politics. Co-ercion provides dynamic of world politics. Ultimately state policy is about power and force.
3. An hierarchy of issue- areas in world politics. States interact over issues. Multiplicity of issue-areas in inter-state relations. Some issue-areas more important than others. Security-the most important issue area. Security issues-high politics, all other issues –trade, culture-low politics. Security will not be compromised for any other issue.

Thus realism is an ideal type. Keohane and Nye construct an ideal type-diametrically opposite- complex interdependence. They question the fundamental assumptions.1. States are not coherent. Refutes double assumption of realism. Not the only actors.

2.Force is no longer usable as viable instrument of state policy under conditions of C.I.

3.There is no hierarchy of issue-areas in international politics.

Better explanation of world politics than realism.

3 main characteristics of C.I

1. Multiple channels connect societies. For realists, only one channel-inter state channel. Second channel if you assume that states are not coherent . States consist of bureaucracy, agencies, branches of govt. They form the second channel , the trans-governmental channel, eg. about relations between ministry of commerce of state A and B rather than relations between state A and B. Majority of representatives at Cancun- representing trade bureaucracies. Modern states are very complex institutional architectures. Lots going on within the states that determines state –relations. Third channel questions assumptions that states are the only actors. Other actors apart from states- new channel called trans-national

channel. Eg. Paradox of the Samjhauta Express. No realist sense. Transgovernmental channel. Eg. important racial groups form this channel.

2. Then is no longer an hierarchy of issue areas in world politics. What is important depends on who the actors are and what that context is. U.S –Japan- trade, U.S Columbia-drugs, U.S –Pak –terrorism. Post 1990-Indo –U.S proliferation was the dominant issue. No longer, it is today terrorism. No single hierarchy of issue-areas. By implication –agenda setting becomes very important. Who sets the agenda is very important .for eg. Cancun. Agendas keep changing.

Issue linkage-linkage –linkage politics. Bringing together of disparate issues. Weak states are often able to have a bargaining power,inspite of asymmetry of capabilities.

3. Under conditions of C.I- force is not a viable instrument of state policy. Eg. U.S , Japan.

Keohane and Nye state that this is their ideal type which provides a better explanation as world politics is today fundamentally about interdependence than security.

Do not critique the fact of anarchy. States are sovereign. Even without a central authority, interdependence exists-provides a better explanation of world politics.

CONSEQUENCES OF C.I.

The 3 main characteristics of complex Interdependence gives rise to distinctive political processes, which translate power resources into power as control of outcomes. In an world of CI, however, one expects some officials, particularly at lower levels, to emphasize the variety of state goals. In the absence of a clear hierarchy of issues, goals will vary by issue, and may not be closely related.

Linkages Strategies: - Goals will therefore vary by issue area under CI but so will the distribution of power and the typical political processes. By using their overall dominance to prevail on their weak issues, the strongest states will in the traditional models ensure congruence between the economic power. This world politics can be treated as a seamless web. Under CI such congruence is less likely to occur.

The differentiation among issue areas in CI means that linkages among issues will become more problematic and will tend to reduce rather than reinforce international hierarchy. Linkage strategies and defense against them, will pose critical strategic choices for states.

If linkages become less effective on the whole, outcomes of political bargaining will increasingly vary by issue area.

States can begin to link desperate issues together. This means weak states have power out of proportion of their actual strength they can achieve success than what their capabilities would suggest. In this sense weak states can be coherent than the stronger in international relations.

Agenda setting

The second assumption of CI, the lack of clear hierarchy, leads us to expect that the politics of agenda formation will become more important. Statesmen assume that the agenda will be set by shift in the balance of power, actual or anticipated, and by perceived threats to the security of states. Traditional analysts of international politics have paid little attention to agenda formation: to how issues come to receive sustained attention by high officials. Under CI we can expect the agenda to be affected by the international and domestic problems created by economic growth.

Politicization – agitation and controversy over an issue that tend to raise it to the top of the agenda can have many sources. In the 1974 the American secretary of states tacit linkage of a Soviet American trade pact with progress in détente was upset by the success of domestic American groups working through Congress to link a trade agreement with Soviet policies on emigration.

KENNETH OYE- Problem of co-operation in world politics. Liberal institutionalists agree with realists on the fact of anarchy. Accept lots of the realist premises-lack of world government, states are rational actors, who pursue their interests. Disagree in their firm belief that it is rational for states to co-operate and make gains otherwise impossible to make. In the state's own interest to co-operate with other states. Eg. trade. Other point of departure-there are non-state actors in world politics do influence. If no world government exists, how and why do states co-operate.. No enforcer of contracts, how to prevent renegation. Kenneth Oye suggests – co-operation under anarchy. Even with anarchy, co-operation is possible.

3 games-

1. Stag hunt- Rousseau's concept. Two hunters A and B go to hunt a stag. Chasing it into a dead-end, wrestling it down. Need both hunters to co-operate to successfully hunt the stag. Each has 2 options- either C-co-operate or D-defect.(choose not to co-operate). Then a rabbit runs by. Rousseau asks what

are the hunters' likely to do if temptation to defect in form of the rabbit present itself?

If A and B were to co-operate, they can kill the stag and get $\frac{1}{2}$ the stag ($\frac{1}{2} S, \frac{1}{2} S$)

If A co-operates and B defects- (0, R)

If A defects and B co-operates-(R,0)

If both defect-($\frac{1}{2} R, \frac{1}{2} R$)

From the point of view of A the best pay-off is mutual co-operation-CC , but he is concerned only with himself.

Next best-DC, DD, CD

Ordering of preferences- CC> DC> DD>CD

CC-Mutual co-operation, DC-Unilateral defection, DD-mutual defection, CD-unrequited co-operation/sucker's pay-off.

The problem with international co-operation is that unless you are sure that the other side will co-operate, you will defect.

Man is a noble savage and human nature is benign says Rousseau. But there is lack of trust. Therefore the institution of the state to provide guarantees and enforce contracts.

Eventhough the best pay-off is CC, the fear of CD makes DD the most likely outcome. Settle for $\frac{1}{2}$ a rabbit- a sub-optimal outcome.

If there is no enforcer of agreements, there is a clear and present danger that any agreement will be maintained by the other side. Fear of being cheated – leads to settling of sub-optimal outcomes.

Fundamental problem of anarchy- how to get states to co-operate if there is no world government.

2. Chicken- A game based on the youth culture of the 1950's in U.S –big cars. Two guys going to 2 ends of the road, driving towards each other. Game about who would swerve first. He who swerves, chicken – coward. The other-the king . to co-operate is to swerve, to defect-carry on.

If A and B(C,C)-(Chicken,Chicken)

A and B (C,D)-(Ch,K)

A and B(D,C)-(K,CH)

A and B(D,D)-(RIP, RIP)

Ordering of preferences- $DC > CC > CD > DD$

Rather settle for the sucker's payoff than mutual defection.

If cost is annihilation, then you are ready for unrequited co-operation.

Even if best possible outcome, unilateral defection, the fear of mutual defection makes even the sucker's pay off –mutual co-operation-CC

Even under conditions of anarchy, it is possible to have mutual co-operation as an outcome in some circumstances. When pay-off of mutual defection is annihilation- eg. nuclear weapons, deterrence. Cold War- U.S and Soviet always swerved- doctrine of MAD. Even without central authority, co-operation, but only in case of such a dangerous game.

3. Prisoner's Dilemma- 2 partners in crime. Major crime of murder. Minor crime of armed burglary leading to murder. Caught by police –evidence of minor crime- illegal possession of a weapon. Police takes A and B into separate interrogation chambers. We know of the minor crime, no evidence of the major crime. If you maintain the bond with the other guy, the other one will blame you for the crime- he will sing like a canary. So you must be a rat. Punishment for minor crime- simple imprisonment, for major crime- life imprisonment, sharing the burden- rigorous imprisonment. If one sings- parole. Unless you sing, you get L or P. No communication.

A,B- C,C(S,S)

A,B-C,D(L,P)

A,B-D,C (P,L)

A,B-D,D(R,R)

Ordering of preferences- $DC > CC > DD > CD$

Sucker's pay-off worst. DD –best- mutual defection for fear of life imprisonment, though better to co-operate. If B co-operates better for A to defect; if B defects, better for A to defect. No matter what B does, it is better for A to defect. This is true for B as well. Mutual defection is thus the outcome if the game is structured as a PD, can never have co-operative outcomes. If international politics is one

large prisoner's dilemma- there is no fear of cheating or mutual annihilation but it is simply a better options to defect.

Then how can we have co-operation?

Comparison of PD with Stag-Hunt

Stag-Hunt-CC>DC>DD>CD

P.D- DC>CC>DD>CD

Fear of sucker's pay-off not so strong in staghunt as in P.D. Best pay-off in stag-hunt is mutual co-operation. Other guy is important in stag-hunt.

Chicken- DC>CC>CD>DD

P.D- DC>CC>DD>CD

If the other guy defects, better to co-operate.

Games in which , no matter what the other guy does, mutual co-operation is best. This ideal situation is harmony. CC>CD>DD>DC

Deadlock- the situation if the best pay-off is to defect.

The dilemma in P.D is that though it would mutually help to co-operate, the very structure of P.D makes defection rational. Cost-benefit analysis. Greatest return for minimum benefit. Critical assumption of rationality-does not make sense to co-operate. Unilateral co-operation is the sucker's payoff. Therefore mutual defection is best. How to overcome this inherent problem in the structure of P.D?

If played only once, the result will be D,D.Oye claims that international politics is not a one-shot game. A single state meets another state not just once. Durable institutions. Historical process, PD being played over and over again- an iterated P.D. Then they may choose to co-operate –sucker's payoff. Willingness to take it, the sense of repetition. In one-shot PD- lack of communication. Iterated PD- possibility of communication through previous behaviour and choices.

Axelrod- 'The Evolution of Co-operation' Narrates the computer tournament, which strategy wins in an iterated P.D.-designed by Anatole Rapoport. Tit-for-tat- paying back in kind. If you co-operate, I will co-operate: if you defect, I will co-operate defect. First round- willing to take CD-sucker's pay-off. Second round- do what other side did before. Therefore a co-operative dynamic would come into play. If B had defected, first time, one more time co-operate. Then defect till other side co-operated. Not holding grudges-cold-blooded rationally. Not altruistic but egoistic strategy, to get CC rather than DD. Therefore the evolution of co-operation over time. But not willing to take the sucker's pay-off more than a couple of times. Will not get co-operation, as it is a lesser pay-off than mutual defection. The highest pay-off for your self is the aim.

In iterated P.D , it pays to co-operate, highest pay-off. Eg. Indo-Pak relations. To make concessions a couple of times, but continuous concessions leads to the sucker's payoff. Kashmir- unrequited co-operation on the part of India.

3 strategies to attain co-operation under anarchy.

1. Pay-off structure- You can try to change pay-offs in a manner which makes it better to mutually co-operate. PD converted into a stag-hunt. States willing to risk more in terms of taking on the sucker's pay-off. Incentive for co-operation is much more in stag-hunt. Only other option-chicken- which is a very dangerous strategy.
2. Shorter game-greater likelihood of defection. Longer game-greater likelihood of co-operation. No end in sight in International Politics. 'Shadow of the future' like the shadow of the past. Expectations about events in the future will influence your strategies, choices and policies today. One can create conditions propitious for co-operation under anarchy, if you extend the shadow of the future. Larger shadow of future- greater inducement for mutual co-operation.
3. Number of players in the game- Significant finding. Possibility of co-operation reduces as number of players increases. Iterated P.D-More sides, more confusing signals. Therefore Kashmir- better as a bilateral issue. Cancun collapses because of the large number of actors.