

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

STUDY MATERIAL

SECOND SEMESTER

CORE COURSE : POL2C05

For

**M.A.POLITICAL SCIENCE
(2019 ADMISSION ONWARDS)**



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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PS2C08 : COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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MODULE – I

Comparative politics: Different perspectives

Comparative Politics is a study in the direction of expanding horizon of Political Science. It is a study of Political realities by means of new techniques and approaches. It is not a study of government, but governments with the taking of decisions in all levels. Formally, comparative study has been part of what is called the study of Foreign governments, in which the governmental structures and the formal organisations of state constitutions were treated in a discipline, historical or legalistic, manner. Primary emphasis has been placed on written documents like constitution and legal principles for the allocation of Political Power.

Comparative politics as discipline has vital importance because a great deal of experimentation is now going on with new techniques, new definitions, new research tools. The main reason for the intellectual development, perhaps, because of the wide spread feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction with the traditional descriptive approach to the subject.

In the traditional view point, the term comparative politics, refers to a subject matter, a field of specialty within the academic study of politics (that, is, political science), and a method of an approach to the study of politics. The subject matter of comparative politics is the domestic politics of countries or peoples. (Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger) Comparative Politics is the study of political systems, not as isolated cases but through generalisation and comparisons (G.A. Almond, G.B Powell).

R.K Roberts classified the historical development of the subject in to three phases Unsophisticated, Sophisticated, and increasingly Sophisticated. In the first phase includes the contribution made by Aristotle, Machiavelli, Bryce and Weber to the study of politics. These writers simply utilised the comparative method for the primary purpose of the better understanding the working of political organisations.

In the second phase some important writers like Samuel. H. Beer, M. Hass, Bernard Ulam and Roy. C Macrids made their contribution to the development of comparative politics. They used various strategies of comparison such as area studies, Configurative approach, Institutional comparison, a problem-based orientation, and with various methodological problems.

In the third phase the contribution of David Easton, Gabriel Almond, James Coleman, Karl Deutsch, G. B Powell, Robert A. Dahl may be included in this phase. These writers made use of interrelated set of concepts for the sake of presenting their contribution on the basis of comparative analysis. They used some specialized vocabulary in their own ways. David Easton used inputs, outputs, demand, feedback; Almond offers a set of input output function; Karl Deutsch used a cybernetic language etc.

In new comparative politics, in the 1970s and 1980s, comparative politics became defined largely by ideological and methodological debates. Left and Right accused each other of bias and distortions while advocates of qualitative and quantitative methods argued over how to structure

and use research. Yet even as these debates raged among scholars, new global debates taking shape that would shake the foundations of comparative politics once again.

The first major development was rapid industrialization in Asia. The second major event was the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A third and related development was what has come to be known as the “third wave, of democracy (Patric O Neil)

Meaning of Politics in Comparative Politics

Samuel E Finer says that Politics is a “continuous, time less, ever changing and universal activity having its key manifestations in the making of a decision to face and solve a predicament”. It flows from a special kind of activity, a form of human behavior. It refers to the making or taking of a decision in which some political action is involved. David Easton treats it is an action for the “authoritative allocation of values”. Harold Laswell, and Robert. A. Dahl describe it, ‘as a special case in exercise of power’. But Jean Blondal gives emphasis on the ‘decision making Process.’

In comparative politics ‘politics has three connotations, Political activity, Political process, and Power. Political activity consists of the efforts by which conditions of conflicts are created and resolved in a way pertaining to the interest of the people, as far as possible, who play their part in the struggle for power. The tension and conflicts are reduced and resolved through the operation of some permanent mechanism of tension reduction. If Politics is the authoritative allocation of ‘value’ it is bound to arise some measure of conflicts between ‘Values’ as desired by the people and ‘values’ as held by authorities. This leads to conflicts, that demand their solution and what leads to efforts in this regard constitute political activity.

Political process is an extension of political activity. It includes the activities of all agencies that have their role in the decision-making process. It also includes even ‘non-state agencies’. A study of the way of groups and associations operate shows that they are not free from the trends of struggle for power; they have their ‘internal governments’ to deal with their internal conflicts and tensions. What is particularly important for our purpose is that these ‘non-state’ associations influence the government of the country for the sake of protecting and promoting their specific interests. Thus, there occurs a very sharp process of interaction between the groups inter se and between the groups and the government of the country. Participate in policy formation by the government or become the government, is the political process.

Finally, the scope of comparative politics includes the subject of political power. The term ‘power’ has been defined by different writers in different ways. For instance, while Carl J Friedrich describes it as ‘a certain kind of human relationship’. Tawney regards it as the capacity of an individual, or a group of individuals to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in the manner which he desires. Referring to the role of power in the matter of decision-making, Lasswell says: “The making of decision is an inter personal process: the policies which other persons are to pursue are what is decided upon. Power as participation in the making of decisions is an interpersonal relation. Politics thus connotes a special case in the exercise of power an

exercise of power – an exercise in the attempt to change the conduct of others in one’s own direction”

Comparative Politics: Different Perspectives

(A) Institutional

The institutional approach to comparative political analysis, simply put, is a comparative study of institutions. The nature (comparative) and subject matter (institutions) of study are thus quite evident. For a long time, comparative political analysis was associated primarily with a comparative study of institutions. Comparative political analysis may in fact be said to have begun with a study of institutions.

Institutional approach to the study of politics give importance on the study of formal structures of a political organisations. In this, they study the structures like, Executive, Legislature, judiciary etc. However, the modern critics also analysis infra structures like party systems, interest groups etc. So, the institutional approach is also known as Structural approach

The characteristic features of the institutional approach are (a) its concern with studying institutions of government and the nature of distribution of power, viz., constitutions, legal-formal institutions of government (b) its largely legalistic and frequently speculative and prescriptive/ normative vocabulary, in so far as it has historically shown a preoccupation with abstract terms and conditions like 'the ideal state' and 'good order' (c) a philosophical, historical or legalistic perspective.

A specific feature of this approach has also been its *ethnocentrism*. The major works which are seen as representing the institutional approach in comparative politics, have concerned themselves only with governments and institutions in western countries. Implicit in this approach is thus a belief in the primacy of western liberal democratic institutions.

Institutional Approach: Historical Over view

The comparative study of institutions has its beginning perhaps with the philosophical explorations of the ideal state in Plato's *Republic*. This approach is also accepted in the Ancient period by large number of Political scientist from Aristotle to Polybius and in modern period from Bryce to Finer. Aristotle studied constitutions and practices in Greek city-states. Aristotle made a typology of governments distinguishing between monarchies, oligarchies and democracy and between these 'ideal' governments and their 'perverted' forms. The study of comparative politics at this stage was marked by what may be called an interrelation between facts and values.

With Machiavelli (*The Prince*) in the sixteenth century and Montesquieu (*The Spirit of Laws*) in the middle of the eighteenth century, the emphasis on empirical details and facts about existing state of affairs came to be established.

Tocqueville, in many ways, was the forbearer of the study of 'theory and practice' of governments, which became the essence of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis in later years.

Montesquieu was, however, followed mainly by constitutional lawyers, whose vocation determined that they concentrate more on the contents i.e., the theoretical (legal-constitutional) framework of governments rather than the manner in which these frameworks unfolded in practice.

Bagehot (*The English Constitution*, 1867) made another significant contribution to the - development of this element of the institutional approach in his study of the British Cabinet drawing important points of comparison with the American Executive. It was, however, Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, who in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, made important contributions to comparative study of institutions and by implication to the evolution of comparative governments as a distinct branch of study.

The institutional approach may be visualized later in the works of several English, American writers. F.A. Ogg, W.B. Munro, Herman Finer, H.J. Laski, Richard Neustadt, C.F. Strong, Bernard Crick, James Bryce, Maurice Duverger and Govind Sartory etc. The striking features of their works is that the study of politics has been confined to the formal, as well as informal, institutional structures of political systems

This approach has been criticised by many. It ignores the role of individuals who constitute and operate the formal, as well as informal structures and sub structures of a political system. The emergence of the behavioral approaches condensed the significance of institutional approach in comparative politics. The following are the other limitations of institutional approach.

- (a) as given to speculation;
- (b) as largely prescriptive and normative;
- (c) concerned only with irregularities and regularities without looking for relationships;
- (d) configurative and non-comparative focusing it did on individual countries;
- (e) ethnocentric as it concentrated on western European democracies';
- (f) descriptive as it focused on formal (constitutional and governmental) structure;
- (g) historical without being analytical

(h) contributors within this framework were so absorbed with the study of institutions that differences in cultural settings and ideological frameworks were completely ignored while comparing, say, the upper chambers of the UK, USA and USSR;

D) methodologically they were accused as being partial incomplete and theoretically, it was said they missed the substance of political life.

B) Systems

Since the middle of twentieth century the political scientist has started to use more and more the political system and they have discarded the term like government, state and nation to indicate political systems. The first earnest attempts were made by David Easton Gabriel Almond to the study of political systems on the basis of system Theory. Later; the other writers like Mitchell, Karl Deutsch, Richard Snyder and Mortan Kaplan etc.' used this approach to the study of political phenomena.

According to Friedrich “when several parts that are distinct and different from each other compose a whole, bearing a defined functional relation to each other which establishes mutual dependence of these parts up on each other so that the destruction of the one entails the destruction of the whole, then such a constellation shall be called a system”.

Political System

The social system consists of many sub systems. Each sub system has certain specified functions to perform. The political system is interwoven with other subsystems in society. There is close relationship between social and political systems. A study of the modern man is incomplete which does not include question like how does he earn his livelihood, how does he spent his moment of leisure relaxation, what kind of problems worry him the most, how and where does he come into conflict with his fellow-beings, to mention a few. Although for a political analyst all the above-mentioned factors are important, his basic concern would always remain with regularization and institutionalization of power, making of authoritative decisions, conflict resolution to name a few aspects of human behavior with a clear political bias. The agency which has been entrusted with these functions is the state and its organ actively undertakes these jobs are known as government. But it is realized that the term ‘state’ and ‘government’ have restricted legal meanings. The concept of ‘Political System’, write Almond and Powell, “has acquired wide currency because it directs attention to entire scope of political activities within a society, regardless of where in the society such activities may be located”.

The Political system is a set of institutions and agencies concerned with formulating and implementing the collective goals of a society or of groups with it.

Different thinkers defined the concept of political system in various ways. According to David Easton “Political system is that system of inter-action in any society through which binding and authoritative allocations of values are made and implemented”.

According to Robert. A. Dahl “Political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority”

David M Wood says that political system is “a set of inter related variables conceived to be politically relevant and treated as if they could be separated from other variables conceived to be politically relevant and immediately relevant to politics”.

Comparative Politics makes a deep and systematic study of different political system. Political system determines political power, political culture, and nature of the state, political mobility and so on. Its chief characteristic is political allocation which has been defined by Marion Levy, “As the distribution of power over and responsibility for the action of the various members of the concrete structure concerned, involving on the one hand coercive sanctions, of which force is the extreme form in one direction, and on the other, accountability to the members and in terms of the structure concerned, or to the members of other concrete structures.” The political system is sanctioned by the state and the political power. Explaining the influence of political system Almond and Powell point out, “In the end it may be remembered that the political system produces a certain output for the society: legitimate policy decisions. The goals at which

these decision aim may be precise and programmatic, or only vague and general. They may be accepted readily or reluctantly, by many or by few. But to call them policy decisions is to stress that they do have consequences for the society, and to note their legitimacy is to draw attention to the main characteristics that make them political. Through the political system goals for the society are defined and carried out by legitimate policy decisions.”

Properties of Political System

Gabriel has pointed out three important characteristics or features of the system.

A) comprehensiveness -Comprehensiveness means a system in which all such structures are included which help in smooth running of the system

B) interdependence- Inter-dependence means that, when there is some change in the role of some variable in a system, with that other roles in the same system also change.

C) Existence of Boundaries-It implies that, where the political systems end and other system begin.

Characteristics of Political System

The characteristics of Political system may be said to be five in number

- 1) Universality of Political systems -It means that all political system, whether primitive or modern, developing or developed have political structures. That is, they have legitimate pattern of interactions by means of which internal and external order is maintained.
- 2) Universality of Political structures-All Political system have some structures that performs some functions, though varying degrees of frequency. The articulative, aggregative, and communicative functions may be performed diffusely within the society or intermittently through the kinship or lineage structures.
- 3) Universality of Political functions-All Political system performs more or less same functions with varying degree of frequency. Those functions are rule making, rule applications, rule adjudication.
- 4) Multi- functionality of political structures. -All Political structures performs several functions. In a political system the courts not only adjudicate, they also legislate. The bureaucracy is one of the most important source of legislation. The legislative bodies effect both administration and adjudication.
- 5) Culturally mixed character of political system-All political systems are culturally mixed in character. No political system is quite modern or western in the same sense as no individual is fully nature or emancipated in ties and diffuse dependence.

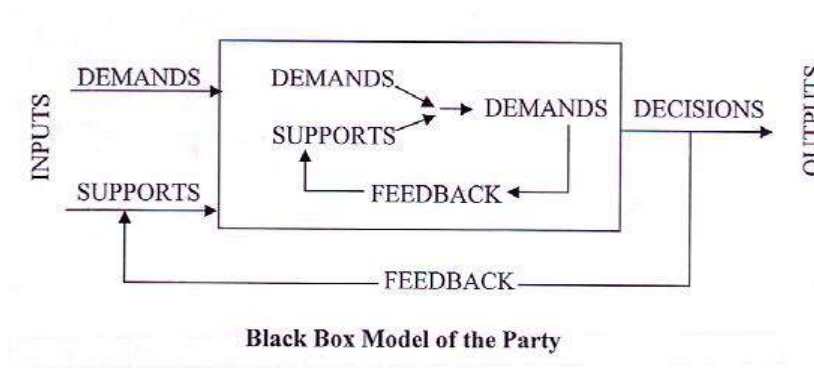
Functions of a Political System

A political system functions through various levels. Firstly, the capabilities of a political systems. Second function is the conversion process. It is through this process the system changes in to output. Third function is the system maintenance and adaptation e.g.; Various roles like diplomacy, military, socialization etc.

David Easton found political system the most suitable unit through which all the political process and forces could be analysed. He was primarily concerned with portraying the relationship between a system and the environment in which it is located. His view was that the political system was constantly receiving from other system a stream of events and influences that shaped the conditions under which the members acted.

He is interested in directing our attention to the boundary between politics and other aspects of social life and postulates the existence of a close relationship between a system and the environment. He divides the basic component of his model of the political systems in to **Inputs**, consisting of demand and support, and **Outputs**, connected by the **feedback**.

Models of Easton's political system



Inputs –

The inputs are the pressures of all kinds which are exercised on the system. There are two types of input in the political system and those are demands and supports. They are received by the system from the society. A demand is “an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to particular subject-matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so. Demands are the motive power for the working of political system. The people make demands on political systems.

Outputs

The outputs of the political system consist of authoritative decision which either application or interpretation of rules. Those decisions affect the environment of the political systems. Output may help to maintain support for the political system.

The Feed-back

Feed-back is a dynamic process through which information about the performance of the system is communicated back to it. That affects the subsequent behavior of the system. It is conducive to the persistence of the system. Through feed-back loop, the system may take advantage of adjusting its future behavior.

Conversion Process

The manner and mechanism through which a political system covert inputs and responds to the process in the environment is called the conversion process. The conversion mechanism turns inputs in to outputs after some process of selection, limitation or rearrangement. The process of conversion depends when the capability of the political system for extraction of resources, regulation and control over individuals and goods, distribution of resources and its capacity for developments.

No political system can last long without the support of the society. Supports may be material supports like pay taxes, military services, labor contributions. A political system receives considerable support from the environment. The support is both overt and covert. Overt supports are form of action which are clearly and manifestly seen in the political system. Covert support are attitudes and sentiments towards political systems.

Inputs go through a conversion process with the political systems and are connected with outputs. Outputs are the decision of authorities. The political system can adopt itself to the support stress in several ways. That include change in structure, change in the system of representation, party system etc. Political support decline if the political system fails to deliver the goods.

The environment in which a political system operates may be put into parts;

- (1) Intra-societal i.e., one consisting of system in a given society other than the political. It includes sets of behavior, attitudes and ideas like the economy, culture, social structure and personalities.
- (2) Extra-societal or the one including all those systems that lie outside the given society itself. Extra societal systems are functional components of an international society, a 'super system' of which any single society is a part. It is these two classes of systems which comprise the total environment of a political systems and it is from these sources that these influences arise that are of consequences for stress on the political systems.

Almond presents a seven-fold classification of the functional variables in his input -output model that, as he claims, he has developed for the purpose of comparing political systems as whole systems and particularly for comparing the modern and developed political systems with primitive and developing systems of the third world countries. He mentions four variables in input category

- 1) Political socialization and recruitment-It refers to a sociological analysis of how people are trained to have faith and conviction in political values and how they are inducted in the specialised roles of a political system. It involves family, school, media, and all political structures that develop, reinforce, and transform the political culture, the attitudes of political significance in the society
- 2) Interest Aggregation -It refers to the organization and role of the political parties. It is the party systems that is the distinctively modern structure of political aggregation regulating or giving orders to the performance of the aggregative function by other sub systems.

3) Interest articulations - Refers to the study of interest groups that struggle for the protection and promotion of their specific interest. These groups may be 'institutional' like legislatures, political executives, or 'non-associational' like kinship and lineage groups, that act informally and intermittently; 'anomic' that are more or less spontaneous. Break through into the political systems from the society as riots and demonstrations and 'associational' that are specialized structures of interest articulations like trade unions and business organisations etc.

4) Political communication-All input and output functions in a political system are carried out by means of communication. Gaining control over information is the key goal of most authoritarian rulers.

Almond include in his output category three variables

1) **Rule making**

The Rule making was previously known as legislation. Rulemaking goes on in every type of government whether it is democracy, dictatorship or monarchy. It is exercised by the legislature or parliament in a democracy.

2) **Rule application**

Rule application means the enforcement of rules made by the rule-making authority in one form or the other. In modern times, rules are executed by officials.

3) **Rule Adjudication functions**

It is the duty of the judiciary to interpret laws and punish the guilty. It resolves the conflicts between the government and citizens and among the citizen themselves.

Structural functional Analysis.

Structural functional analysis is the one of the important derivatives of general system theory. The structural functionalism is means of explaining what political structures performs what basic functions in the political systems, and it is a tool of investigation.

A structure refers to those arrangements within the system which perform the functions. A single function may be fulfilled by a complex combination of structures. A function is generally defined as the objective consequences of a pattern of action for the system in which it occurs. A function is thus concerned with a pattern of action. 'In other words, it is related to a system. Willium Flanigan and Edwin Fogelman says that in its widest usage Functionalism means simply that in analyzing some phenomenon, the political scientist will be concerned with, among the other things, their functions in the sense of purposes served by the phenomena'. Gabriel Almond is closely associated with Structural-functional approach. He has stated four political functions namely, *Political socialization and recruitment, Interest articulations, Interest aggregation, Political communication*. Governmental functions have their parallel in three branches of the government, *Rulemaking, Rule application, Rule Adjudication*.

All the branches the government (legislature, executive, and Judiciary) performs this function. Some extra -legal forces like political parties, pressure groups, voters, social groups,

castes and communities and professional groups are always active in society and they also influence the functions and the structure of the political system.

Many have criticized Almond's view of the functions of the political system. According to Meehan "Almond has not produced a theory, of course, nor even a well-articulated classification scheme".

Almond's classification of political systems.

In their work 'Comparative Politics: A Development Approach', Almond and Powell have suggested a comprehensive classification of political system. Their classification scheme is based on two criteria:

- (1) Structural Differentiation-the development and proliferation of specialized structures for the performance of specific functions and roles.
- (2) Cultural Secularisation -the growth of rational, analytical and empirical criteria in decision making.

On these two base they offer a three-fold broad classification of political systems.

- (1) System with intermittent political structures in which there is a minimum of structural differentiation and a concomitant diffused and parochial political culture.
- (2) System with differentiated governmental political structures characterized by participant political culture.
- (3) System with differentiated political infrastructures characterised by participant political culture.

S.E. Finer's Classification of Political systems

S.E Finer, in his book "comparative Government" has given a Classificatory scheme which is quiet comprehensive, relatively simple and takes into account the empirical realities of politics in various state.

- (a) How far are the masses or the public involved in or excluded from the governing process? This is the participant exclusion dimension.
- (b) How far the masses or the public obey their rules out of commitment or how far out of fear? This is the coercion persuasion dimension.
- (c) How far the arrangements designed to cause the rulers to reflect the actual and current values of the masses or the public or how far may they disregard these for the sake of continuity and future values.

On the basis of these three dimensions a by relating one with other dimension, S.E. Finer offers six-fold classification.

- (1) Military Regimes-Based on coercion, lacking in sub-group autonomy, having either high or moderate sub- group dependency Military regime of Pakistan.
- (2) Dynastic Regimes. - Based on manipulation. Saudi Arabia.
- (3) Façade Democracies. - Democratic in form but oligarchic in reality, show off representativeness, persuasion and participation but in reality, dependence up on manipulation, exclusion, coercion, and other future goals.

- (4) Quasi-Democracies- Having varying degree of representatives but living under the hegemony of a single party.
- (5) Totalitarian Regimes-These rely on regimentation and are characterised by hegemonic party control.
- (6) Liberal Democracies-These have a high level of extensive popular participation, depend mostly on persuasion, are characterised by a degree of representatives and sub- group autonomy.

C) Cultural

In the 1980s, the concept of Political culture became a part of modern political analysis. This term has been popularised by the American political thinkers like Ulam, Beer, Gabriel Almond and it is now being used frequently to compare the different political systems. It is political culture which explains satisfactorily the phenomenon why parliamentary democracy has succeeded so well in Great Britain but not succeed in most of the counties of Africa and Asia.

Example: The United States and Great Britain are both democracies, but each has a distinct political culture. The American government derives its powers from a written constitution drafted by men who feared monarchs and strong central governments, which is why they divided the federal government into three distinct branches. Great Britain, in contrast, has a long history of monarchy and has never had a written constitution.

The cultural thrust in comparative politics, conspicuously prominent during the 1980s, emanated from traditional work on culture in anthropology, socialization and small group studies in sociology, and personality studies in psychology. The concept of political culture was related "to nations or national cultures. In this sense political culture represented a sort of recasting of the older notions of national character. Political culture related to systems as well. Political culture consisted of beliefs, symbols, and values that define situations in "which political action occurs. Types of political culture characterized systems; for example, parochial, subject, and participant political cultures. These types of political cultures reflected the psychological and subjective orientations of people toward their national system. The pioneer comparative effort to construct a theory of political culture was Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's Civic Culture, which was based on a survey of the attitude of citizens toward their nation in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Mexico. Inherent in this study was the proposition, set forth earlier in the work of Almond that the ideal political or civic culture could be found in an Anglo-American model of politics. Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba elaborated on the theory and brought together essays by prominent specialists in the field in Political Culture and Political Development. Although there have been efforts to relate political culture to the politics of specific nations-such as Pye's Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity-generally the literature has been divided into two subareas: political socialization and communications. Edited volumes by James S.Coleman, Education and Political Development, and by Pye, Communications and Political Development, reflect the work in these areas

Political culture is a concept that helps to understand the linkage between formal institutional arrangement and actual behavior. It constitutes an examination of the sociological aspect of the subject of political development.

According to Almond and Powell “Political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, values and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those special propensities and patterns which may be found in separate parts of that population”.

Political culture consists of attitudes and orientations which people in a given society develop towards objects within their political systems. These orientations may have three distinct dimensions which are *cognitive Orientations*, it means the knowledge people have about objects within their political systems. The *affective orientation* implying feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection, and like about political objects, and *evaluative orientations* implying judgments and opinions about the political objects, which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.

Object of political culture

It cannot be denied that political culture touches levels of human awareness and sensitivity. The objects of the orientation of the people may be different types. Firstly, the objects towards these orientations may be to the political systems as a whole. People have knowledge and feelings about the judgements on the political system. It is this orientation that conditions the development of national identity. People must have psychological attachment towards political systems.

Second object of the orientation is to the Input process of the political system. Through this process the demands made by the society flow to the political system for their conversion into authoritative politics. This process is done by means of the activities of political parties, pressure groups and media communications.

Thirdly, the object of these orientations is the output process. This involves the work of bureaucracy, courts and other political institutions relating with applying and enforcing decisions. Fourthly, the object of individual orientations is directed towards his own self. As he plays a role in the political system he should have knowledge of attachment of and so his own evaluation of this role.

Factors which mould political culture

Politics is such an activity which is carried on human environment and is the product of the historical background, social set up, physical locations and climate etc.

According to Lucian Pye “Political culture is shaped by the general historical experiences of a country as also by the private personal experiences of the individuals.

Geography is also an important factor influencing the growth of political culture in a political system. The insular character of the British Islands protected the country from foreign invasion. But in case of India, the limitless frontiers opened the ways for the foreigners to invade

and even settle here with the result that we developed the values of independent egalitarianism with most of ethnic differences.

Socio economic development also contribute to the development of political culture. The economic conditions of a particular community also have its politics. A particular economy will create particular possibilities. A community living in a highly industrialised economy for example will develop social relations which will, in its turn, provide a social setting for political activity

Different kinds of the political culture

Almond and Verba presents a classification of Political culture in to three ideal types. They are

- 1) **Parochial political culture** -The people have no understanding of the national political system, do not possess any tendency to participate in the input process and have no consciousness of the output process, such type of political culture called parochial political culture. e.g. African Tribes Eskimos.
- 2) **Subject Political culture** -This type political culture is found in the subject countries and monarchies. There the people are aware of the governmental systems whether they like it or not. In this type of culture people are not taught to participate in the input functions. Sometimes they are not allowed to do so. The people find it difficult how to influence the working political system.
- 3) **Participant political culture** -In this type of Political culture people take active part in the political sphere by considering themselves as an active member of the polity. They are well conscious of their rights and duties.

In addition to this, Almond points out two more variables that should be taken in to account. First, apart from all these varieties of political culture of an unmixed type he also refers to the political culture of a systematically mixed variety. Here Almond deals with situations where there are significant proportions of more than one pattern of orientation. Thus, he lays down three varieties. (1) *Parochial Subject Political culture* (2) *subject Participant political culture* (3) *parochial participant political culture* and (4) *Civic culture*. Civic culture is neither traditional or modern, but partaking of both pluralistic culture based on communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture permitted to change but moderated it.

More over there is always fundamental difference between the political culture of the rulers and the ruled.

Gabriel Almond presents psychological illustration of the political system on the basis of political culture. They are

- 1) **Anglo American System**-Operating in western democratic countries like, Britain, America. In these countries Political culture is homogeneous and continuous. There is no revolution. There is mutual dependence between the people and decision makers. Society has a plural character and there is diffusion of power and influence. Above all, stability of differentiated roles.
- 2) **Continental European Political System** -It is operating in less developed western democratic countries of Europe like France, Italy, Norway, Sweden etc.

In this system political culture is fragmented where different sections of society establish different patterns of cultural development, while some are more developed than others.

3) The country that have emerged from the days of long colonial domination. -

In such a political system the political culture of the rulers is imposed over the political culture on the subject.

Totalitarian Political system

Like Soviet Union and china legitimacy to the political authority is artificially created. Coercion becomes the main stream in the exercise of authority. There is concentration of power that neglects the principle of diffusion of authority.

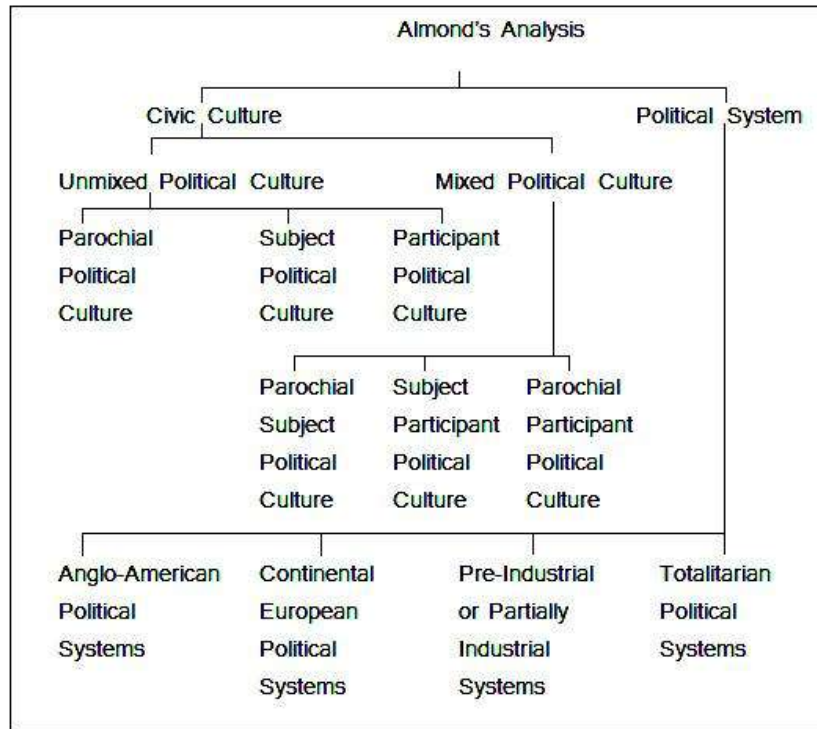
Professor S.E. Finer suggests three variables of political culture

1. Mature Political Culture – As obtaining in Britain, America, Australia and the Netherlands, it shows that the political consensus and its degree of organization are very high; the need of the government for counting on the support of the armed forces is at a minimum; and long habituation to this situation has brought not only the public but even the armed service to an almost unquestioning belief in the principle of civil supremacy.
2. Developed Political Culture – It refers to a society where the public is highly organized, though, from time to time, it becomes sharply polarized on either the legitimacy of its institutions and procedures or on the incumbents who hold office as a consequence of these. Countries like Egypt, Algeria and Cuba can be placed in this category.
3. Low Political Culture – It is found in countries with narrow and weakly organized publics, often self – divided on the legitimacy of the regime or the incumbents in office. In such countries, public opinion is too feeble or self-divided or both to offer any sustained resistance to authoritarian rules. Countries like Vietnam, Iraq, Syria, Bhutan, And Indonesia are examples of this category.

Almond and Powell realized that the approach of political culture to the political system is inadequate. Critics have point out that the following are the draw backs of the political culture analysis.

- a) The concept is merely a new label for an old idea
- b) Its definition is vague. Various political writers have given it a meaning of their own. So, this concept conveys conflicting ideas
- c) It is difficult to distinguish those elements which contribute to political culture from the elements which are generally found in the political culture
- d) It is not clear whether political institutions and practices are part of the political culture or are its products.

Political Culture and Political System by Almond.



D) Political Economy

There is a general agreement that the political system functions within an ecology of other systems of human interaction namely social, economic and religious. Therefore, mere study of constitutions and institutions is considered inadequate to understand the nature of politics and state in terms of its functions and ability to perform desired goals.

Marxists in particular believe that economics is the base of society and political system. In Marxian point of view, politics is not a fundamental activity of human beings, and political system is not an autonomous structure as held by liberal models of political analysis. Politics is only a part of super structure.

Marxian analysis starts with distinction between base and super structure. This building like metaphor is used to postulate that the economic structure of society, which represent the base, is responsible for creating and transforming its social structure including its legal and political structure, religion and moral etc.

Marx expressed this idea in his preface to “*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*”. This means that the political system, as apart of super structure, is not autonomous,

that it does not grow out of itself, but emerges on the foundation of the economic structure of society.

The economic structure itself changes with the development of forces of production. This would bring about corresponding changes in the political system and other aspects of super structure. Since the political system is neither independent nor autonomous, no useful purpose will be served by under taking analysis of political system.

According to the Marxist approach therefore, comparative politics is also having to be understood in terms of class domination over political structures. The nature of political regimes has to be explained as the expression of specific interest and forces within particular national states, which can take important decision for the operation of an economy.

A historical analysis of this alone enable to grasp the nature of the state in terms of its structure, functions and legitimacy. In order to investigate the origins and characteristic of present day states, it is necessary to consider their political history and also the dynamics of the mode of production, capitalist or socialist. In this sense there are considerable difference not only between states based on different modes of production but also between political regimes situated within similar modes of production. Thus, according to Marxist approach there is a need for detailed comparative study necessary in order to explain differences in similarities in terms of the structure and functions of national states.

The Marxist approach while gives importance to economic factors and issues affecting to the developing countries it has its own weakness. First of all, its belief that the state is controlled only by the economically dominant class and is an instrument in their hands not stood the test of time. But many Marxist themselves view state to be relatively autonomous, partially removed from immediate control of capital and vested interest. This approach does not take many minor but significant aspect in their analysis.

MODULE – II

State in comparative Frame work.

The State is the pivot of political theory and politics, the word ‘State’ is derived from the Latin past participle *status*, which means a situation or state of being. Machiavelli is the earliest to use the term as an impersonal entity but does not define it. Prof. Laski defines “state as a territorial society divided into government and subjects whose relationships are determined by the exercise of supreme coercive power.”

A state is defined as a political entity that possesses Population, Territory, Government, Sovereignty. A government is a concrete reality of the state, which is an abstraction. Government change structurally and can be removed without entailing a change in state. Furthermore, the modern state is highly differentiated, specialized and complex upholding the difference between the private and the public space. As a modern phenomenon, the state develops with sovereignty as its distinguishing trait. The concept of sovereignty reinforces the public-private divide and also between one body politic and another. Concurrently with the idea of sovereignty and partly in opposition to it grows another idea that distinguishes the state as a modern phenomenon, namely the idea that it is the people as a single entity who rightly decide and constitute the form of rule within the body politic. This idea was carried further by the American and French Revolutions that established representative institutions and also developed the idea that the proper end of the state is primarily protection of individual rights. Several political thinkers have developed ideas about the nature and purpose of the state according to different point of view. Modern nation-state may be classified in to two broad forms-liberal democratic and totalitarian. In between the two the authoritarian state also exists. Recently another variety of state emerged that is known as welfare state. The concept of welfare state has been devised to meet the challenge of the totalitarian state.

a) Democratic State.

There are two distinct and yet interrelated ideas with in the notion of the liberal democratic state. The liberal component signifies the limits to state power by rejecting political absolutism backed by the notion of Divine right of kings, the dominant idea in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the time when liberal ideas crystallize and began to evolve. The democratic component signifies people’s rule, participation and representative institutions. The liberal state gradually becomes a democratic state with the extension of franchise and by improving on the institutions and procedure that exemplify people’s will. Hobbes lays the foundations of a liberal state, though he is not a thorough going liberal and his philosophy contains illiberal features. The features of a liberal state emerge properly in Locks’ writings. His *First Treaties* is entirely devoted to showing that parental and political power are not same and distinguished between the state and the ruler.

A liberal Democratic system is one of the three most popular types of contemporary political system. Some of the societies have been maintaining this system for well over 200 years. The UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland have been living with liberal democratic states for the last 200 years. A Liberal democratic political system is considered to be the best system that the people of a state can adopt, provided they have the willingness and a certain commitment to its values and norms.

In a liberal democratic state, the government is run by the chosen representatives of the people who are accountable to them for their policies and actions Freedom of speech, discussion and expression of views, universal adult franchise and free and fair periodic election all entail continuous test of the legitimacy of the government. It is direct democracy or indirect democracy like Anglo-American or Swiss model. The fact remains that power lies with the people and it is the will of the people that plays a decisive part in the organization and working of the government.

In a liberal democratic state recognises the existence of democracy in a qualified sense. The government is not an end in itself but a means for the realization of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The authority of the government is limited by the laws and conventions which constitute the fundamental law of the land. The liberal democratic model rejects the mystic notion of the divinity of state as propounded by the thinkers of the idealist tradition like Plato, Rousseau, Hegel, Hobbes, Bentham and Austin. The liberal democratic model lays emphasis on secularism implying freedom of conscience and morality. The state has no official religion or ideology of its own.

Features

- a) It implies a government of the people through their chosen representatives'. Mill says that delegates freely chosen by the people "act on their behalf as watchdogs over the government"
- b) The existence of a free Legislative body to make laws according to the will of the people and the executive organ of the government must act according to the liberal democratic order.
- c) The structure of a liberal democratic state stands on the principle of limited government. The powers of three organs of government are not concentrated but separated and also interconnected by the institutionalization of the system of checks and balances.
- d) There is the arrangement of socio-economic checks and balances. A liberal democratic order lays emphasis on according to proper recognition of to the personality of various groups and professional associations.
- e) A liberal democratic state stands for political modernization and political acculturation.

According to Ball liberal democratic system has the following characteristics;

- The Parties are able to compete freely with each other for political power.,
- The competition for power is open., Entry and recruitment to positions of political power is relatively open.,

- There is periodic election based on a wide franchise.,
- Pressure groups are able to operate influence government decisions.,
- There is an independent judiciary.,
- The mass media are not monopolised by the government.,
- Civil liberties are protected by the government.

The following are the features of liberal democracy by Andrew Haywood: Politics

- 1) Based on formal, usually legal rules.
- 2) Guarantee of civil liberties and individual rights.
- 3) Institutionalized fragmentation and a system of checks and balances.
- 4) Regular elections that respect the principle of one person one vote and one vote one value.
- 5) Party competition and political pluralism.
- 6) Independence of organized groups and interest from government.
- 7) Private enterprises economy organized along market lines.

A Modern Democratic Government comes on the basis of five cardinal features;

- (1) Representatives
- (2) Limited and Defined Authority
- (3) Responsive to Public Opinion
- (4) Account for its all acts
- (5) Transparency in Operation

A liberal Democratic system is considered to be the best system which can enable the people to develop under their freely organized, representative and responsible government. It is suited most for safeguarding the interest of the common man. To him, it provides several social, economic, political, and individual rights and benefits. It is a source of stable and responsible government, because the government always rest up on and works in accordance with dictates of public opinion.

Critics criticize it as system involving the possibility of the rule of ignorance. The government under this system is weak because of several social, economic, political, legal and constitutional checks up its authority.

b) Authoritarian State.

An Authoritarian Political system is very near to a totalitarian political system and far away from a liberal democratic political system.

E.B.Schulz “An Authoritarian government is charecterised by the possession of supreme authority either by one person or by a minority group which is in no way accountable to the people over whom control is exercised”.

C.H.Dillon “Authoritarian state as the one which “all authority and power are concentrated in the hands of a few i.e. ,the government, whose rule is essentially not responsible. The people participate in few of their decisions but are subject to all of them”

Authoritarianism is a political outlook that requires everybody and everything to conform to an established order. It sees no need to obtain explicit or tacit consent of affected by decision. It does not permit ordinary people to express their independent opinions, demands or preferences and rules out accountability of power -holders to or public vote. This type of political system though quite close to the totalitarian model. A totalitarian state, is one where the authority of government is total and absolute claiming jurisdiction over the whole of a man’s life. That is, no part of man’s life is outside the detailed supervision and control of the state. It implies that state becomes absolute, permanent and a supernaturally sanctioned institution.

It is solidly opposed to any institutional division of power. It stands for the monopolistic and hierarchical organization of a single party, group, or junta having both *de facto* and *de jure* authority to control and run the machinery of administration according to the official creed, partly through its monopoly of the mass media and partly through the use of brute force to establish its reign of terror.

○ **Authoritarianism.**

- A small group of individuals exercise power over the state.
- Government is not constitutionally responsible to the public.
- Public has little or no role in selecting leaders.
- Individual freedom is restricted.
- Authoritarian regimes may be institutionalised and legitimate.

An authoritarian state is one in which;

- (1) The executive is excessively powerful and is not really responsible to the people.
- (2) The legislature enjoys a secondary position and is dominated by the executive
- (3) People enjoy only limited rights and freedoms.
- (4) The government is formed by a revolutionary group, civilian group, or military junta.
- (5) The government maintains a control over the press.
- (6) Opposition is kept in control.
- (7) Change of rulers always involves the use of force or domination.
- (8) People have a little role in influencing the policies of government.

The state experiences coups, revolution and forcible over- throw of rulers from time to time. Modernisation is used as a cloak to cover the high-handed policies and actions of the ruling group which is always dominated by a powerful leader-the dictator.

According to Ball the following are the characteristic of an Authoritarian or Autocratic state.

- 1) Important limitations are imposed on open political competition, i.e., political parties and elections.
- 2) There is the absence of a dominating political ideology such as communism or fascism, although racialism and nationalism often provide some basis for attempted political uniformity.
- 3) The definition of what is 'political' is more restricted in totalitarian systems, although this may be the result of a lack of modern administrative and technological methods to impose a wider definition.
- 4) The political rulers often place greater emphasis on force and coercion to obtain political uniformity and obedience.
- 5) In contrast to liberal democracies, civil liberties are weakly supported and the mass media and the judiciary are more directly controlled by the government.
- 6) The basis for rule is found either in a traditional political elite, in a new modernizing elite, often the army has seized power by a coup or as the result of a colonial war of independence.
- 7) It is usually one group that monopolises political control in contrast to the pluralism of liberal democracies.

Authoritarianism is differing from dictatorship. The essential element is that it is one in which stern and forceful control is exercised over the population with no particular concern for their preferences or for public opinion.

The totalitarian and authoritarian political systems are adopted by the rulers because these are considered to be a source of several advantages: strong government, stability and efficiency, rapid modernization and development through forced mobilization of resources, helpful in meetings emergencies, relatively less expensive system of rule. But the international community also has to bear the brunt of anti-internationalism, a war oriented aggressive policy pursued by the totalitarian /authoritarian rulers. Totalitarianism in the form of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany and the emergence of several dictatorial and authoritarian regimes during the inter-war years (1919-1939) were mainly responsible for throwing the world in to the pit of a very destructive war, the second world war (1939-1945).

C) Corporatist State.

The idea of corporatist state was the brain child of the Italian fascist dictator, Mussolini in the late of 1920s established a network of corporations throughout the country under the supreme control and direction of the national fascist corporation. Each corporation was a band of chosen people who had the right to speak for various sectors of society.

The dictatorial state patronised and funded the groups of selected labour unions, agricultural associations, student groups, neighbourhood communities and the like who would

settle the disputes of the employers and the employees and thereby maintain cohesion between the capital and labour as desired by the fascist leader in power.

This type of corporatism is undemocratic, for it allows no room for competition among and the overlapping memberships of unions and associations that is the hallmark of a pluralist society. It seeks to arrange the society in a hierarchical manner, with each organisation empowered by the state to have a monopoly of representation over a given issue or a segment of society. Hence the system of Mussolini was widely criticised.

After the second world war, corporatism emerged in a new form in many democratic states and societies. It is known as neo-corporatism. In this system, state, society and market are viewed as a single organic body with each element cooperating and performing its own specific and limited role.

However, the democratic nature of the corporatist state cannot be denied. It refers to the widespread tendency across the advanced capitalist countries for industrial relations between employers and trade union organisation to be resolved and institutionalised at the level of the state itself.

The state permits the role of non-state actors to take part in the political process of the country. The representatives of the employers and the employees negotiate with each other in the presence of the officers of the state and then manage to settle their matters.

The unofficial unions receive some kind of state sponsorship in formulating national plans and in managing public sector. Neo corporatism has changed the nature of state activity and, to a considerable extent, blurred the distinction between social and political spheres. Neo-corporatist state, invites the participation of non-state bodies in the decision-making process. As a result of which some interest groups have increased their strength.

Neo-corporatism has its natural confluence with neo pluralism, since it reflects the transgression of the division between state and society. Laski as a pluralist, desired that “if society is federal the authority should also be federal”. He never meant that the two should draw closer and closer has as happened now.

Features of corporatism.

- State, society and the market under corporatism are viewed as a single organic body with each element cooperating and performing its own specific and limited role.
- By it an authoritarian system attempts to solidify its control over the public by creating or sanctioning a limited number of organisation to represent the interest of the public, and restricting those not set up or approved by the state.
- As opposed to overlapping memberships, competition and ever-changing nature of organisations and political parties in a pluralist society.

Features of Neo-corporatism.

- It is a system of policy making involving state, labour and business groups.
- It rejects limited role of state. Instead, it uses policy in order to build consensus over competition by creating a limited number of associations that represent a large segment of business and labour. Many decisions are left to the state alone.

D) Post-Colonial State.,

State, that have emerged in the third world after the completion of the decolonization process differ, both in evolution and nature, from their counter parts in the west. The fundamental difference has been that, in Europe, the nations created the state whereas in the third world it is the state that has supposedly created the nation. With wide social, cultural economic cleavages this has been a stupendous task, compelling many to turn increasingly to authoritarianism to create the nation-state. With the lack of proper institutions and an over-developed colonial state apparatus, the rulers by and large have advanced their own personal interest rather than of the society.

Against the backdrop of lack of entrepreneurship, which has consolidated the parasitical bourgeoisie and the middle class as its junior partner, a new clientelism, with a mutually beneficial and reinforcing relationship between the patrons and the clients, has emerged. Legitimate authority in such circumstances has been further eroded by the co-existence of segmented groups of culturally divide people, who in the absence of a well-formed formula of power sharing, do not consider the state as their primary identity, as it has happened earlier in Europe. This

Makes majority of the third world states weak, mostly because of continuing with the legacy and instruments of repressive colonial administration. The recent third wave of democratization, according to Huntington, has created a new climate of optimism and with the overall acceptance of the multi-polarity democracy, there are indications that the third world states with more elite accommodation and power sharing will move towards the direction of becoming nations.

Post -Colonial perspective on the state does not exemplify any new theory of state. Post -colonial perspective denotes an attempt to analyse the problems of the newly independent nations, particularly against the background of their relations with colonial and neo- colonial powers.

Colonial powers are western nations which became powerful by establishing their domination and administration in large part of Africa, Asia, and the Latin America in the in 18th and 19th centuries. Neo- colonial powers are, those developed nations of the west who continue to exploit the newly independent countries of Africa, Asia, and the Latin America through modern strategies.

The meaning of 'state' applicable to an advanced industrialised country is different from that is applied to a backward and developing country of world. It is true that the third world countries have their states or political systems, but range from an established democracy as in India to a semi democracy as in Mexico and thereon to a party states as in china. Theocracy prevails in the

states of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and Bangladesh, secularism is the ideal of countries like India and South Africa.

Features

- 1) In all the countries, politics and government are shaped by the basic facts of scarce economic resources, extensive poverty and inequality, and relatively weak position in the international system.
- 2) In these countries, the political legitimacy is very weak. It is true that the people obey the laws and cast their votes in the elections, but they do not see the government as being very relevant to their lives or as able to do anything about most serious concerns. They even regard the government as having a negative impact on their lives, and their citizenship in the state may be negligible as a source of their political identity.
- 3) The effective power of government in most of such countries is also very limited. The state may have little real ability to exert its authority much beyond the capital city and few large urban centres. In the rural and backward areas Patron-Client relationships may be visualized.
- 4) In most of the countries the state exists without its specific identity. The people identify their state with their society, their government, their party in power and even with the personality of their supreme leader.
- 5) The general experience of the third World indicates increasing dependency on the countries organs like police, paramilitary and military forces. The increasing role of the coercive apparatus and marginalization of the developmental wings suggests that the state is getting back its primitive role.

In the third world countries the concept state, emerged out of a popular revolution or mass uprising proclaiming goals of democratic government, social justice and nationalism. The relationship between state and society has been shaped by a strong belief that the capitalism, unless carefully monitored by the government, creates economic injustice, because the private sectors pursuit of profit cause it to exploit workers and disregard the good of the community for its own advantage. The factors that encourage the development of a strong state also increases its power in relation to civil society. Liberalism has its blending with the tenant's socialism in varying degrees as a result of which the model of welfare state becomes the common choice.

MODULE – III

Comparative Development Experience

a) Issues of modernization

Modernisation, has, started in England as result of industrial Revolution, and in France after the French revolution. Then, America similarly started modernizing herself in all fields. So the process was called westernisation. Later, the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America also began industrialise themselves and adopt modern technology, and adapt themselves in all social and economic fields to the changing needs of the time, the process is regarded as modernisation.

Meaning

Huntington describes “modernisation as a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity”

Claude E. Welch describes “The process based up on the rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of a modern society”

Benjamin Schwartz Describes “The systematic, sustained and powerful application of human energies to the rational control of man’s physical and social environment for various human purposes”.

Rustow too identify a modern society with a “rapid widening control over nature through closer co-operation among men”.

A society was regarded as “more or less modernized” by Levy to the extent that its members use intimate source of power and or use of tools to multiply the effect of their efforts.

Modernisation is thus a process of change in all fields and indicates social transformation. It makes change in all fields, social, cultural, Psychological, economic and political but still it is essentially an economic concept. The process of modernisation also leads to Social Mobilization Which means an overwhelming change in a large population of those countries which are moving from their traditional way of life to the modern way of life.

Modernisation is a multi- faceted process and for this reason, political modernization is a concept having several dimensions.

1. At the psychological level it involves a change in the norms values, attitudes and orientation of the people.
2. At the intellectual level it involves expansion of man’s knowledge about his environment and the diffusion of this knowledge throughout the society through increased literacy and mass communications.
3. At the demographic level, it implies improvement in the standards of living and progress towards the mobility of the people and urbanization.
4. At the social level, it has a tendency to replace the focus of the individual’s loyalty to family and other primary groups to voluntarily organized secondary associations.

5. At the economic level it involves the growth of market agriculture, improvement in commerce at the expense of agriculture, development of industrialization and widening of the economic activity.

Characteristics of Modernisation:

- Application of technology and mechanization:
This means that the people give up old ways of living, old methods of agriculture and travelling.
- Industrialiasation:
The industrialization of a country takes places, the people give up their traditional rural and agricultural economy. Its place is taken over by industrialization.
- Urbanization:
The industrialization of a country takes place, then the new Centre's of industries develop.
- Rise in Income and per capital income:
In order to raise the national income and per-capita, the old economy based on agriculture has to be supplemented by industrial growth and its incomes because by exporting the industrial goods the country can make huge profit.
- Increase in literacy:
Another prominent feature of modernisation is that all out efforts are made by the government and the society to wipeout illiteracy.
- Political participation:
Political participation made possible in democracy through political parties, interest groups, and various organization. They influence the government for the welfare of all citizens irrespective of caste, colour, creed, religion or such other considerations.
- Development of mass-media techniques:
The modernisation brings in its wake development of mass media techniques. Through the mass media, the citizens become enlightened and well-informed and these in turn enable the citizens to serve the state in better way
- Social mobility:
The modernisation of a country begins to take place, then the people go on migrating from the villages to cities in search for better amenities and jobs.
- cultivation of National identity.
The modernisation of any country takes place then the people begin to give up their narrow loyalties and parochial consideration of caste, color, sex or creed.

Stages of Political Modernisation: Apter's Paradigm of the Developing Countries.

The Subject of Political modernization has its special relevance in the case of the developing countries of the third world which "are damned if they do, and damned if they don't". Such is the dram before the third world countries. The reason for this may be traced in their

perennial quest for the way they should adopt to achieve the goal. The fact stands out that no country desires to relinquish the path of development or modernization and, at the same time, most of the third world countries fail to choose the option between liberal and capitalist courses. Apter is of the view that while the liberal capitalist solution poses the problem of inequity, the Marxian socialist requires coercion.

According to Apter, four stages of political modernization are the following.

- 1) Stage of Contact and Control- The first stage is marked by the adventures British, French, German and other European Countries in the 17th 18th and 19th centuries and their settlement at the trade centers and the acquisition of those territories. It was accompanied by the belief that the condition of dependent peoples must be changed. It was marked by the consolidation of alien rule, erection of stable system of authority and the beginning of urbanization.
- 2) Stage of Reaction and Counter- action- It showed the effect of western colonialism. The alien domination was justified by the notion of cultural and racial superiority. The notable feature of the stage was that local and foreign elements interacted; new forms of association developed; and new interest arose. At the same time, nationalism led by elite grew. The colonial masters played the strategy of winning over the nationalist elites to their side and repressing those who could not be tamed for their purpose.
- 3) Stage of Contradiction and Emancipation- In this stage, the base of nationalist movement widened. Elites developed in the rural and semi-urban areas and the nationalist leaders sharpened the pace of their struggle. To face the challenge of the growing nationalism, the colonial powers devised the strategy of introducing their own democratic systems in degrees.
- 4) Stage of search for a New Generative Solution- It occurred after the advent of independence and, as such, it was marked by the inauguration of the second revolution in the social, economic, and technological spheres. One striking point at this stage is that the nationalist leadership of the well-known nationalist figures loses its charismatic hold and the imported democratic system is replaced by some authoritarian model provided by the only ruling party or military junta

Huntington on characteristics of modernization

- a) It is a revolutionary process;
- b) It is a complex process.
- c) It is systematic process.
- d) It is a global process
- e) It is a lengthy process
- f) It is phased process
- g) It is a homogenizing process
- h) It is irreversible process,
- i) It is a progressive process.

Rustow and Ward on Characteristics of a Modern Polity.

- 1) A highly differentiated and functionally specific system of governmental organisations.
- 2) A high degree of integration within the governmental structures.
- 3) Prevalence of rational and secular procedures for the making of political decisions.
- 4) Large volume, wider range and high efficiency of political administrative decisions.
- 5) A widespread and effective sense of popular identification with the history, territory and national identity of the state.
- 6) Widespread political interest and achievement in the political system though not necessarily in the decision-making aspects thereof.
- 7) Allocation of political roles by achievements rather than ascription and
- 8) Judicial and regulatory techniques based upon a predominantly secular and impersonal system of law.

Agents of Modernisation

- 1) **Colonialism-** The first and foremost agency that brought about modernization is colonialism. Whatever be the motives of colonialist, they built a network of roads, railways, telegraph and banking systems. The swift means of communication which the colonialist established in their own interest were also used by the nationalist in order to establish among themselves and forge unity.
- 2) **Elites-**The colonist establish educational institutions to impart education through their own languages. So that the people of the colonial country may give their own cultural heritage and their history. They come in to contact with the democratic institutions and men of modern outlook.
- 3) **Revolutionary Leaders**-In certain backward countries military leaders capture power by means of force and then adopt the path of modernisation.
- 4) **Political parties**-The political parties in democracy play a dominant role in the modernisation of the country. They develop a spirit of patriotism and secular outlook among the masses. E.g. Indian National Congress in India.
- 5) **Military**-In some countries military capture power and curb the disintegrating tendencies of the people and launch the country in the path of modernisation.
- 6) **Bureaucracy** -The ruling party of the country implement their progressive policies with the help of a strong and independent bureaucracy.

Classification of political system on the basis political modernization.

If political modernisation can be used as a variable for classifying social systems, it may also be used for presenting a typological illustration of the political systems of the world. Edward Shills classified modern political systems in to two varieties – democracy and oligarchy and further divided democracy in to political and tutelary democracy and oligarchy in to modernizing, totalitarian and traditional oligarchies.

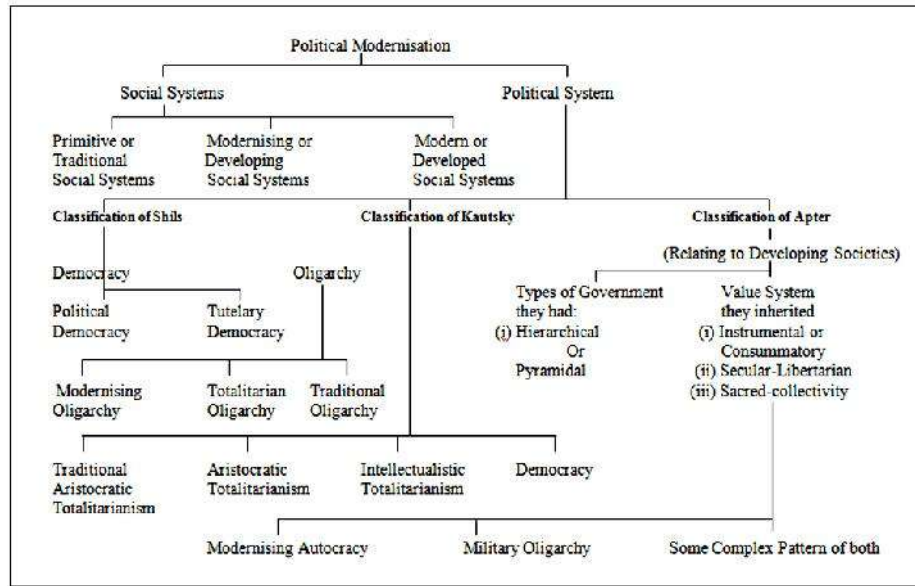
- 1) Political Democracy -It is a form of government which is prevalent in England, France, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Holland, West Germany, Italy, India, and Japan. Shill has described it as a 'regime of civilian rule through representative institutions and public liberties. Its main features are the supremacy of the parliament, and the responsibility of the executive to it, independence of judiciary, rule of law, freedom of the press etc. The opposition parties are allowed to contest elections.
- 2) Tutelary Democracy-In this system, the country followed the values and norms of democracy. In such a system the executive remains strongest and the legislature has a restricted role. Opposition also allowed to exist and rule of law is prevalent.
- 3) Modernizing Democracy-The system falls midway between traditional Oligarchy and Political democracy. In such type of government, the rule either in the hands of a civilian government which maintain its authority with the help of military or the rule of the country is in the hands of military which keep all powers and gives the form of legitimacy to its rule. No opposition is allowed, the election is banned and position of bureaucracy is exalted.
- 4) Traditional Oligarchy-In this type of government rulers come in to power on the kinship alone. So, it is based on strong dynastic constitutionalism associated with traditional beliefs. The ruler chooses its ministers on the basis of kinship. In such type of government there is no place for legislature. There is also prevalence of fundamentalism.
- 5) Totalitarian Oligarchy-In such a type of government either the all-powerful ruler of the rightist type as existed in fascist Italy or Nazi Germany is found or leftist type of the ruler like Stalin exist. In China such type of government existed at the time of Mao-Tse Tung. There is no scope of opposition parties, independence of judiciary or the rule of law.

The types of classification given by Shills has been modified by various writers like Kautsky and David Apter. Kautsky divides political development into five categories

- a) Traditional aristocratic authoritarianism
- b) A transitional stage of domination by the nationalist intellectuals
- c) totalitarianism of the aristocracy
- d) Totalitarianism of the intellectuals
- e) democracy.

David Apter offers three types of authority hierarchical, pyramid, and segmental and two value types instrumental and consummatory. There is scope in Apter's scheme also for the analysis of modernizing autocracies, military oligarchies, and another complete pattern of political modernisation.

Political Modernisation and Social and Political System



Integration in to the world system.

In his book ‘*The Modern World System: capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, Immanuel Wallerstein develops a theoretical framework to understand the historical changes involved in the rise of the modern world. The modern world system, essentially capitalist in nature. Wallerstein argues that Europe moved towards the establishment of a capitalist world economy in order to ensure continued economic growth. The new world economy differed from earlier empire systems because it was not a single political unit.

The new capitalist world system was based on an international division of labor that determined relationships between different regions as well as the types of labor conditions within each region. In this model, the type of political system was also directly related to each region’s placement within the world economy.

Wallerstein says that “there are today no socialist systems in the world economy any more than there is feudal system”, because there are one world systems”. It is world economy and it is by definition capitalist in form. This unified world economy system is three-tiered (a) Core, (b) Semi-Periphery and (c) Periphery.

(a) **Core Economies**

The core regions benefited the most from the capitalist world economy. Core are the location for advanced economic activities such as manufacturing, banking and the processing of primary products. Politically, the states within this part of Europe developed strong central governments, extensive bureaucracies, and large mercenary armies. This permitted the local bourgeoisie to obtain control over international commerce and extract capital surpluses from this trade for their own benefit.

(b) The Periphery

These areas lacked strong central governments or were controlled by other states, exported raw materials to the core, and relied on coercive labor practices. The core expropriated much of the capital surplus generated by the periphery through unequal trade relations.

(c) The Semi-Periphery

Between the two extremes lie the semi-peripheries. These areas represented either core regions in decline or peripheries attempting to improve their relative position in the world economic system. They often also served as buffers between the core and the peripheries.

According to Wallerstein, the semi-peripheries were exploited by the core but, as in the case of the American empires of Spain and Portugal, often were exploiters of peripheries themselves.

External Areas

These areas maintained their own economic systems and, for the most part, managed to remain outside the modern world economy.

Thus, the cases of Political under development and the world economic system are inter related. The whole analysis is constructed on the basis of Centre-Periphery relationship. Centre and periphery are distinguished in terms of the market relations that integrate them in to the world capitalist system, whose expansion has brought about such differentiation.

The Centre develops on the basis of the expansion of its home market and in the capitalist mode of production becomes the only mode of production. The capitalist mode of production imposed on the periphery from outside, but such a way that is penetration is incomplete.

A deeper study of the case of political Development in the context of the colonial and semi colonial countries at the hands of A.G Frank, Paul Baran and F. H Cardoso has led to the emergence of the idea of political under development. It seeks to re-examine the situation obtaining in a semi-advanced country in the light of the 'exploitation' of the proletariat by native bourgeois elements in collaboration with foreign capitalist operating through multi- national organisations. In other words, it may be taken as a study of neo-colonialism that covers not only poor and backward countries of the third world but also a number of semi advanced capitalist organization of the world.

It implies a condition 'double exploitation' of the people of these countries, exploitation of the native working class directly by the native capitalist and indirectly by the foreign capitalist through the network of multinational cooperationists theory of political under development derives from Karl Marx, who argued that in the long run it would have a detrimental effect on the industrial metropole as well as the under developed peripheries. Lenin argued that the capitalist countries 'export' to their colonies not only innovation but their internal crisis as well. Therefore, capitalism creates gross social inequalities at home and as well as other areas of its control.

According to Andre Gunder Frank, the pioneer of dependency theory, what is important for the purpose of development and under development is not the sacrifices of the loser nation in terms of its actual loss of income or the absolute gain of the recipient country but the contribution of economic surplus acquiring to the imperialist country from colony. While the colonies and semi

colonies are denied the developmental possibilities of this capital, the metropolitan country can use for its own economic development.

The reason behind it may be discovered in the control of the advanced capitalist countries over the sensitive and strategic areas of the colonial and semi colonial countries. Dependency theory is just a corollary of to the theory of under development. The dependency theorist concedes the point that some sort of capitalist industrialization has taken place in the third world and it has created the model of new dependency. Dependency has failed to explain the other causes of under development.

Under Development and modernisation

The concept of development was evolved in the sphere of social sciences for the guidance of new nations who won their independence after the second world war. These nations were described as ‘developing nations’.

Development may be identified as a process in which a system or institution is transformed in to stronger, more organised, more efficient and more effective form and proves to be more satisfying in terms of human wants and aspirations. It may be distinguished from progress because development is subject to measurement on empirical scale whereas progress is concerned with moral judgement for which it applies normative criterion. Development implies a conscious effort for the attainment of specific goal.

J.H. Mittleman tried to define development as ‘the increasing capacity to make rational use of natural and human resources for social ends’.

Walter Rodney identified development as ‘a many-sided process’, implying for the individual’s ‘increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility, and material wellbeing’.

The terms ‘developing countries’ refers those countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America Which are characterized by;

- (a) A low level of economic and political development as compared to industrially advanced nations.
- (b) A tendency to keep themselves free from the influence of the capitalist world
- (c) The third world countries of Asia and Africa achieved their political independence from colonial domination after second world war.

The developing countries of today had inherited extremely backward economies at the time of their independence because their natural and human resources were intensely exploited during the period of their colonial domination. Liberals Marxist writers are given different accounts of the reasons of their underdevelopment.

Liberal view

The views of western writers broadly represent the liberal perspective on the problem of development and underdevelopment. Liberal models of political development lay special emphasis on ‘differentiation’, which means increasing specialization of roles or a clear-cut division of labour in society., shift from narrow -group identification and loyalty to national identification and loyalty; change from ‘ascribed status and role’ (determined by tradition) to

‘achieved status and role’ (determined by performance) and development of appropriate process and institutions to accommodate these changes.

Western exponents of development and modernisation largely project liberal democracy as a model to be followed by developing nations to secure their development.

Marxist view

Marxist view suggests the path of confrontation with the capitalist world instead of following their footsteps. In the opinion of V.I. Lenin *‘Imperialism: the highest stage of capitalism’*, had postulated that in the international sphere advanced capitalism had chosen the underdeveloped countries as the target of their exploitation. Lenin had, therefore, exhorted the underdeveloped countries to assume the role of proletariat in the struggle against capitalism. Marxist and Neo-Marxist have argued that capitalist path will not suit them. The situation prevailing in these countries is basically different from that were the western countries started their development.

Paul Baran Observed that advanced capitalist countries of today had managed accumulation of capital by exploiting their colonial territories. Present day developing countries have no access to such resources. Capitalist of the developing countries are incapable of developing the forces of production. Hence, the capitalist path would hardly promote their progress.

Andre Frank argued that national capitalism and national bourgeoisie, unlike their counterparts in England and United States, cannot promote development in Latin America. In the western countries, capitalism played a different role because it was rooted in imperialism. Frank advanced a Centre -periphery model to elucidate the role of imperialism. He likened metropolis to Centre and satellite to periphery. They are linked such a way that development of the Centre leads to corresponding underdevelopment in the periphery.

Frank suggested that in order to stop underdevelopment of the new nations, they should be delinked from the capitalist economy. Thus, Marxist and neo Marxist scholars have advanced ‘dependency theory’ to explain the phenomenon of underdevelopment.

The exponents of dependency argued that third world countries had remained underdeveloped because their social and economic development was being conditioned by external forces. In fact, industrial growth of the first world was largely secured by the blatant exploitation of the material as well as human resources of the present day third world countries.

MODULE – IV

Nationalism

Nationalism is one of the principal dynamic forces of political change and action in world affairs. It has brought to an end the empires of nineteenth century Europe. In the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America new states have sprung up and the principal factor in their making is nationalism.

Nationalism cannot be understood before a clear conception of nation, nation state, nationality, and patriotism. A nation is a body of men inhabiting a definite territory is not speaking the same tongue or belonging same ethnic groups, but having accomplished great things in common in past and the wish to accomplish them in future.

Nationality on the other hand, is a feeling of belonging to a particular nation and there by cherishing the aspirations of sovereign authority over a definite territory and maintain their separate identity. Patriotism is simply the love of country.

Definitions

Hans Kohn defined “Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness”.

Snyder Asserted that nationalism is “in part, a psychological response to grave threats of insecurity”.

Roots of Nationalism

These elements are as follows

- 1) **Racial Unity** - Alfred Zimmern, Burges and Leacock have laid greater emphasis on racial unity as a root of nationalism. It implies that the group of people inhabiting a defined territory must have a common origin.
- 2) **Common Language** – In the opinion of Ramsay Muir, language is more significant in developing a nation than race. In India Hindi is being emphasized as the national language. But many nations can stand with many languages. Former Soviet Union has 160 languages.
- 3) **Geographical Unity** – It implies that the definite territory should be compact and may not divided by natural boundaries. Almost all the nations are the result of geographical unity. The great Himalaya of India, Alps to Italy, and English Channel to Britain etc.
- 4) **Common Religion** – Many nations survived and several of them revived because of the force of nationalism. In 1948 Israel came in to existence because of Hebrew religion. In the words of Schleicher “The unity of nation is weakened or strengthened by the religious similarities or differences among its people”

- 5) Common Economic Interest -The common economic interests not only bind the different groups together but they invigorate a sense of alertness in regard to economic resources.
- 6) Common Culture and Tradition -Common literature, language, culture and traditions evolve an emotional integration which is the very foundation stone of nationalism.
- 7) Common Political Aspirations -The common political aspiration is the most important element of nationalism. The American nation grew because of the political aspirations although its people were of divergent races, speaking different languages.

Nationalism: A blessing

- 1) Inspirator of Patriotism-Man sacrifices his whole at the appeal of nation for its course.
- 2) Unifying Factor-Nationalism is powerful feeling that covers the feeling of race, language, and religion beneath it.
- 3) Promotes Culture and Literature-Literature is the only image of nationalism.
- 4) Make the state Stable-Only those states continue to exist which are based on nationalism.
- 5) Protects the Diversities-Nationalism is the factor to joint together like a thread that joins the flowers of different variety to make a garland
- 6) Promote Internationalism -The national state system is the basis of internationalism.

Nationalism as curse

- 1) Endangering of World peace. -Nationalism demands not the love of country but worship of state. It succeeds on hatred and leads to war.
- 2) Teaches Hatred-In its extreme, nationalism associates itself with the racial superiority. The two world wars of last decades can be regard the result of German militant nationalism.
- 3) Inspires Imperialism- To conquer and subjugate other nationalities to satisfy the ego of one nationality, resorts to imperialism through expansionism.
- 4) Leads to exploitation-In order to exert the greater influence in the field of international relations, nations generally indulge in a serious competition of amassing military power.

Symbols of Nationalism

Nationalism is propagated by the use of symbols and social myths. Among the common used symbols are, patriotic slogans and songs, flags, uniforms, shrines and monuments, public spectacles, pageantry and ritualism. These symbols can be used for worthy as well as for unworthy ends. The symbols of nationalism for dangerous purposes have been frequently used by the totalitarian states. Fascism and Nazism were glorified and established as the cherished doctrines in their respective countries.

Types of nationalism

- 1) **Liberal Nationalism**-The Western nationalism owes intellectually to seventeenth and eighteenth century. It was an age dominated by the philosophies of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Jefferson who protested against the divine right of kings. They held that men should be governed by natural law, which contained the seeds of democracy. The impact of these new ideas many revolutions occurred in Europe, Latin America, and North America.
- 2) **Totalitarian Nationalism** –After First World War totalitarianism was established in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, conceived of state as an instrument of power. Even in the communism, which aims at world revaluation, this change can be noticed. Stalin's idea of socialism is one country, reflects the impact of totalitarian nationalism in communism.
- 3) **Communist Nationalism**-After death of Stalin in 1953 and rift in Sino Soviet relation, the East European countries and China organized their governments less on the basis of communist ideology and more on nationalism. Chinese communism is based on ethnic factor rather than on political ideas of a nation-state.
- 4) **Integral Nationalism**-The aim of integral nationalism is the policy of expansionism to promote national interest. Morgenthau termed it as 'National universalism'. It exists in democracies as well as in the totalitarian states in modern times.
- 5) **New nationalism**-Since 1945, the spirit of nationalism has awakened the countries of Asia and Africa to oppose the colonial powers and their dominance or control in any aspect of the national life.

Nationalism – European and post-colonial societies

Nationalism is commonly regarded by historians as having originated in Europe and more specifically in Western Europe from where it spread to other parts of the world. It emerged in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certain political and military events in Europe began to create the conditions for the rise of nations as early as 14th century. These include the decline of Holy Roman Empire and the Hundred Years of War between the English and French Kingdom.

The nationalism has a structural connection with the state and could not have emerged prior to its existence. The modern society differs from pre-modern political formations because it embodies centralized sovereign, undivided political power. Within Europe, nationalism had spread from the elites to the masses by the end of 19th century. At this time, nationalism also began to spread from Europe to the other parts of the world. The salient factors in this regard were trade and colonialism.

As European powers opened up inner territories of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their own profit and exposed the native populations to the outside world, they ironically dug their own graves by fueling national liberation struggles in their colonies.

As the historian Benedict Anderson point out, the doctrine of nationalism was inadvertently 'exported' to Latin America, Asia and Africa by European colonial powers, just as popular revolt had opposed despotic rulers within Europe, national liberation struggle in the colonies expressed popular frustration at arbitrary and unjust colonial policies. The solidarity between various liberation struggle may have been an additional factor in the demise of colonialism and the rise of non - European nationalism.

The leadership of national liberation movement was initially in the hands of bourgeoisie in the colonies, too often foreign educated, professional middle classes who saw themselves as a leader of indigenous nation opposing the imperialist European nations. Gradually the mass element began to enter anti colonial nationalism.

The question of whether there is difference between Eastern and Western nationalism is a thorny one, Western thinkers on nationalism have often used positive terminology to describe Western nationalism and negative terminology for Eastern nationalism. For instance, according to Hans Kohn, 'Western nationalism was connected with the concepts of individual liberty...the later nationalism in central and Eastern Europe and Asia easily tended towards a contrary development'

Western theorist also argues that Eastern nationalism is more artificial and unstable phenomena which leads to violence and extremism. But according to the eastern thinkers the significant features of Eastern nationalism include a sense of independent worth and self-respect, an insistence that political equality be recognized, and local leaders be free to determine domestic policy and anti- colonialism.

Post -Nationalism

In the beginning of 21st century, it is true that a significant change occurred in the character of national states. Increasing economic globalization, mass migration, and technological advancement like the internet and mobile phones seems to have dramatically 'shrunk the Planet' The lifestyles of the elites all over the globe are now strikingly similar for many classes of people, national identity has become irrelevant. Migration of human beings has increased manifold, with a huge number of individuals seeking to live and work countries far away from their own.

In the face of an increasingly globalized world, old political formations like the nation lose their earlier role and relevance. David Beetham, for instance, argue that the very forces that strengthened nationalism in the previous era will cause its downfall in the coming one.

Some writers believe that rather than national formations, it is trans -national economic and political alliances that will set the agenda for worlds people in this, and in the coming centuries' this context, writers point to the example of theEuropean Union as proof of the decline of the national state. Europe being widely regarded as the birthplace of nationalism, the formation EU on

this very continent has led some people to believe that nationalism and other such primitive ideologies will be overcome in this new era. Many writers believe that the coming centuries will move in the direction of cosmopolitan, universal, global values, and the nationalist battles of the previous century will be distant memories.

But it is a fact that, nationalism is by way of a universal contemporary phenomenon, not simply an occasional, spectacular, outpouring of patriotic sentiments, but as a part of the history of the modern state.

Nationalism has often joined hands with democratic state and liberal politics, as the experience of Third world leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Kenyatta has shown. It can be a powerful force of nation building. Nationalism has especially been an ally for post-colonial societies, seeking to unite large and diverse populations and fulfill difficult developmental goals within an unequal global capitalist system.

However, it has also become entwined with more dangerous ideologies like religious extremism of any sort, fundamentalism and even fascism. To understand why nationalism can be healthy or regressive, a powerful or limited in its scope, one must remember all the historical contingencies that accompanied its rise, and in particular its complex historical relationship with the modern state.

The creation of supra national institutions like, UNESCO, UNO, EU in diverse fields have made them a reality of international field. This opinion can be accepted only with reservations as it is not ripe occasion to say that they effectively command the states.

The deadlocks which occur from time to time, in these institutions, reveal that nationalism is still a significant force. The diplomats participating in supranational institutions and in their deliberations, are the delegates who threaten to walkout as soon as their nationalistic aspirations are hurt.

Nationalism is and will remain more powerful an idea than the supranationalism. The increase in the number of states in the world and expansion of communication system have contributed to the growth of nationalism as a political force.

MODULE – V

Role of Democratic assertions.

The word democracy comes from the Greek words demos, meaning ‘people’, andkratos, meaning ‘power’. Accordingly, democracy is often defined as ‘the rule of the people’: a system of making rules determined by the people who are to obey those rules. In today’s world most people and most countries consider democracy to be the only valid and viable system of government.

Democracy rests on two fundamental principles:

- the principle of ‘individual autonomy’: that no-one should be subject to rules that have been imposed by others;
- the principle of ‘equality’: that everyone should have the same opportunity to influence the decisions that affect people in society

Other forms of government violate both these principles, for power is held by a certain person or social class who then take decisions on behalf of the rest of the population. Democracy takes many forms. For example, in direct democracy citizens personally participate in decision making.

Three-dimensional concept of democracy.

Initially democracy had only political content. In today’s world, it has assumed economic and social characteristics;

Political dimension of democracy.

Under democratic system, the government is based on consent of the people. Hence public opinion, criticism, differences of opinion are part of the system.

In a democratic polity, fundamental rights of the individual are guaranteed. In India, we have ‘cultural and educational rights’ granted to minorities which are linguistic and religious minorities.

Social aspect

It is not enough to have political democracy. It must come along with social democracy. Under this concept, dignity of human being is honored. The individual should be respected in all walks of social life. He should not have to suffer discrimination because of his caste, race, gender, language religion etc.

Economic aspect

This is the ultimate and most important aspect of democracy. Unless this aspect is achieved to large extent, social and political democracy would be meaningless. It aims at reducing the gap between the rich and the poor. It means freedom from hunger, guarantees employment, old age benefits, social security, etc.

The most widespread form of democracy, however, is liberal or representative democracy, in which citizens elect representatives who create laws and policies and appoint the government officials. In theory, representative democracy involves the free and fair election of a government by a majority vote of the people being represented.

A liberal democracy is characterized by the rule of law, separation of powers, protection of human rights and protection of minorities. The rule of law is the principle that the government and judiciary function only in accordance with written rules. It is closely linked with the principle of separation of power, according to which the legislative (parliament), executive (government) and judiciary (courts) act independently of each other.

In a democratic government human rights provide a common value system. Accordingly, underrepresented social group of any kind, such as children, women, migrants, religious or ethnic minorities, are protected from discrimination and their identity and participation are promoted.

Several exponents of democracy have treated democracy chiefly as a form of government. John Austin, James Bryce Dicey, John Seeley and A.L. Lowell are some prominent holders this view. Lowell, for instance, says that democracy is only an experiment in government. Seeley describes it as government in which everyone has a share.

Dicey, in his famous work *Law and Opinion in England* treated democracy as a form of government under which majority opinion determines legislation. James Bryce defined democracy as 'the rule of the people expressing their sovereign will through the votes'.

In actual practice, democracy was first established in the western world during the 19th century. However only male citizen had the right to vote in elections. In this sense, democracy came to be established in the united states in 1820s and 1830s when a number of states expanded the franchise. In France, adult male suffrage was abruptly introduced in 1848. In Britain, parliamentary government had been established on an enduring basis since 1688 but the bulk of male citizens were not granted Franchise till 1867. Female franchise has been operative in the United States since 1919, in Britain since 1928, in France since 1945, and in Switzerland in 1971. Thus, even western world, the idea of democracy was materialized only in the 20th century.

Basic Principles of Democracy

Liberty

The main basis of democracy is liberty and equality. The people enjoy maximum liberty and equality because criticism of the people is not only tolerated in this system, but it is also encouraged.

Equality

Special emphasis is laid on equality in democracy and there is no disparity among the people on the basis of caste, creed, religion and position or status.

Fraternity

Democracy can become successful only in a peaceful atmosphere otherwise democracy has to face many difficulties. For this purpose, Jawaharlal Nehru placed an idea of PanchSheel before the world in 1954.

The people as the ultimate source of sovereignty.

In a democracy, people are the ultimate source of sovereignty, and the government derives its power from them. For this purpose, elections take place in democracy in certain intervals.

Fundamental rights to the people

In a democracy people are given fundamental rights because in the absence of these rights the development of an individual is not possible. Fundamental rights have been granted to the people in their constitution in India, Japan, USA, France and Italy.

Independence Judiciary

In a democracy, it is the responsibility of the judiciary to protect the fundamental rights of the people. Where ever judiciary is not free, the protection of fundamental rights is not possible.

To make democracy a success in any country the following condition should be fulfilled;

- (a) Sound System of Education,
- (b) Enlightened Citizenship,
- (c) Political Awakening,
- (d) Freedom,
- (e) Equality
- (f) Law and Order,
- (g) Spirit of Co-operation,
- (h) Decentralization of Powers and Local Self-Government,
- (I) Social and Economic Security
- (j) Tolerance and spirit of Unity
- (k) Sound Party System,
- (l) Written Constitution and Independent Judiciary,
- (m) Independent, Impartial and Periodical elections.

Democracies are different from each other and none can be considered a model for others. Democratic governments can take several forms, including presidential (as in France, America or Russia) or parliamentary (as in the United Kingdom, India). Others, such as Germany, have federal governmental structures. Some voting systems are proportional while others are majoritarian.

The common principles, however, are the equality of all citizens and the right of every individual to some degree of personal autonomy. However, personal autonomy does not mean that everyone can do whatever she or he likes. It implies that the governmental system allocates an equal vote to each citizen and recognises that each individual is capable of independent choice and entitled to have that choice taken into account. After that, a great deal depends on the initiative and participation of individual citizens.

Democracy is never perfect and never complete. Karl Popper has even said, “Democracy is the word for something that does not exist”. This may be an exaggeration, but it is true that genuine democracy is an ideal model. It is up to the people to determine how close their society can get to this ideal state.

Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century there is a universal concern today about the status of democracy. In many European democracies political discontent and skepticism are widespread, and people often believe the political elite can afford to disregard the will of the people. Some contradictory developments of democracy such as acute social inequality and corruption cause frustration and anger that can lead to populism supported by the mass media.

Citizens often feel powerless and are discouraged from taking a more active role in their society. Such concerns about the state of democracy are often based on the levels of citizen participation at elections, which has significantly decreased everywhere in Europe in the last fifteen years. This decline, which appears to indicate a lack of interest and involvement on the part of citizens, undermines the democratic process.

Development and democracy

Indian democracy has often been analysed as a miracle because it has survived in the context of wide spread inequality, poverty, and unemployment. Democracy is often blamed for the slow rate of development achieved by India. We often hear popular calls for a strong political leadership or even a dictator who can lead the country towards economic growth.

Democracy here is seen as a luxury that poor countries cannot afford. It is also seen as an impediment to development and so suspension of democratic rights or political freedoms. This is popularly known as the 'Lee Thesis', attributed to Lee kuan Yew, the former Prime Minister of Singapore, who held that the denial of political and civil liberties and a measure of authoritarianism is advantages to economic growth.

Amartya Sen contests this thesis and says that it is not supported by satisfactory empirical evidence. He further argues that in poor societies, democracy has both an instrumental and a constructive role to play in promoting development.

In a democracy where the rulers have to face the electorate, there is an incentive to listen the needs of the people. Political freedoms and civil rights, free press, the presence of opposition parties-all of these mean that the actions of the government are subject to the evaluation and criticism of society and that has a direct impact on the political fortunes of those in power.

Democracy, thus, plays an instrumental role in promoting the economic needs of the people. Democracies create a set of opportunities, and through open debate, discussion, and dissenting opinions, people get involved in formulating their needs and priorities.

There has been an extended debate about democracy and development, and the relations between democratization and economic growth. Some have maintained that democratic regimes are in general less capable of managing effecting economic development than authoritarian regimes. The central premise of this reasoning stems from the observation that development requires change, and that change affects some voters adversely. So, governments dependent on electoral support in the next election will typically tend to avoid choices that impose hardship on significant numbers of voters.

Others have argued that democratic regimes are positively associated with economic development, and especially with more egalitarian modes of development. There is a body of

thought which holds that democracy is neither positive nor negative with respect to economic development.

Modernisation theory and the emergence of democracy

During the 1960s and the 1970s, an argument that gained considerable prominence in mainstream academic and policy circles was that democracy was more likely to emerge in countries with higher levels of socio-economic development. (Lipset 1959; Almond and Verba 1963; Moore 1966).

Building on Lipset's seminal analysis (1959), which stresses at one point that economic wealth is 'an initial condition for democracy' and, implying that development was a precondition for democracy, many analysts and scholars interpreted this correlation as implying that development was a precondition for democracy. This modernisation approach to democratisation understood the emergence of democracy as a consequence of the transformation of class structure, the emergence of a bourgeoisie, economic development, increasing urbanisation, the prior development of democratic values, and other cultural and religious factors.

Thus, according to this reading, the emergence of democracy is endogenous to the process of economic and social development—there is a simple, linear progression toward modernization that ultimately culminates in democratization. In other words, once a nondemocratic regime acquires a certain level, or 'threshold,' of economic development and social maturation, it will inevitably become a democracy. According to the modernization approach, then, the appearance of democracy should be seen as the crowning achievement of a long process of modernization, or as a luxury that affluent countries can (finally) afford.

However, the advent of the so-called Third Wave of democratization that swept across much of the developing world beginning in the 1980s challenged this concept of 'prerequisites' for democracy. Thus, a broad international consensus has emerged that holds that economic development per se is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the emergence of democracy.

The Scope of democracy

Socialist, feminist and multi-cultural critiques as well as anti-race and anti-caste movements draw attention to the presence of various structures of power and inequality in society. Since these power structures affect the way people exercise their political freedoms and their ability to influence collective decisions, removal of these structures becomes a concern for democracy. That is, a democratic society is the basis for democratic political arrangement. Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau identify the task of radical democracy as a struggle against all modes of oppression and subordination in society by fully realizing the ideals of liberty and equality for all.

Our globalized world is characterised by high degree of interdependence among national states due to changes in production, communication and trade. International financial institutions, like IMF, WTO, etc. are the powerful players of international politics. They are not subject to any transparent system of accountability. On the other hand, many global issues, such as

environmental protection and human security require cooperation among states, and on issues like violation of human rights and peace, international intervention in nation – state is required. The current UN system and international organizations are skewed favour of most powerful states. These underline the need for effective and democratic global system of governance. David Held suggests a cosmopolitan model of democracy as a way to respond to these changes and democratize the global system.

Constitution and political authority

The term Constitution and Constitutionalism enjoys a high place in the study of comparative politics. As Professor Dicey, says, in every political system, the constitution directly or indirectly affects the exercise of the sovereign power of the state. Constitutionalism is comparatively a modern concept. It means a political order governed by laws and regulations. It stands for the supreme position of the law and not of arbitrary will of the individuals. It implies the principle of nationalism, democracy and limited government.

According to Carl. j. Frederich “Constitutionalism by dividing power provides a system of effective restraints upon governmental action. In studying it, one has to explore the methods and techniques by which such restraints are established and maintained. It is a body of rules, ensuring fair play, thus rendering the government responsible”. Constitutionalism thus stands for the existence of a constitution in the state.

Before analyzing the term Constitutionalism, one must know the meaning of constitution. According to Woolsey, “Constitution is the collection of principles according to which the powers of government, the rights of governed and the relation between the two are adjusted”.

According to Bryce, “Constitution is a set of established rules embodying and enacting the practice of the government”.

According to Herman Finer “Constitution is a system of fundamental political institutions”.

In an ideal constitution, the following points are essentially present.

- (a) Organisation and form of the administration of the state,
- (b) Mentions the fundamental rights of the citizens,
- (c) Functions of different organs of government, their powers and mutual relations.
- (d) The relation of the government with the people.

Whether a constitution is suitable or unsuitable for a particular country, depends up on circumstances which prevails there. It is possible that a particular type constitution may prove useful for a particular country, but for another country it may not prove useful. For example, parliamentary and federal Constitution suitable for India, but it was not suitable for Pakistan. The reason for this is that each country has its own separate social, economic and religious set-up, and the constitution proves according to that set up.

The Constitution of a country may be deliberate creation as a document by constituent assembly at a particular time. The constitution of majority of states have been embodied in a

document, but the constitution of Britain is an exception that the constitution of Britain is not in form of a document, it is a growth and not made.

A constitution refers to a frame of political society organized through and by means of laws and in which law has established permanent constitutions with recognised functions and define rights.

Constitutionalism means a political order in which the powers of the government are limited. Constitutionalism protects individual freedoms, human rights etc. Professor A.V. Dicey identified Rule of Law with constitutionalism. It also means restraints on the rulers by dividing political power.

Restraint and constraint on the political authority are the main features of constitutionalism. This means the government enjoys only such powers as are granted to under a constitution and this constitutionalism postulates limited government. Secondly the government must owe accountability to an entity distinct from itself. Thirdly it must have a limited time, being elected on a universal franchise. Fourthly, the citizen is endowed with fundamental rights enforceable by judiciary, and one of such rights includes one to organize political parties.

Political Authority

Authority is the right to exercise the power and influence of particular position that comes from having been placed in that position according to regular, known and widely accepted procedures. It is the legitimate power based on law, which in democracy derived from constitution, which expresses the sovereignty of the people and guarantees the legality of laws.

The term political authority means, the states and this notion has three distinguishing features:

First, the state claims and enforce compulsory jurisdiction over every one within its territory. The authority of the state is supreme.

Second, it regulates the most essential interest of everyone within its territory.

Third, it can impose obligation of obedience.

Authority accompanies political power. Political authority is the recognition of the right to rule irrespective of the sanction the ruler may possess. In certain situations, the two may be separate. Some political leaders may have the authority but are unable or reluctant to translate it into political power.

For instance, General de Gaulle's authority was recognised in German occupied France in the 1940s, but the coercive power of the German and pro-German French governments prevented the conversion of that authority into political power.

Political authority is supported and perpetuated by the use of symbols, such as the national flag or a coordination ceremony and most importantly, by political idioms that people recognizes and respect.

Most political philosophers understand political authority as the authority that demands obedience for securing order. The basis of a government's authority rests on its legal validity and

on people acknowledging their political obligations underlining their loyalty to the government and the laws. Thus, authority has two aspects -objective and subjective- and is incomplete and uncertain till both are achieved. Authority, when properly established and accepted commands people's obedience more easily and with little violence than coercion. Authority usually based on law.

In a democratic authority emanates from the constitutions that express people's sovereignty and guarantees legality of the laws. Friedrich emphasises the importance of reasoning, and argues that a social system communicates, through opinions, beliefs and values and that constitute the basis of authority. Generally political scientist regard authority as a distinctive type of social control or influence without employing overtly the use of convention.

Development of Political authority

Constitutionalism is a historical development and the growth of political institution that had manifested in the Greece and Rome and there after they witnessed their rise and growth in the middle and modern ages. The movement is still going on with a view to seek the improvement of political institution in the direction of having a legitimate constitutional order.

Greek were first who thought in terms of political separatism. They had city state system in which the benefits of citizenship were open to the freeman only. Most of the city states had a direct democratic system. In Rome the, intellectual life became more diffuse and driven in to different dimensions. Men retreated within themselves; ethics became independent of politics; society and state ceased to be equivalent terms and the individual, apart from the state, became the chief object of contemplation

The imperial rulers of Rome evolved their constitution as a determinate instrument of government- 'a mass of precedence, carried in men's memories or recorded in writing, of dicta of lawyers or statesman, of customs, of usages, understandings and beefed-up the methods of government, together with a number of statutes.

A great change took place after the disintegration of the roman empire in the 16th century and substitution by the establishment of a number of feudal states. The Romans brought with them certain new ideas as the personality of law based on the force of customs that bound the authority of the king. The renaissance marked the re-emergence of humanistic and scientific outlook.

The British Constitution is a result of conscious design made by the British people. They have been designing, modifying changing and amending their institutions through several deliberately adopted laws. They are the following;

Magna Carta (1215), Petition of Right (1628), habeas Corpus Act (1679), Bill of Rights (1689), Act of Settlement (1701), etc.

In England as a result of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 laid the foundations of the sovereignty of the Parliament. The movement for the democratization of the system continued with the result that the great reform act was passed in 1832, 1867, and 1884 that enfranchised more and more people. The parliament Act of 1911 crippled the House of Lords. The rise of two political parties had its own contribution to development of constitutionalism in this country.

As a result of all these developments, the sovereign stands removed from the area of political authority; the power is exercised by the ministers accountable to the parliament, and all the citizen of the country, irrespective of their social and political position, enjoys the boons of liberty, and equality, what Dicey calls the 'Rule of Law'.

The Rule of Law is an important contribution of the British constitution. It means that in the eyes of the law all persons, whether big or small, the highest government official or ordinary citizen, a big capitalist or poor man, are equal. Everybody will be equally punished for the violation of law. Nobody is punished in England until his guilt is proved in a law court. There is only one type of laws-ordinary laws for deciding dispute between the citizen and government and there is only one type of courts- Ordinary courts.

Professor A.V. Dicey has given three meaning of the rule of law.

- 1) The absolute supremacy or predominance of regular laws as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power and excludes the existence of arbitrariness, of prerogatives or even of wide discretionary authority on the part of the government.
- 2) It means again equality before the law or equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts.
- 3) The rule of law may be used as a formula for expressing the fact that with us the law of the constitution, the rules which in foreign countries, naturally form a part of the constitutional code, are not the sources but the consequences of the rights of individuals as defined and enforced by the courts.

It is, therefore, clear that the British are not governed by any individual arbitrarily but by the rule of law.

Sovereignty of the parliament is a salient feature of British Political system. The British Parliament can make or unmake any law on any subject. The laws made by the parliament cannot be rejected or revised or overruled by any person or institution. The British Parliament is both a law-making body as well as a constituent assembly as it can make any law, ordinary or constitutional, by a simple majority. The sovereignty of the parliament is a reality only from the legal point of view, but in reality, it is bound by several social and moral, and even some conventional and practical limitations.

In France the Declaration of the rights of man was adopted by the National Assembly in 1789 that said "Men are born free and equal rights. ...The aim of every Political association is the preservation of the practical and imprescriptible rights of man". But in many years the country witnessed the rise and fall of several monarchs until the Third republic was created in 1875. It had a parliamentary government, a constitutional President and a responsible ministry.

Later the Fourth republic came in to being in 1946 with the parliamentary system of government. A new constitution came in to force in 1958 that marked the establishment of the Fifth Republic under Charles de Gaulle. The new arrangement provides for a strong President and a weak Prime minister with a weaker parliament.it may be termed quasi-Presidential or quasi-parliamentary.

A peculiar mixture of the parliamentary and Presidential model is visible in France. The president is the real executive head with wide powers of control, over the legislature including right to dissolve it. The ministers are not allowed to become the members of the legislature.

The President may take drastic steps if there is a threat to the institutions of the republic, the independence of the nation, the integrity of the territory, or the execution of international obligations. At the same time, the elements of a parliamentary form of government are traceable in the French Constitution.

It provides a Prime Minister with council of ministers who are required to have the confidence of the parliament. The prime Minister, though appointed by the President, is required to seek a vote of confidence of majority. The parliament may also discuss the conduct of the President and remove him by a process of impeachment. Though it is true that the French model of government presents a sheer blending of the English and American models.

The founding fathers of American republic established a form of federal government based on the principle of separation of powers as so elaborately presented by a French thinker Montesquieu and supplemented it with the principle of checks and balances as evolved by them. The result was that America came to have a government with executive, legislative and judicial powers vested respectively in the President, the Congress and the Supreme court.

Instead of fusion, there is the separation of powers in the Presidential system of government. The president and his ministers cannot become the members of the legislature. The President may send his messages to the legislature and the latter, and may not, act according to the wishes of the President. The bills passed by the legislature are subject to the veto power of the president who may exercise this power in case of bills not pertaining to his policies.

The three organs of the American Government are separated from each other and, at the same time, they check each other so that the balance may be maintained. Thus, all appointments and foreign treaties made by the president must be ratified by the senate; the congress may remove the President by the process of impeachment; and the courts can invalidate any order or decree issued by the President In case it goes beyond the constitution or is against the due process of law.

Likewise, the Congress cannot make a law that violate the letter and the spirit of the constitution. A bill passed by the Congress requires the assent of the President and the courts may invalidate it if they find that the impugned law is against the constitution or the due process of law. Finally, the courts. The Congress may pass a law to enhance the jurisdiction of the courts, and may also remove the judges by the process of impeachment.

In this way American constitution has materialized the maxim that 'power cuts power, or that, power checks power.

On October 1949, China was declared to be "The People's Republic of China", a socialist state. The Communist Revolution ushered China in to a new revolutionary era in which socialist constitutionalism got initiated. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary thoughts of Mao provided the philosophical basis of the Chinese constitution. It was in 1953 that the People's

Republic of China implemented a written constitution. The 1954 Constitution affirmed the resolve of the people of China to overthrow colonialism, feudalism and capitalism.

A very interesting feature of this constitution was that, it did not give a constitutional recognition to the status and role of the Communist Party of China. The constitution accepted the principle of democratic centralism, and expressed the resolve to safeguard the people's democratic system. In actual practice, the power of the state continued to be fully controlled and managed by the communist Party of China. Through this Constitution, the Chinese accepted the concept of granting of fundamental rights and duties to the citizens. Even while forbidding capitalism, it recognized the right to private property of citizen.

Constitutionalism in china registered a change in 1975 under the impact of the results of the Cultural Revolution. The Constitution of 1975 recognized the leading and direct role of the Communist party in exercising state power for securing socialist goals.

The 1978, Constitution made several major changes in the 1975 constitution. The Constitution gave recognition to the role of the army by providing that the Chinese Liberation Army is the workers and peasant own armed force led by the communist party.

The 1978 Constitution was replaced by new constitution in 1982. The new compulsions of Chinese political system and the new need for economic reform made it essential for the communist leadership to have a new constitution.

The Constitution of 1982, besides affecting a separation between the Government and the party and restoring the office of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, incorporated several important and noteworthy changes in Chinese Politics.

It Continued faith in Marxism -Leninism and Maoism but with new approach, new faith decentralization and liberalization of the economy has been expressed. Provision for the inclusion of a private sector in the socialist economy has also been incorporated. The Constitution incorporates a separation between the government and party. No article of the constitution either gives recognition or explains the role of the communist party. The state is now headed by the President of the Republic. The commands of the army are no longer in the hands of the Chairman of the Central Committee of the party. The armed forces belong to the people. The Premier is no longer the choice of the central Committee. He is chosen by the National People's Congress on the nomination made by the President of the Republic. The 1982 Constitution separates the government from the party. It states: "The constitution of the Communist Party should be in accordance with the constitution and law".

The 1982 Constitution, maintains the unicameral character of the national legislature-The National People Congress. It elects the President and Vice-President of the Republic, decides the choice of the Premier, Vice-Premier, State Councilors, Ministers, Auditor general and all other high ranking of the state. Presently, China describes its economic model of development as 'Market Socialism'

Swiss Constitution has been both the handiwork of constituent assembly as well as the product of a gradual evolution. It presents a classical example of a direct democracy in operation.

The process of its evolution has been instrumental for the birth and successful operation of Federalism, Collegial or Plural Executive and Direct Democracy.

The Swiss Constitution offers a valuable insight into to the successful working of a Liberal, Democratic, Political System with Referendum and Initiative as the direct means of popular participation in the law-making process. Ever since 1921, Switzerland has been a Republic. It is now headed by a seven-member plural executive whose members are elected by the houses of Swiss Federal parliament.

All Political institutions in Switzerland are elected institutions. Switzerland has been the home of Direct Democracy. Under the system of Referendum, the people have the right to approve or disapprove the laws or constitutional amendments passed by the legislature. The people of Switzerland use Referendum, Initiative, and Landsgemeinde as devices of direct democracy within a system of representative democracy.

The Swiss system of government is a unique system which encompasses the feature of parliamentary as well as presidential systems. There is a close relationship between the Federal Parliament and the Swiss Executive. The members of the executive participate in the in the deliberation of the legislature. The members of the Federal Government are responsible before the parliament for their work and activities. At the same time the Swiss executive enjoys a fixed tenure and it cannot be voted out of power by the federal Parliament.

A Unique featural of Swiss constitution is that is provides for a collegial/plural executive. All executive powers of the federation are exercised by a seven-member federal government. All the seven members collectively exercise power. The Swiss Constitution accepts the principle of Rule of Law; It means law is the basis of all activities, law alone can place limitation on all activities, State activity must be in public interest and in proportion, state institutions and private person must act in good faith, the federation and Cantons always respect International law.

Ever since the dawn of constitutionalism, the people of Switzerland have been directly participating in the political process, particularly in the legislative process. The Swiss participate directly in the law-making process through some traditional and modern devices. These are (1) Landsgemeinde, (2) Referendum, (3) Initiative, (4) Recall. Landsgemeinde means town assembly. it is attended by all the adult citizen of the Cantons. He exercises his vote over various measures. Referendum is essentially an instrument which permits the people to veto or approve acts of representative assemblies. Initiative is that device of Direct democracy in which a definite number of voters propose a measure for law-making or amendment and in case it is approved by the people in referendum that follows it, the measure or amendment gets incorporated into the statue book or constitution.

The Constitution of Russian Federation is a written adopted and enacted constitution. The Constitution of the Russian Federation was specially drafted, passed, enacted, and adopted by the people of Russian Federation. A really unique feature of the Constitution of Russian Federation is its Chapter 1 which lays down the fundamentals of the constitutional system. This chapter express full faith in the ideology of liberalism and democracy. Art 2 states, "Man, his rights and freedoms shall be the supreme value. It shall be the duty of the State to recognize, respect and protect the

rights and liberties of man and citizens”. Further, it describes the Russian Federation as “a social state committed to secure through its policies a dignified life and development for all the People”.

Like the constitution of France, and unlike the constitution of the USA, and India, the constitution of Russian Federation provides a mixed presidential-Parliamentary model. The President is the head of the state with some real executive powers. The Constitution also provides for a separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial organs. The Government of the Russian Federation works under the direction and final control of the president of Russia. Along with it the constitution in its chapter 6 provides for the Government of the Russian Federation, it consists of a chairman, some deputy chairman and several federal ministers. The President appoints the chairman with the consent of State Duma -the lower house of the federal Legislature. However, the Chairman and ministers of the Government of the Russian federation can be removed by the President in case the state Duma passes a vote of no-confidence against them. These features indicate the presence of a parliamentary form. The constitution of the Russian Federation affects a separation between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. It ensures the presence of an independent judiciary.

The Indian constitution provides for a Parliamentary form of government, and this system has been adopted both at the Centre and in the states. The President of the Indian Union and Governors of the states are constitutional rulers with nominal powers. They act on the advice of their respective cabinets which wield the real authority in the union and the states.

The prime minister at the Centre and the Chief Minister in the state alone have the mandate of the people, and they alone are responsible to the people. The Indian constitution provides for a secular democratic political system. As a secular democracy, the Indian state does not discriminate against any citizen on the basis of religion; and every citizen in it has been guaranteed to enjoy religious freedom.

The constitution of also ensures certain fundamental rights to the citizens, which guarantee the individual freedom. It includes, right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights and right to constitutional remedies. The directive Principle of the state policy are a striking feature of the Indian constitution. It is not justiciable in character. They are the real yardstick to measure social and economic progress of the Indian people.

After the second world war a new model of Constitutionalism came to have its place in modern states. A good number of countries became free that sought to adopt The English or American models or a peculiar combination of the two. For instance, while India adopted the parliamentary system of England, Pakistan adopted the American model of Presidential system. The Establishment of U.N.O. confirmed the fact that constitutionalism not only stands for nationalism and democracy, it includes the attributes of internationalism.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

Political parties have a special importance in democracy because during the elections they create consciousness among the voters. They keep the nation alive politically. In the absence of

political parties, it is difficult to run the government in a parliamentary and a presidential system of government.

For this reason, Bryce says “Parties are inevitable. No free country has been without them. No one has shown how representative government could be worked without them. They bring order out of the chaos of a multitude of voters. If parties cause some evils, they avert and mitigate others”.

In modern times, the study of political parties has been conducted in scientific manner. The science of political parties called stasiology. The term is derived from the Greek word ‘*stasis*’, which means ‘factions. The development of analytical stasiology was propelled by the appearance in 1951 of Maurice Duverger’s *Les Partis Politiques* .

Giovanni Sartori says that the following kinds political parties included in the study of party system. They are:

- 1) Witness parties, those uninterested in maximizing votes.
- 2) Ideological Parties, those interested in votes primarily via indoctrination.
- 3) Responsible parties, which do not submit policies to maximizing votes.
- 4) Responsive parties, for which winning elections or maximizing votes take priority.
- 5) Purely demagogic, irresponsible parties, which are only vote maximisers.

R.G Gettel says “A political party consists of a group citizen, more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policies. It is the most elaborate and comprehensive form in which public opinion is organized and made effective in government”

Modern democracies cannot function without political parties, though there is no provision in the constitution for the compulsory formation of parties. Parties have risen as extra constitutional bodies to fulfil the political aims of various types of individuals in the state. Parties in the older democracies like Britain and USA came in to being unrecognized by either the constitution or the laws of the societies.

The political parties can be classified in the following manner,

- 1) Conservative-This party’s desires to conserve the status- quo.
- 2) Liberal-This desire to reform the existing institutions, and welcome changes.
- 3) Reactionary- This party wants to revive the old institutions.
- 4) Radical-This desires to have Sweeping changes to reform all the existing institutions.

Rightist and Leftist-Parties which work for radical changes, and for the introduction of radical legislation are called leftist, and those which desire to move forward slowly and cautiously are regarded as rightist.

Maurice Duverger draw line between Cadre parties and Mass parties, not with reference to their size but their structure. The cadre party follow the principle of selection. It depends upon highly competent, influential, and affluent persons with the objective of having excellent

organization and ample funds. The mass party depends on numbers for the collection of funds and wishes to remain free from capitalist pressure which is manifest in the cadre party.

Maurice Duverger's classification is outdated. had formulated of one, two, and multi-party system. Now the party system, have their own sub -. categories Each of them are discuss below.

Different kinds of Party system

Single party system

A single party system exist in a state in which government is in the hands of a single party, which has no rivals. The ruling party does not allow other parties to function. A one-party could be de facto or de jure. In 20th century one party system emerged in Soviet Russia., The communist party overthrew the Czarist regime in 1917, and established a one-party totalitarian state. Stalin's Russia, Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Germany and Mao's China can be called One Party authoritarian and Totalitarian states.

The principal category has two sub categories, Totalitarian, and democratic. The case of the single party system of the totalitarian model obtains if the party in power allows no other parties or groups to live or act in opposition to its authority, in democratic system the ruling party tolerates the existence of other parties in opposition. The totalitarian model of the one-party system may have divided in more sub categories, ideologically committed, and ideologically neutral. The ideologically committed may be two types, rightist and leftist.

The democratic category of a single party system has three sub categories namely, one plus party system, One dominant party system. One absorbing party system etc.

ADVANTAGES

- **Politically stable government**

In a one-party system, there is no change of government and one individual can lead the government for a long time before the button is transferred to another person.

- **Ensures national integration**

Another advantage of a one-party system is that the entire nation is able to rally round the only party regardless of their ethnic, religious and cultural differences

- **Ensures continuous economic development**

In a one-party state, since the government stays in power for a very long time, it is able to draw economic programmes for the state and implement them without any interference.

- **Allows for speedy decision-making**

One-party system allows for quick decision making.

- **It is not divisive**

In a one-party system, divisive tendencies are eliminated or brought to the barest minimum.

- **Useful in times of emergencies**

Another advantage of a one-party system is that in times of emergencies, the government of the day can act swiftly to save the situation.

Disadvantages.

- The state is Authoritarian and totalitarian.
- There is dictatorship, people are ruthlessly suppressed.
- The people have no liberty.
- One party dictatorship is based on violence, aggressive nationalism, imperialism and war.

The Two-party system.

Two-party system, political system in which the electorate gives its votes largely to only two major parties and in which one or the other party can win a majority in the legislature. The United States is the classic example of a nation with a two-party system. In these countries there are many minor parties, which can criticize the two major parties without being capable of winning a national election. A two-party system has three sub categories. Two-party system where alternation of take place between two major parties, Two-plus party system where some other parties may seldom have a chance to share power, and two party system in the midst of many where parties other than two major ones have chance, now and then, to share power.

Advantages.

- Two-party systems provide a stable balance by accommodating varied interests and opinions.
- Two-party systems encourage political participation

Defects

- In cabinet system having two parties, the ruling commanding a vast majority of seats in the legislature may do whatever it likes, and there is always a possibility of dictatorship of the cabinet.
- Laws may be passed in the interest of brute majority and not in the larger interest of the country.
- The system may itself become tyrannical

Multiple- Party system.

Multiple party system is one in which more than two parties exist. France can be given as good example of this system. All democratic countries in Continental Europe have the multiple party system.

Advantages

- The possibility of cabinet dictatorship is ruled out, and every party can aspire to rise power at some time or other.
- There greater individual freedom and all shades of opinion can express themselves through the various political parties.
- Various interest in a state can express themselves through the various political parties.

Defects

- There can be no political stability.
- Conditions in the country can be chaotic with several parties and factions.
- The pernicious system of trading in votes will undermine all political morality

Alan R. Ball in his book., *Modern Politics and Government* refers to seven- fold classification of party system.

- Indistinct party system e.g. the USA
- Distinct two- party system. The Britain, Australia,
- Working multi-party system e.g. Norway Sweden
- Un stable multi-party system e.g. Italy, France
- Dominant party system e.g. India Malaya.
- One party system e.g. Spain
- Totalitarian one System e.g. USSR, Nazi Germany.

CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- The classification of political parties that was presented by Maurice Duverger in 1951 became popular, and is now generally accepted. He had classified parties as (i) the elitist or traditional parties, and (ii) mass parties. Later a third category known as the intermediate type of parties was added. This classification is generally organisation based categorisations.

The Elitist Parties

The parties which are not cadre-based and do not have their support among the masses may be described as elitist or traditional parties. These parties do not throw their doors open to one and all. They are selective in admitting members. The elitist parties are normally divided into (a) the European Type and (b) the American Type.

1) The European type: Most of the political parties set up in the nineteenth century are elitist in nature. Many contemporary parties who follow the same approach also come in the elitist or traditional category. Whether these parties are liberal or conservative or progressive, they are against admitting anybody and everybody to their membership. These parties emphasis quality rather than numbers. They seek support of prominent and influential persons. The wealthy people occupy prominent place in these parties. The European parties have their bases in local committees, and have minimum control of central party organisation. However, unlike many parties of Continental Europe, the Liberal and Conservative Parties of nineteenth century Britain had a powerful central organisation. Now in the twenty-first century central control is increasing in many parties of European and Asian countries also.

With the growth of mass parties, even British parties tried to expand their membership, but they could not succeed. In the modern electoral fights, large number of workers is required by the parties. Therefore, they admitted large number of members, yet they did not change their basic features.

2) The American Type: The parties in the United States are different from British parties in several respects. But, the prominent differences are (i) the nature of presidential government in a federal setup, as against British parliamentary democracy in a unitary state and (ii) the U.S. parties have remained limited to the elite, away from the masses. The U.S. parties, as mentioned elsewhere, are essentially election-oriented.

Mass Parties The system of parties based on common man's support began emerging in the early twentieth century. British Labour Party had its origin in the working people's movement. Later, the communists adopted the system of mass support. Several parties in the newly independent third world countries are generally mass parties.

1) Socialist Parties: Initially, masses were contacted to donate funds for the labour candidates. These candidates were considered revolutionaries, and industrialists and big business houses declined to give them any financial contribution. In fact, these elements were quite opposed to these candidates. In Britain trade unions provided support to these candidates. Later they organised themselves as the Labour Party. The mass parties tried to enlarge their membership, and took contributions from their members. The mass parties preferred contributions from common men and women, rather than the rich business houses. These parties, therefore, did not develop into elitist parties.

These parties believe in socialism to be brought about by the peaceful democratic means of parliamentary process. They believe in rule of law, rather than violence or revolutionary methods. They sought to abolish capitalism through legislative measures. But, with the commencement of rapid liberalisation in the decade of 1990s, the talk of destruction of capitalism suddenly gave way to adoption of a capitalist path even by democratic parties including the British Labour Party.

2) The Communist parties: The communist parties based on the ideology of Marx and Lenin seek close contacts with the masses. Initially, European communist parties were organised on the pattern of socialist parties, but after 1924, they were reorganised on the directions of Communist International headquartered in Moscow. They followed the pattern of Soviet Communist Party. The communist parties everywhere are much better organised and disciplined as compared to other parties. These parties attract workers and peasants. But, unlike other parties, their local units are generally not regional in nature; they are organised at places of work. The primary units, or cells, maintain close contacts with the members in their workplaces. This makes it easier for them to convey the party directions and to have them implemented. Besides, the problems of members of a workplace are common. They enthuse greater unity. Communist parties follow the principle of 'democratic Centralism', which implies democratic participation of members in party structure, but centralised decision-making and supervision. However, critics say that there is hardly any democracy in these parties, as all decisions are made by a handful of top leaders, who ensure strict obedience and discipline. At different levels in the party, discussion does take place, but directions of the leadership can never be violated or defied. All information about views expressed in these discussions is conveyed to the party leadership.

Parties in the former Soviet Union and in East European countries followed this pattern, which is also observed in China, Vietnam and other communist countries. No other party

anywhere in the world, except perhaps the Fascist parties, is as rigidly based on ideology as the communist parties are. They try to strictly follow the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Chinese Communist Party had its own Maoist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. But, in the post-Mao period the party has certainly deviated from the rigidity of Mao. Liberalisation and opening up of economy in China has altered the pattern, though it still swears by Marxist ideology. Communist parties in liberal democracies, as in India, still keep on insisting on the relevance of Marxism-Leninism.

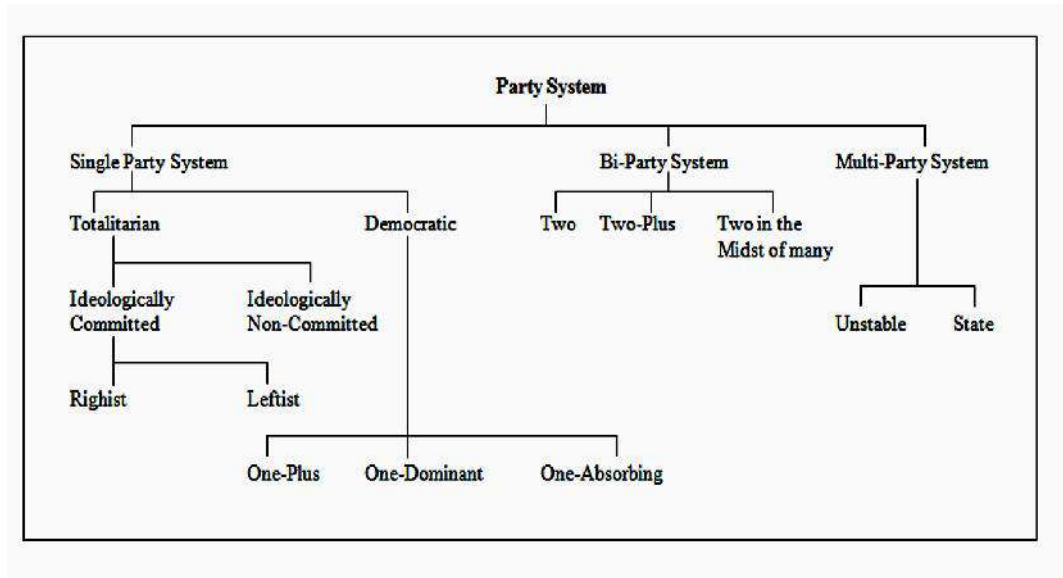
3) The Fascist Parties: Fascism is totally opposed to communism. Unlike the communist parties, fascists advocate an all-powerful state. However, there is one similarity. Both believe in one-party rule, and in destroying the entire opposition. They both use force to implement their policies. The fascist parties support open competition and capitalism, but they, like the communists, blindly follow one leader. The disobedience to the leader may mean elimination of members. The Italian Fascist dictator, Mussolini had himself said that his party wanted to follow the communist techniques. Fascists talk of mass-base, but they use armed forces to inculcate military discipline and impart military training to the masses. The fascist youth are not only given military training, but they even wear military uniform, carry out daily disciplined exercises, and are often punished for defiance. The fascist leader takes the route of force to assume power, even as pretension of democratic process may be propagated. Fascism comes to power with the support of capitalists and big business houses. It is vehemently opposed to communism, and destructive of democracy. Violence and wars have been important part of fascist programme.

Intermediate Type Parties

According to Maurice Duverger, there is a third category of political parties that may be described as the intermediate type. These are different from both elitist and mass parties; yet they are closer to the mass parties. These are: 1) Indirect Parties: At times a number of big or small committees perform political functions leading to the setting up of a political party. This may be described as an indirect party. All these parties came into existence like traditional parties, but with the difference that their members came not from rich classes, but from amongst the workers and intellectuals.

2) Parties in Developing Countries: In the post-Second World War period a large number of political parties have come into existence in the third world developing countries, which Duverger prefers to describe as undeveloped countries. In some of the developing countries, the parties followed the pattern of the United Kingdom or the United States, while in some others one party was established following the Soviet example. In some of the African countries two parties each were formed in their own style. All of them have been described as intermediate type because they were yet to be fully organised as disciplined parties. In post-independent India many parties have been formed. Some of them could not last long.

Party System



Determinance and Functions of Political parties.

The determinants of the party structure vary from religious and social to economic and political factors. Certain political parties are associated with a religious faith like MRP in France, Muslim League and Hindu Maha Sabha in India.

Some parties are depending on ethnic or racial connection. E.g. Tamil federal party in Sree Lanka, in some cases caste may play the role of a determinant e. g DMK, AIADMK. Some political parties may be based on sub-nationalism as Flemish Nationalist in, or on the factor of linguistic chauvinism as Radical party in France. It is also found that some political parties are held together by a clique led by an attractive leader, or by patronage as Maurice Duplessis and the United National in the province of Quebec in Canada. Though the determinants of party structure may be different, they may be reduced to three main factors-historical, socio-economic and ideological.

In the first place, historical factors are of great importance in the determination of party structure. Political parties arise when historical changes occur and these are not subject to scientific laws.

The socio-economic factors also significant in the development of political parties. The level of economic development influences the nature of party competition. Nationalism and religious divisions may be more important than those of class in forming the basis of political parties.

Last factor is ideology Socialist and Communist parties are organized on the basis of ideology. These parties are called Leftist, because they struggle to change the *status quo* what they call the era of injustice. Her may be parties based on the rightist ideology as Fascist in Italy, Nazis in Germany, And Bhartiya Janata party in India. Such parties stand for the maintenance of the

status quo that goes to the advantage of existing rulers hailing from the affluent class of the society.

The Political parties of the United States have nothing like ideological commitments. Lord James Bryce says that The American Political parties 'as two bottles of wine, liquor being the same but different labels.

The following are the important functions of political parties;

1) Brokers of Ideas-Political parties play the role of brokers of ideas. Political parties channelise the ideas of the various individuals, and make them effective them by giving them proper shape and direction.

2) Explaining its stand and policies-A political party must explain clearly its stand, policies, principles and approach the burning problems of the country.

3) Enlightening and Educating the Public-Political parties try to educate the public furnishing it with facts, figures and comments on various matters

4) Making efforts to catching power-The ultimate aim of political party is to capture power by peaceful and constitutional means.

5) Formation of Public Opinion:

Political parties formulate public opinion. In democracy, every adult enjoys the right to vote. Every citizen is to express his or her opinion at the time of election. They place clear alternatives before the people. Citizens rally round different political parties and public opinion is thus organized into definite channels.

6) Essentials for Success of Parliamentary Democracy:

Political parties make parliamentary democracy a success. Parliamentary democracy cannot run without the help of two parties—the party in power and the party in opposition. The majority party forms the government and the minority parties form the opposition.

7) Political Parties create Unity in the Nation:

Every party has to formulate programme that can appeal to all the voters, or at least to a majority. The class differences, therefore, get reconciled.

It is because of Political parties that the state has become a national state.

8) To give good government-A political party should be conscious of its responsibility to the people and give good government to them.

9) To Form Opposition-A party which is unable to capture power can serve the people by playing the role of an effective opposition party.

Merits of Party system

1. It is said that parties are in accord with human nature. Since people differ in respect of their ideas, beliefs and commitments they have different political parties.
2. Party system avoids the risk of direct legislation.
3. It is on account of the party system that election are made easy and possible and legislative excellence is promoted.

4. The existence of a party of direct opposition, is a bulwark against the tyranny, not only of a despot but also a practical political majority.

Bryce thus sums up the value of party system in the following words. “the parties keep a nation mind alive as the rise and fall of the sleeping tide freshens the water of long ocean inlets...so few people think seriously and steadily upon any subject out – side the range of their own business interests that public opinion might be vague and ineffective if the party search light were not constantly turned on”.

Demerits of party system

1. It is described as an unnatural political phenomenon. Members belonging to different political parties remain in a state of willful in-convincibility with individual judgement frozen tight in the shape of the party mould.
2. It creates factionalism as it tends to make the political life of a country machine-like or artificial. The party in opposition, as it is sometimes called the outs is always antagonistic to the party in power or the ins.
3. The talent of the people is ignored on account of party politics and the interest of the party is given precedence over the interests of the nation.
4. Hollowness and insincerity get encouragement. The vision of the party members is narrowed and their individuality crushed with the result that the evils of favouritism, nepotism and spoils systems are multiplied.
5. The systems of administration is established on account of rapid changes in the position of parties.
6. There is wastage of money, explosion of opportunity to self – seekers and excessive pandering to the masses.
7. Party allegiance, if carried to excess, may easily obscure the claims of patriotism. Concentration upon the business of vote catching may tempt party leaders and party managers to ignore or to postpone the higher call of the country.

Electoral System and Representation.

The choice of Electoral System is one of the most important institutional decisions for any democracy. The choice of a particular electoral system has a profound effect on the future political life of the country concerned, and electoral systems, once chosen, often remain fairly constant as political interests solidify around and respond to the incentives presented by them. Electoral systems are today viewed as one of the most influential of all political institutions, and of crucial importance to broader issues of governance. The basic task for an electoral system is to translate votes into seats; to transform the expressed will of the voters into people who will represent it.

An electoral system consists of more than the methods of counting the votes cast by the voters. A full description of an electoral system would include such factors on the extent of the franchise i.e. Who is entitled to vote? It would include the rules relating to candidates and parties those regulating the administration of elections, especially the provisions against corruption. The

methods of casting the vote i.e. “The ballot secret” is a part of electoral system. Although the secret ballot may be almost universal. State such as Australia enforce compulsory using: and primary elections are a feature of the electoral system of the United States. The size and shape of the constituency is an important aspect of electoral systems; the Netherlands and Israel have one constituency for the whole country, for example. However, the aspects of electoral systems that gain the most attention one the methods of casting the vote, the ways in which these votes are counted and the translation of votes in to seats.

An electoral system refers to the method by which:

- (a) a voter is required to indicate his or choice of a candidates or political party out of those contesting in the election
- (b) . (b) the votes obtained by a candidates or political party are translated into allocation of seats or offices. Actual types of electoral system are legion. Broadly speaking, three types of political systems widely prevalent under democratic system:
- (c) (a) Plurality system,
- (d) (b) Majoritarian system; and
- (e) (C) proportional representation

Theories of Representation

Reactionary theory of Representation

The chief exponents of this theory are Thomas Hobbes and Alexander Hamilton. It insists on the need for order and authority which are best maintained by the executive and parliament. The reactionary theory largely banks on superior knowledge and wisdom of the politicians who are regarded as the best custodians of public interest. Peoples representatives have a very limited role in this scheme of things to convey the popular feeling for their consideration and decision. It is an elitist theory with no provision of public good.

Conservative theory of Representation

The chief exponents of this theory are Edmund Burk and James Madison. It is more progressive than the reactionary theory because it grants a measure of public control without encouraging popular participation in the process of government. It is also an elitist theory because it allows peoples to choose their representatives from an elite group. People are free to convey their feelings to their representatives but they must bank on the good sense of these representatives rather than issuing any instruction. If these representatives fail to satisfy them, they can be replaced by other suitable members of the elite group at the next election.

Liberal Theory of representation

The chief exponents of this theory are John Locke and Thomas Jefferson. It represents the true spirit of democracy. It upholds equality of all people who are endowed with equal capability to rule. The liberal theory banks on the wisdom of the masses and treat their representatives only as their agents or messengers. In short, a representative is ultimately accountable to this constituent. he also no special rights or powers, but only special obligations.

Radical Theory of Representation

The chief exponents are Jean Jacques Rousseau and the New Left. This theory holds wisdom of the people in highest esteem goes to the extent of deprecating representative government itself. It holds that wisdom of the people is bound to be diluted through the process of representation. It, therefore, exalts direct democracy as the only true democratic form of government.

Varieties of Representation

Modern democracy largely works through its representative institutions.

Territorial Representation

The system of territorial or geographical representation implies that for the purpose of holding an election in a particular territory, the whole area should be divided into a number of electoral districts. These electoral districts are termed 'constituencies'. The constituencies may be either single-member or multi-member constituencies. In a single member constituency, the entire country is divided into as many constituencies as the number of representatives to be elected. The candidate who secures maximum number of votes, will be deemed to have been elected. Every citizen has to cast one vote. The system is followed in countries like India, France, Norway and Switzerland.

In the multi – member constituency the entire country is divided into large constituencies. More than one representative is elected from each constituency. Every voter gets more than one vote. Ordinary member cannot dump all his votes in favor of one candidate. In order to win the election, the candidate has to secure a fixed number of votes (Quota votes) and there is no need for securing a majority vote.

Method of Direct Election – Direct election man's election of the representatives by the voters themselves. Each voter goes to the polling station and cast his vote in favor of the candidates of his choice. The candidate securing maximum number of votes is declared elected. E.g. India, Russia, UK etc.

Indirect Election -In this system the voters do not elect their representatives directly but an Electoral College and when later on that electoral college elect their representatives, the system is called indirect election.

Plural Voting and Weighted Voting

In the nineteenth century John Stuart Mill and Sidgwick supported plural voting and weighted voting. They are of the view that the people who are more educated, pay more taxes and are advanced in age, should be given more votes than those who are younger in age, who are illiterate and who do not pay any tax. In the plural voting the same person is given the right of separate voting for paying taxes at one place, for having property at another place and for being educate

the third place. In the weighted voting more educated, more tax payers and elderly people are continuously given the right to plural voting those who are poor and younger

Proportional Representation:- The model of proportional representation stands on the principal that the voted should be 'weighed not counted'. The two methods have been evolved in this system – *Single Transferrable Vote System and List System*.

- a. Single Transferrable Vote System – It was first evolved by a Danish minister Carl Andrae in 1793 that was presented in refined form by Thomas Hare in England in 1851 which is also called Hare System. In India the election of the President, Vice President and also the election to the Rajya Sabha are conducted according to this system. The following are the features of this system

1. Multi member constituency; 2. Possession by the voter of only one vote; 3. Making preferences by the voter; 4. Transfer of votes and electoral Quota. Generally, the following methods are followed to determine the Quota.

$$\text{Electoral Quota} = \frac{\text{Total number of valid votes} + 1}{\text{Total number of seats} + 1}$$

The advantage of this system is that every voter marks the figures 1,2,3,4 against the names of the candidates and in this way, he can indicate his preferences. He can vote for as many candidates by denoting his preference, as there are seats to be filled from the constituency. For example, if twelve members are to be elected from a constituency and if there are 20 candidates, the voter can indicate his preference from first to twelfth, as 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and so on up to the 12th preference.

The candidate in order to be elected requires a certain Quota votes thus the candidates who secured the quota vote is declared elected. If he gets more votes than fixed quota, his surplus votes are passed on to the candidate not yet elected, according to their second preferences. The process of transferring the surplus votes to the next preferences continues down the list until the required number of representatives have been elected. If some seats remain vacant, the candidate having least number of votes is eliminated and his votes are transferred to other candidates.

List System – Another system of proportional representation is list system. According to it, the entire country is divided in to large constituencies sometimes the entire country is considered as one constituency. According to this plan all candidates are grouped in the list according to their party label and every party offers a list of candidates up to the number of seats to be filled for each constituency.

The number of votes which are secured by the individual candidates, are considered as votes for the list. The elections are contested on party basis. The elector votes for a list of candidates presented by a political party and each party win the number of seats in that

constituency according to the vote for that party list. The list system is most popular in European electoral system.

Various methods of Minority Representation

The issue of minority representation is, indeed a very delicate affair. Minority means 'as groups held together by the types of common descent, language or religious faith and feeling themselves different in these respects from the majority of the inhabitants of a given political entity. The following are the various methods of minority representation.

1) Second Ballot System

In this system, it is required that the successful candidates must secure more than 50% of the votes polled. If no candidates secure absolute majority, the election is cancelled and only two candidates who secured the highest votes in the cancelled election are allowed to contest. The result is that the successful candidates wins absolute majority.

2) Cumulative Vote System.

Under this system, each voter has as many votes as there are seats and he allowed to caste his votes either for different candidates, or he may give all votes to a particular candidate. It obvious that the persons in minority may cast all votes in favors of their own candidates.

3) Limited vote System.

In this system there should be at least three seats in multi member constituency and the voter be given votes less than the number of seats., they should also not be allowed to cast more than one vote for a candidates.in this situation the position of the minorities is improved.

4) Single Vote System.

It prevails in a multi member constituency with one vote of each vote. The candidates are elected on the basis of majority votes. In this system the minorities may cast their votes for their own candidates, while the votes of the persons in majority are sure to be divided among different candidates.

5) Reservations.

There may be the system of reservation of seats or nominations by the head of the state. In our country seats are reserved for the SC/ST at the time of elections.

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