

PREFACE

In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. *core, generic, discipline specific elective, ability and skill enhancement* for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the university has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade “A”.

UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme.

Self Learning Material (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed by the teachers, officers & staff of the university, and I heartily congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs.

I wish you all a grand success.

Professor (Dr.) Ranjan Chakrabarti
Vice-Chancellor

Netaji Subhas Open University
Under-Graduate Degree Programme
Choice Based Credit System (CBCS)

Subject : Honours in Political Science (HPS)
Course Title : Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics
Course Code : CC-PS-05

First Edition : February 2023

Printed in accordance with the regulations of the Distance Education
Bureau of the University Grants Commission.

Netaji Subhas Open University
Under-Graduate Degree Programme
Under Choice Based Credit System (CBCS)
Subject : Honours in Political Science (HPS)
Course Title : Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics
Course Code : CC-PS-05

**: Board of Studies :
Members**

Professor Sobhanlal Dattagupta
Retd. Surendranath Chair Professor
University of Calcutta

Prof. Amitava Ray
Retd. Associate Professor
Gurudas College

Dr. Manoj Kumar Haldar
Assistant Professor
Netaji Subhas Open University

Dr. Narayan Chandra Datta
Associate Professor
Netaji Subhas Open University

Professor Krityapriya Ghosh
Retd. Associate Professor
Presidency College, (WBES)

Dr. Barnana Guha Thakurta (Banerjee)
Head and Associate Professor
Netaji Subhas Open University

Dr. Provat Kumar Mondal
Associate Professor
Netaji Subhas Open University

Dr. Utathya Banerjee
Associate Professor
Netaji Subhas Open University

Course Writers

Module-1 Dr. Pratip Chattopadhyay
Assistant Professor of Political Science
University of Kalyani

Module-2 Unit-6&7: Prof Sital Prasad Nag
Associate Professor of Political Science
Netaji Subhas Open University

Unit-8: Dr. Narayan Chandra Datta
Associate Professor of Political Science
Netaji Subhas Open University

Unit-9&10: Utathya Bandyopadhyay
Associate Professor of Political Science
Netaji Subhas Open University

Module-3 Dr. Chandidas Mukhopadhyay
Former Assistant Professor of Political Science, R. B. C. College, Naihati
Principal (Retd.), Ramananda Centenary College, Laulara, Purulia

Module-4 Dr. Narayan Chandra Datta
Associate Professor of Political Science
Netaji Subhas Open University

Editing

Course Editor

Dr. Arundhati Bhattacharyya
*Associate Professor of Political Science,
University of Burdwan*

**Editorial Assistance, Formatting,
Language Editing & Coordination :**

Dr. Narayan Chandra Datta
*Associate Professor of Political Science
Netaji Subhas Open University*

Notification

All rights reserved. No part of this Self-Learning Material (SLM) may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from Netaji Subhas Open University.

Dr. Ashit Baran Aich
Registrar (Acting)



**Netaji Subhas
Open University**

**UG Political Science
CC-PS-05**

**Course : Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics
Course Code : CC-PS-05**

Module- I :

Unit 1	☐ Comparative Politics: Nature and Scope	9-19
Unit 2	☐ Methods of Comparative Politics	20-28
Unit 3	☐ Euro-centrism in Comparative Politics	29-36
Unit 4	☐ Going Beyond Eurocentrism	37-46
Unit 5	☐ Recent Trends in Comparative Politics	47-54

Module- II :

Unit 6	☐ Capitalism : Meaning and Development	57-65
Unit 7	☐ Globalization	66-75
Unit 8	☐ Socialism: Growth, Meaning and Development	76-87
Unit 9	☐ Socialism in Practice	88-111
Unit 10	☐ Limitations of Capitalism and Socialism	112-128

Module- III :

Unit 11	☐ Colonialism : Meaning and Context	131-136
Unit 12	☐ Forms of Colonialism	137-143

Unit 13	❑ Decolonization: Meaning and context	144-151
Unit 14	❑ Anti-Colonialist Struggle	152-158
Unit 15	❑ Process of Decolonization	159-165

Module-IV :

Unit 16	❑ Political and Constitutional Development of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China	169-186
Unit 17	❑ Major Changes in the Economy of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China	187-197
Unit 18	❑ Major Political Institutions in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China	198-217
Unit 19	❑ Party and Party System in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China	218-229
Unit 20	❑ Civil Society in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China	230-244

Module - I

Unit 1 **Comparative Politics: Nature and Scope**

Structure:

- 1.1 Objective**
- 1.2 Introduction**
- 1.3 Definition of Comparative Politics**
- 1.4 Evolution of Comparative Politics**
- 1.5 Nature and Scope of Comparative Politics**
- 1.6 Conclusion**
- 1.7 Summing up**
- 1.8 Probable Questions**
- 1.9 Further Reading**

1.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know that Comparative politics has evolved from comparative government
- know that comparative government is a Pre-Second World War based understanding
- know that comparative politics is contemporary in nature
- understand the nature and scope of comparative politics

1.2 Introduction

Comparative politics is a corollary of international relations as while international relations focuses on the inter-state relations comparative politics highlights the intricacies of the internal political system of various countries. In doing that it clearly delineates the line of difference between the European and Third World realities. The nature of comparative politics is to compare and contrast between existing political systems of the world to emphasise which political system suits what conditions. The scope of comparative politics is vast in nature with focus on developing world and to understand the uniqueness of each

political system. This unit tries to give an evolutionary sketch of the subject matter of comparative politics.

1.3 Definition of Comparative Politics

The often encountered notion that comparative politics involves a study of governments arises, asserts Ronald Chilcote, from 'conceptual confusion'. Unlike comparative government whose field is limited to comparative study of governments, comparative politics is concerned with the study of all forms of political activity, governmental as well as nongovernmental. The field of comparative politics has an 'all encompassing' nature and comparative politics specialists tend to view it as the study of everything political. Any lesser conception of comparative politics would obscure the criteria for the selection and exclusion of what may be studied under this field. (Ronald Chilcote, Introduction, Theories of Comparative Politics, p.4)

For a long time comparative politics appeared merely to look for similarities and differences, and directed this towards classifying, dichotomising or polarising political phenomena. Comparative political analysis is however, not simply about identifying similarities and differences. The purpose of using comparisons, it is felt by several scholars, is going beyond 'identifying similarities and differences' or the 'compare and contrast approach' as it is called, to ultimately study political phenomena in a larger framework of relationships. This, it is felt, would help 'deepen our understanding and broaden the levels of answering and explaining political phenomena'. (See Manoranjan Mohanty, 'Comparative Political Theory and Third World Sensitivity', Teaching Politics, Nos.1 & 2, 1975)

In how far does existing terminology adequately encompass the changes in empirical reality? Do terms and categories require new definitions? Let us consider Sartori's question of how far 'concepts can travel', without causing 'conceptual stretching' (Sartori 1970). For example, terms and conceptions of state and civil society, democracy and the rule of law originated and evolved in the occident.

We must differentiate between two aspects:

- (1) Within an empirical application, it is possible that these terms are confronted with findings which do not correspond to the sum of experiences encountered hitherto. Correspondingly, it is possible that in certain African, Latin American or Asian countries, the search for civil society according to the western understanding of the term would provide only little empirical gain. It therefore makes no sense to extend our understanding of the term simply to include a large mass of empirical

findings. This is the case for example, when violent actors are counted within a civil society. In so doing, the empirical findings are indeed more comprehensive, however there is a clear case of conceptual stretching. The original concept is no longer recognizable and becomes distorted. The development of sub-terms and regular and lesser sub-types provides an adequate opportunity to apply the term to contexts which are not entirely suitable. Applied to democracies, this could mean the application of terms such as ‘deficient’ and ‘working’ democracies. In the area of systems of government, the fact that many presidential systems of government are taking on parliamentary characteristics at an increasing rate, and thus no longer correspond suitably to the existing understanding of the term, has resulted in the formulation of a new subtype, that of ‘parliamentary presidential systems’ (Kropp/Lauth 2007). Furthermore, when applying a concept to an unknown context, it is vital to proceed in terms which are sensitive to the context. When searching for civil society actors, it would be insufficient to look only within the spectrum of those who are formally registered or at least formally constituted. This would mean excluding a wide spectrum of actors, who are constituted informally, but who across the board correspond to the characteristics of civil society. In such cases, in which only formal institutions are investigated, we speak of there being a *western bias*.

- (2) Besides empirical implications, we must also consider normative and/or theoretical consequences. In this way, the inappropriate application of a concept in an unknown context can lead to the original concept being called into question and rethought. The result can be the further refinement of the concept (such as the relationship between state and democracy) or its change. For example, problems encountered when communicating an understanding of development through modernisation theory have modified the core idea of development and, amongst other things, integrated the aspect of sustainability within the framework of a global order.² A term introduced within a western context can however encounter differing interpretations in other regions. An acceptance of democracy can be observed worldwide, however perceptions thereof can differ considerably. This is also observed within the western hemisphere itself. As however, comparative research must insist upon a term, which has the same meaning across all comparisons, it is bound to an argumentative justification of the chosen understanding of the term in question. The boundary between it and political philosophy becomes blurred. In the formation of categories and types, and in their application, more allowance has been made up to now for the empirical

fact that often, the effect of formal institutions is only gradual. Consequently, it is a matter of the difficult mediation between gradual findings and relatively rigid typological classifications. As failing to use typologies in Comparative Politics would prove to be virtually counter-productive, it is vital to find methodological solutions.

1.4 Evolution of Comparative Politics

For a proper understanding of the nature, scope and utility of a comparative study of politics, one has to look at the latter's development historically and see how its attributes evolved with changing contexts and concerns. The nature and scope of comparative politics has been determined historically by changes in the (a) subject matter (b) vocabulary and (c) political perspective. To understand where, why and how these changes took place we have to look at what is the focus of study at a particular historical period, what are the tools, languages or concepts being used for the study and what is the vantage point, perspective and purpose of enquiry. As the term itself points out, comparative politics is about comparing political phenomena. The emphasis is on both the method of inquiry i.e., comparative, and the substance into which inquiry is directed i.e., political phenomena. Within the discipline of Political Science thus the specificity of comparative political analysis is marked out by its conscious use of the comparative method to answer questions which might be of general interest to political scientists.

In its earliest incarnation, the comparative study of politics comes to us in the form of studies done by the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle studied the constitutions of 150 states and *classified* them into a *typology of regimes*. His classification was presented in terms of both descriptive and normative categories i.e., he not only *described* and *classified* regimes and political systems in terms 'of their types e.g., democracy, aristocracy, monarchy etc., he also distinguished them on the basis of certain *norms of good governance*. On the basis of this comparison he divided regimes into good and bad - ideal and perverted. These Aristotelian categories were acknowledged and taken up by Romans such as Polybius (201 - 120 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.) who considered them in formal and legalistic terms. Concern with comparative study of regime types reappeared ' in the 15th century with Machiavelli (1469- 1527). The preoccupation with philosophical and speculative questions concerning the 'good order' or the 'ideal state' and the use, in the process, of abstract and normative vocabulary, persisted in comparative studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries signified the period when *liberalism* was the reigning ideology and European countries enjoyed dominance

in world politics. The 'rest of the world' of Asia-Africa and Latin America were either European colonies or under their sphere of - influence as ex-colonies. Comparative studies during this period (James Bryce's *Modern Democracies* (1921), Herman Finer's *Theory and Practice of Modern Governments* (1932) and Carl J. Friedrich's *Constitutional Government and Democracy* (1937), Roberto Michels, *Political Parties* (1915) and M. Duverger, *Political Parties* (1950)) were largely concerned with a comparative study of institutions, the distribution of power, and the relationship between the different layers of government. These studies were Eurocentric i.e., confined to the study of institutions, governments and regime types in European countries like Britain, France and Germany. It may thus be said that these studies were in fact not genuinely comparative in the sense that they excluded from their analysis a large number of countries. Any generalisation derived from a study confined to a few countries could not legitimately claim having validity for the rest of the world.

It may be worth remembering that the comparative study of governments till the 1940s was predominantly the *study of institutions*, the legal-constitutional principles regulating them, and the manner in which they functioned in western (European) liberal-democracies. In the context of the above stated developments, a powerful critique of the institutional approach emerged in the middle of 1950s. The critique had its roots in behavioralism which had emerged as a new movement in the discipline of politics aiming to provide scientific rigour to the discipline and develop a science of politics. Known as the behavioural movement, it was concerned with developing an enquiry which was quantitative, based on survey techniques involving the examination of empirical facts separated from values, to provide value-neutral, non-prescriptive, objective observations and explanations. The behaviouralists attempted to study social reality by seeking answers to questions like 'why people behave politically as they do, and why as a result, political processes and systems function as they do'. It is these 'why questions' regarding *differences in people's behaviours* and their implications for *political processes* and *political systems*, which changed the focus of comparative study from the legal-formal aspects of institutions. Thus in 1955 Roy Macridis criticised the existing comparative studies for privileging formal institutions over non-formal political processes, for being descriptive rather than analytical, and case-study oriented rather than genuinely comparative. (Roy Macridis, *The Study of Comparative Government*, New York, Random House, 1955). Harry Eckstein points out that the changes in the nature and scope of comparative politics in this period show a sensitivity to the changing world politics urging the need to reconceptualise the notion of politics and develop paradigms for large-scale comparisons. (Harry Eckstein, 'A Perspective on Comparative Politics, Past and Present' in Harry Eckstein and David Apter eds.,

Comparative Politics: A Reader, New York, Free Press, 1963.) The broadening of concerns in a geographic or territorial sense was also accompanied by a broadening of the sense of politics itself, and in particular, by a rejection of what was then perceived as the traditional and narrowly defined emphasis on the study of formal political institutions. The notion of politics was broadened by the emphasis on ‘realism’ or politics ‘in practice’ as distinguished from mere ‘legalism’. This included in its scope the functioning of less formally structured agencies, behaviours and processes e.g. political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behaviour, attitudes etc. (Gabriel Almond, *Political Development*, Boston, 1970). The end of the Second World War, a number of ‘new nations’ emerged on the world scene having liberated themselves from colonial domination. The dominance of liberalism was challenged by the emergence of communism and the powerful presence of Soviet Union on the world scene. The concern among comparativists changed at this juncture to studying the diversity of political, behaviours and processes which were thrown up, however, within a single overarching framework. The concept of ‘systems’ and ‘structures-functions’ came in vogue. These frameworks were used by western scholars particularly those in the United States to study phenomena like developmentalism, modernisation etc. While the political elite of the newly independent countries found concepts like development, nation-building and state building attractive, in many cases they evolved their own ideological stances and chose to remain non-aligned to either ideological blocs. In the late 1980s focus on studying politics comparatively within an overarching framework of ‘system’ declined and regional systemic studies assumed significance. The focus on state in these studies marked a resurgence of the study of power structures within civil society and its political forms, ‘which had suffered a setback with; the arrival of systems and structures-functions into comparative politics.

1.5 Nature and Scope of Comparative Politics

The nature and scope of comparative politics has varied according to the changes which have occurred historically in its subject matter. The subject matter of comparative politics has been determined both by the *geographical space* (i.e. countries, regions) which has constituted its field as well as the *dominant ideas* concerning social reality and change which shaped the approaches to & comparative studies (capitalist, socialist, mixed and indigenous). ~ different historical junctures the thrust or the primary concern of the studies kept changing. In its earliest incarnation, the comparative study of politics comes to us in the form of studies done by the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle studied the constitutions of 150 states and *classified* them into a *typology of regimes*. His classification was presented in terms of both descriptive and normative categories i.e., he not only

described and *classified* regimes and political systems in terms 'of their types e.g., democracy, aristocracy, monarchy etc., he also distinguished them on the basis of certain *norms of good governance*. On the basis of this comparison he divided regimes into good and bad - ideal and perverted. The preoccupation with philosophical and speculative questions concerning the 'good order' or the 'ideal state' and the use, in the process, of abstract and normative vocabulary, persisted in comparative studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It may be worth remembering that the comparative study of governments till the 1940s was predominantly the *study of institutions*, the legal-constitutional principles regulating them, and the manner in which they functioned in western (European) liberal-democracies. In the context of the above stated developments, a powerful critique of the institutional approach emerged in the middle of 1950s. with the change of emphasis to actual practices and functions of institutions, the problems of research came to be defined not in terms of what legal powers these institutions had, but what they actually did, how they were related to one another, and what roles they played in the making and execution of public policy. This led to the emergence of structural-functionalism, in which certain functions were described as being necessary to all societies, and the execution and performance of these functions were then compared across a variety of different formal and informal structures (Peter Mair, 'Comparative Politics: A n Overview', p.315) Towards the 1970s, developmentalism came to be criticised for favouring abstract models, which flattened out differences among specific political social cultural systems, in order to study them within a single universalistic framework. These criticisms emphasised the ethnocentrism of these models and focussed on the Third World in order to work out a theory of underdevelopment. They stressed the need to concentrate on solutions to the backwardness of developing countries. During the later 1970s and into the 1980s, still reflecting the backlash against developmentalism, number of theories and subject matters emerged into the field of comparative politics. These included bureaucratic-authoritarianism, indigenous concepts of change, transitions to democracy, the politics of structural *adjustment*, '*neoliberalism* and privatisation. While some scholars saw these Approaches developments as undermining and breaking the unity of the field which was being dominated by developmentalism, others saw them as adding healthy diversity, providing alternative approaches and covering new subject areas. Globalisation refers to a set of conditions, scientific, technological, economic and political, which have linked together the world in a manner so that occurrences in one part of the world are bound to affect or be affected by what is happening in another part. It may be pointed out that in this global world the focal point or the centre around which events move worldwide is still western capitalism. In the context of the so called triumph of capitalism, the approaches to the study of civil society and democratisation that have

gained currency give importance to civil society defined in terms of protection of individual rights to enter the modern capitalist world.

There is, however, another significant trend in the approach which seeks to place questions of civil society and democratisation as its primary focus. If there are on one hand studies conforming to the contemporary interest of western capitalism seeking to develop market democracy, there are also a number of studies which take into account the resurgence of people's movements seeking autonomy, right to indigenous culture, movements of tribal, dalits, lower castes, and the women's movement and the environment movement. These ~movements reveal a terrain of contestation where the interests of capital are in conflict with people's rights and represent the language of change and liberation in an era of global capital. Thus concerns with issues of identity, environment, ethnicity, gender, race, etc. have provided a new dimension to comparative political analysis. (See Manoranjan Mohanty, *Contemporary Indian Political Theory*, 2000) A significant aspect and determinant of globalisation has been the unprecedented developments in the field of information and communication technology viz., the Internet and World Wide Web. This has made the production, collection and analysis of data easier and also assured their faster and wider diffusion, worldwide. These developments have not only enhanced the availability of data, but also made possible the emergence of new issues and themes which extend beyond the confines of the nation-state. These new themes in turn form an important influential aspect of the political environment of the contemporary globalised world.

While comparisons form an implicit part of all our reasoning and thinking, most comparativists would argue that a comparative study of politics seeks to make comparisons consciously to arrive at conclusions which can be generalised i.e. held true for a number of cases. To be able to make such generalisations with a degree of confidence, it is not sufficient to just collect information about countries. The trend in comparative political analysis, is on *theory-building* and *theory testing* with the countries acting units or cases. Social scientists who emphasise scientific precision, validity and reliability, see comparisons as indispensable in the social sciences because they offer the unique opportunity of 'control' in the study of social phenomena. (Giovanni Sartori, 'compare, Why and How' in Mattei Dogan and, Ali Kazancigil eds., *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, -Black well, Oxford, 1994). The nature and scope of comparative study of politics related to its subject matter, its field of study, the vantage point from which the study is carried out and the purposes towards which the study is directed. These have, however, not been static and have changed over time. While the earliest studies concerned themselves with observing and classifying governments and regimes, comparative politics in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century was concerned with studying the formal legal structures of institutions in western countries.

1.6 Conclusion

While comparisons form an implicit part of all our reasoning and thinking, most comparativists would argue that a comparative study of politics seeks to make comparisons consciously to arrive at conclusions which can be generalised i.e. held true for a number of cases. To be able to make such generalisations with a degree of confidence, it is not sufficient to just collect information about countries. The trend in comparative political analysis, is on *theory-building* and *theory testing* with the countries acting units or cases. Social scientists who emphasise scientific precision, validity and reliability, see comparisons as indispensable in the social sciences because they offer the unique opportunity of ‘control’ in the study of social phenomena. (Giovanni Sartori, ‘compare, Why and How’ in Mattei Dogan and Al Kazancigil eds., *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, -1 Black well, Oxford, 1994). The nature and scope of comparative study of politics related to its subject matter, its field of study, the vantage point from which the study is carried out and the purposes towards which the study is directed. These have, however, not been static and have changed over time. While the earliest studies concerned themselves with observing and classifying governments and regimes, comparative politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was concerned with studying the formal legal structures of institutions in western countries.

1.7 Summing up

- While the political elite of the newly independent countries found concepts like development, nation-building and state building attractive, in many cases they evolved their own ideological stances and chose to remain non-aligned to either ideological blocs.
- In the late 1980s focus on studying politics comparatively within an overarching framework of ‘system’ declined and regional systemic studies assumed significance.
- The focus on state in these studies marked a resurgence of the study of power structures within civil society and its political forms, ‘which had suffered a setback with; the arrival of systems and structures-functions into comparative politics.

- The petering out of Soviet Union in the same period, provoked western scholars to proclaim the ‘end of history’ marking the triumph of liberalism and capitalism. Globalisation of capital, significant feature of the late nineteen eighties, which continues and makes itself manifest in technological, economic and information linkages among the countries of the world, has also tended to influence comparativists into adopting universalistic, homogenising expressions like ‘transitions to democracy’, the ‘global market’ and ‘civil society’. Such expressions would have us believe that there do not in fact remain differences, uncertainties and contests which need to be explained in a comparative perspective. There is, however, another way to look at the phenomena and a number of scholars see the resurgence of civil society in terms of challenges to global capitalism which comes from popular movements and trade union activism throughout the world.

1.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the evolution of comparative politics.
2. Analyse the changing nature and scope of comparative politics

Short Questions:

1. Describe the development of comparative politics from comparative government
2. Explain the various attempts to theory building in comparative politics.

Objective Questions:

1. Who wrote ‘Theory and practice of Modern Government’?
2. Mention a book authored by Gabriel Almond.

1.9 Further Reading

1. Chilcote, Ronald H., Part I: Introduction, in Ronald H.Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm Reconsidered*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994 (Second Edition).
2. Landman, Todd, *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction*, Routledge, London, 2000.

3. Mair, Peter, 'Comparative Politics: An Overview', in R.E.Goodin and H.Klingemann eds., *The New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford University Press, Oxford; 1996.
4. Wiarda, Roward J. 'Is Comparative Politics Dead? Rethinking the Field in the Post-Cold War Era', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 19, no.5.

Unit 2 Methods of Comparative Politics

Structure:

- 2.1 Objective
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Methods of Comparative Politics
- 2.4 Comparative Method
- 2.5 Use of Methods in Comparative Politics
- 2.6 Conclusion
- 2.7 Summing up
- 2.8 Probable Questions
- 2.9 Further Reading

2.1 Objective

By studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know that Comparative politics has evolved from comparative government
- know that comparative government is a Pre-Second World War based understanding
- know that comparative politics is contemporary in nature
- understand the nature and scope of comparative politics

2.2 Introduction

One aspect which is firmly gaining ground in the solving of methodological questions is the theoretical conception of comparative study. Using this approach, not only are the core independent and dependent variables defined, but the context is also shaped. The latter of these is decisive when applying a *most different cases design* or a *most similar cases design*. At the same time, the typological choice, itself closely related to theory, allows us to define to what degree investigations must be specified. Despite numerous

efforts made over recent years, also in German-speaking countries, the body of comparative political theory still shows itself to be in deficit in many areas (Berg-Schlusser/Müller-Rommel 1997; Helms/Jun 2004; Lauth 2006). A glance at available theories also illustrates the possibilities of and limits to causal statements. The complementarity of theories in Comparative Politics cannot be taken for granted, as a simple glance at the two theoretical ‘waves’ shows, with which Comparative Politics has been confronted in recent decades. In the 1960s, Behavioralism reshaped the political debate; since the late 1980s, the *Rational Choice approach* has taken over. The transformation of institutional approaches reflects clearly this development. Although practically superseded in their classical form by the behavioralist revolution, with the neo-institutionalists they returned to the fore, *inter alia* in connection with rational choice models. At the same time, it is equally evident that the theoretical landscape has remained pluralist, as a simple glance at sociological and historical institutionalism shows (Kaiser 2007). The complexity and extrapolation of the theoretical debate points to the necessity of linking Comparative Politics in more closely with Political Theory (cf. Holmes 2003). In the same way as in the discussion concerning methods, we must be careful not to lose sight of the subject focus of Comparative Politics. In this area, we are not concerned with debating theoretical principles, but with developing empirically well founded, medium-range theories dealing with certain political aspects. Alongside the outlined classification strategy, the empirical testing of theories would be a further step towards proving their plausibility and usefulness. Here also, the need for research is considerable.

2.3 Methods of Comparative Politics

Method as we know from our experiences, is a useful, helpful and instructive way of accomplishing something with relative ease. A piece of collapsible furniture, for example, comes with a manual guiding us through the various steps to set it up. While studying a phenomenon, method would similarly point to ways and means of doing things. We may not, however, unlike our example of the collapsible furniture, know the final shape or results of our explorations at the outset. We may not also have a precise instruction manual guiding us to the final outcome. We will simply have the parts of the furniture and tools to set it up in other words, ‘concepts’ and ‘techniques’. These concepts (ideas, thoughts, notions) and techniques (ways of collecting data) will have to be used in specific ways to know more about, ‘. understand or explain a particular phenomenon. Thus, it may be said, that the organisation of ways of application of specific concepts to data is ‘method’. Of course the manner of collection of data itself will have to be worked out. The concepts which are

to be applied or studied will have to be thought out. All this will eventually have to be organised so that the nature of the data and the manner in which it is collected and the application of the concept is done in a way that we are able to study with a degree of precision what we want to study. In a scientific inquiry much emphasis is placed on precision and exactness of the method. A number of scholars, however, do not feel that there should be much preoccupation with the so called 'scientific research'. Whatever the beliefs of scholars in this regard, there is nonetheless a 'method' in thinking, exploring and research in all studies. Several methods, comparative, historical, experimental, statistical etc. are used by scholars for their studies. It may be pointed out that all these methods may use comparisons to varying degrees. The comparative method also uses tools of the historical, experimental and statistical methods.

Whereas in physical sciences comparisons can be done in laboratories under carefully controlled conditions, precise experimentation in social sciences under conditions which replicate laboratory conditions is not possible. If, for example, a social scientist wishes to study the relationship between electoral systems and the number of political parties, s/he cannot instruct a government to change its electoral system nor order people to behave in a particular way to test his/her hypothesis. Nor can s/he replicate a social or political phenomenon in a laboratory where tests can be conducted. Thus, while a social scientist may feel compelled to work in a scientific way, societal phenomena may not actually permit what is accepted as 'scientific' inquiry. S/he can, however, study 'cases' i.e., actually existing political systems and compare them to chalk out a way to study their relationship as worked out in the hypothesis, draw conclusions and offer generalisations.

Experimental Method - Although the experimental method has limited application in social sciences, it provides the model on which many comparativists aspire to base their studies. Simply put, the experimental method aims to establish a causal relationship between two conditions. In other words the objective of the experiment is to establish that one condition leads to the other or influences the other in a particular way. If, for example one wishes to study explain why children differ in their ability to communicate in English in large-group setting, a number of factors may be seen as influencing this capability viz., social background, adeptness in the language, familiarity of surroundings etc. The investigator may want to study the influence of all these factors or one of them or even a combination of factors. S/he then isolates the condition factors whose influence she wants to study and I thereby make precise the role of each condition. The results of the experiment would enable the investigator to offer general propositions regarding the applicability of her/this findings and compare them with other previous studies.

Case Study- A case study, as the name suggests focuses on in-depth study of a single case. In that sense, while the method itself is not strictly comparative, it provides the data (on single cases) which can become the basis of general observations. These observations may be used to make comparisons with other 'cases' and to offer general explanations. Case studies, however, may, in a disproportionate manner emphasise 'distinctiveness' or what are called 'deviant' or unusual cases. There might be a tendency, for example, among comparativists to explore questions like why United States of America does not have a socialist party rather than to explore why Sweden along with most western democracies has one. Alexis de Tocqueville's classic studies of 18th century France (*The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, 1856) and 19th century United States (*Democracy in America: Vol I, 1835; Vol II, 1840*) to show how comparative explanations can be made by focussing on single cases. Tocqueville's unique case study of individual cases was effectively a study of national contrasts and similarities within a complex model of interaction of historical forces to explain the divergent historical courses taken up by France and U.S.A.

Statistical Method- The statistical method uses categories and variables which are quantifiable or can be represented by numbers, e.g., voting patterns, public expenditure, political parties, voter turnout, urbanisation, population growth. It also offers unique opportunities to study the effects or relationships of a number of variables simultaneously. It has the advantage of presenting precise data in a compact and visually effective manner, so that similarities and dissimilarities are visible through numerical representation. The fact that a number of variables can be studied together also gives the unique opportunity to look for complex explanations in terms of a relationship. The use of the statistical method also helps explain and compare long term trends and patterns and offer predictions on future trends. A study, for example, of the relationship of age and political participation can be made through an analysis of statistical tables of voter turnout and age-categories.

Focussed Comparisons - These studies take up a small number of countries, often just two (paired or binary comparisons), and concentrate frequently on particular aspects of the countries' politics rather than on all aspects. Comparative studies of public policies in different countries have successfully been undertaken by this method. Lipset distinguishes two kinds of binary or paired comparison: the implicit and explicit. In the implicit binary comparison, the investigator's own country, as in the case of de Tocqueville's study of America, may serve as the reference: Explicit paired comparisons have two clear cases (countries) for comparison. The two countries may be studied with respect to their specific aspects e.g., policy of population control in India and China or in their entirety e.g., with respect to the process of modernisation. The latter may, however, lead to a parallel study of two cases leaving little scope for a study of relationships.

Historical Method - The historical method can be distinguished from other methods in that it looks for causal explanations which are historically sensitive. Eric Wolf emphasises that any study which seeks to understand societies and causes of human action could not merely seek technical solutions to problems stated in technical terms. 'The important thing was to resort to an analytic history which searched out the causes of the present in the past. Such an analytic history could not be developed out of the study of a single culture or nation, a single culture area, or even a single continent at one period in time, but from a study of contacts, interactions and 'interconnections' among human populations and cultures. Historical studies have concentrated on one or more cases seeking to find causal explanations of social and political phenomena in a historical perspective. Single case studies seek, as mentioned in a previous section, to produce general statements which may be applied to other cases. Theda Skocpol points out that comparative historical studies using more than one case fall broadly into two categories, 'comparative history' and 'comparative historical analysis'.

2.4 Comparative Method

The comparative method has been seen as studying similarities and differences as the basis for developing a 'grounded theory', testing hypotheses, inferring causality, and producing reliable generalisations. Many social scientists believe that research should be scientifically organised. The comparative method, they believe, offers them the best means to conduct 'scientific' research i.e, research characterised by precision, validity, reliability and verifiability and some amount of predictability. The American political scientist James Coleman, for example, often reminded his students, 'You can't be scientific if you're not comparing'. Swanson similarly emphasised that it was 'unthinkable' to think of 'scientific thought and all scientific research' without comparisons. (Guy E. Swanson, 'Frameworks for Comparative Research: Structural Anthropology and the Theory of Action' in Ivan Valier ed., *Comparative Methods in Sociology*, Berkeley, 1971, p. 145). Whereas in physical sciences comparisons can be done in laboratories under carefully controlled conditions, precise experimentation in social sciences under conditions which replicate laboratory conditions is not possible. If, for example, a social scientist wishes to study the relationship between electoral systems and the number of political parties, that cannot instruct a government to change its electoral system nor order people to behave in a particular way to test his/her hypothesis. Nor can s/he replicate a social or political phenomenon in a laboratory where tests can be conducted. Thus, while a social scientist may feel compelled to work in a scientific way, societal phenomena may not actually permit what is accepted

as ‘scientific’ inquiry. S/he can, however, study ‘cases’ i.e., actually existing political systems and compare them, chalk out a way to study their relationship as worked out in the hypothesis, draw conclusions and offer generalisations. Thus the comparative method, though scientifically weaker than the experimental method, is considered closest to a scientific method, offering the best possible opportunity to seek explanations of societal phenomena and offer theoretical - propositions and generalisations. The question you might ask now is what makes comparative method, scientific. Sartori tells us that the ‘control function’ or the system of checks, which is integral to scientific research and a necessary part of laboratory experimentation, can be achieved in social sciences only through comparisons. He goes further to propose that because the control function can be exercised only through the comparative method, comparisons are indispensable in social sciences. Because of their function of controlling/checking the validity of theoretical propositions, comparisons have the scientific value of making generalised propositions or theoretical statements explaining particular phenomena making predictions, and also what he terms ‘learning from others’ experiences’. In this context it is important to point out that the nature of predictions in comparative method have only a probabilistic causality. This means that it can state its results only in terms of likelihoods or probabilities i.e., a given set of conditions are likely to give an anticipated outcome.

Comparative methods make up the core identity of Comparative Politics, which equally, however, is defined and refined by the focus on political subjects. We make a conscious effort to speak in the plural, as various comparative methods must be considered. Let us differentiate between two strands: (1) Studies designed to investigate similarities and differences in the systematic analysis of dependent variables. The core elements of these go back to John Stuart Mill’s Method of Difference. Even single case studies can be classified under this strand, provided that they are embedded in the corresponding theoretical contexts. In Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), these approaches have experienced systematic development (Ragin 1987, 2000), whilst the most recent development of the fuzzy set QCA is capable of overcoming the rigidity of binary codification. (2) The other strand of comparative methods is based upon statistics and works with individual and/or aggregate data. With the help of different techniques, it attempts to define more precisely the relationship between dependent and independent variables through quantification.

2.5 Use of Methods in Comparative Politics

Emile Durkheim, the renowned German Sociologist affirms that the comparative method enables (sociological) research to ‘cease to be purely descriptive’. (Emile Durkheim, The

Division of Labour in Society, 1949, p,139) Even descriptions, however, points out Smelser, cannot work without comparisons. Simple descriptive words like ‘densely populated’ and ‘democratic’, he substantiates, ‘presuppose a universe of situations that are more or less populated or more or less democratic’ and one situation can be stated described only in relational comparison to the other. (Neil J. Smelser, *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences*, Englewood, 1976, p.3) It is this ‘presupposition of a universe’ in which a descriptive category can be placed, within a set of relationships, helps us to analyse it better, feel quite a number of scholars. Manoranjan Mohanty therefore seeks to emphasise relationships rather than looking merely for similarities and dissimilarities among phenomena. The latter or the ‘compare and contrast approach’ as he calls it would ultimately become ‘an exercise in dichotomisation, an act of polarising’. In other words, such an exercise would lead to classification of likes in groups of isolated compartments so that a comparative exercise would become nothing more than finding similarities within groups and dissimilarities among them. For the identification of relationships of unity and opposition, one must modify one’s questions. This would mean that the questions asked should not be such as to bring out answers locating merely similarities and dissimilarities but ‘the relationship which exists between them’. Only then shall one be able to understand the comparability of political systems like the United States of America (U.S.A) and United Kingdom (U.K), for instance which differ in their forms of government (Presidential and Cabinet forms, respectively).

Research designs are recommended which combine the comparative techniques of the first strand with those of the second. In certain combinations of cases, these should not only be organised along complementary but also along competitive lines. In this way, the benefit of various methodological approaches in tangible cases would become clearer. Finally, let us reiterate that to the suggestion of combining methods, the combining of quantitative and qualitative methods is also linked, in the way these exist in triangulation techniques. In a nutshell, in order to be able to identify and apply comparative strategies suitable to specific cases, comparative research requires more than the comprehensive methodological knowledge as known hitherto At the same time, it should also be noted that methodological debates are not conducted as an end in themselves, but rather to increase the cognitive benefit of nomothetically aligned comparative political research.

2.6 Conclusion

In a nutshell, in order to be able to identify and apply comparative strategies suitable to specific cases, comparative research requires more than the comprehensive methodological

knowledge as known hitherto. At the same time, it should also be noted that methodological debates are not conducted as an end in themselves, but rather to increase the cognitive benefit of nomothetically aligned comparative political research.

2.7 Summing up

- Studying with comparisons is important for understanding and explaining political and social phenomenon.
- A comparative method helps us to go beyond mere descriptions towards looking for ways in which political and social processes can be explained and based on such explanations general theoretical propositions can be made.
- It reminds us of the network of interconnections that exist among social, political, economic and cultural phenomena which help us understand better the changing nature of our environment.

2.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Discuss the rationale for comparison in comparative politics.
2. Analyse the various methods of comparative politics

Short Questions :

1. Describe the comparative method to comparative politics
2. Explain the various utilities of comparison in comparative politics.

Objective Questions :

1. Mention a method of comparative politics.
2. What is the full form of QCA?
3. Who wrote 'The Division of Labour in Society'?

2.9 Further Reading

1. Hague, Rod, Martin Harrop and Shaun Bresl in, *Comparative Government and Politics*, Macmillan, London, 1993, third edition, .

2. Mohanty, Manoranjan, 'Comparative Political Theory and Third World Sensitivity', *Teaching Politics*, No. 1&2, 1975.
3. Sartori, Giovanni, 'Compare, Why and How', in Mattei Dogan and Ali Kazancigil (ed.), *Comparative Politics, Concepts, Strategies, Substance, Blackwell I*, Oxford, 1994.
4. Smelser, Neil J., *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1976

Unit 3 □ Euro-centrism in Comparative Politics

Structure:

- 3.1 Objective**
- 3.2 Introduction**
- 3.3 Meaning of Eurocentrism**
- 3.4 Eurocentricism in Comparative Politics**
- 3.5 Effect of Eurocentrism in Comparative Politics**
- 3.6 Conclusion**
- 3.7 Summing up**
- 3.8 Probable Questions**
- 3.9 Further Reading**

3.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the meaning and nature of Eurocentricism
- know the influence of eurocentricism in comparative politics
- know the effects of Eurocentrism in comparative politics
- know the Anti-eurocentric turn in comparative politics

3.2 Introduction

Eurocentrism as an idea that all knowledge emerged in Europe in the context of European modernity. Thus, it entails a linear conception of time which suggested that this knowledge has produced through the values and institutional systems that were universalized in Europe in the past 500 years, in its backyard. This narrative incorporates two master narratives: the superiority of Western civilization (through progress and reason) and the belief in the continuous growth of capitalism (through modernisation, development and creation of new markets). These master narratives are all ethnocentric in nature. It needs to be understood that European knowledge saw itself to be superior to the other which was

to be colonised, turned into an object of control and through which it became modern. Under this, Europe saw itself as the origin point of modernity, which became the point of reference for other cultures and civilisations. Europe and the West were painted in terms of the master civilization that had modernity, reason, culture and science while the East was painted as inferior, which was enclosed in space, nature, religion and spirituality. The binary created was one of modernity and tradition. The western European countries were all torchbearers of the modern while the countries of the East were traditional and backward.

The twentieth century that came into shape at the conclusion of the Second World War would, to a scholar from the global South, have had some other distinctive features, often overlooked by those who write world histories. From the standpoint of colonized nations, the second half of the twentieth century was most significantly marked by the fact of decolonization. Indonesia, India, and Ceylon were among the countries that gained independence in the near aftermath of the end of hostilities between Japan and the United States, and, throughout the 1950s, liberation struggles continued to free countries from the grip of colonial powers. At the same time, the new geopolitical order that was coming into shape saw much of the world coming under the sway of American culture, even in countries where the reach of Marxist ideology was not insignificant. The case of India is illustrative in this respect: though Jawaharlal Nehru, who became free India's first Prime Minister and held on to that position through several general elections until his death in 1964, had committed the country to a position of non-alignment, he continued to entertain the hope that the Soviet Union would show the way to genuine socialism. The relations between India and the United States remained testy, and under Mrs. Indira Gandhi India, which suspected that the Americans had much of the same attitude towards India as displayed by its former colonizers, unquestionably showed signs of leaning towards the Soviet Union. Yet, even though the Soviet Union made a concerted attempt to win over the Indian middle class and intellectuals by marketing in nearly all of India's cities highly subsidized editions of Marx, Lenin, Pushkin, Gorky, and other Russian writers, India's educated elites had long since gravitated towards the ideals associated with the West. It is not only that the American Center, the cultural wing of the American Embassy, was more successful in the aggressive promotion of American consumer goods, ideas of success, or notions of liberty.

Whatever limited works on the non western societies were available; it apparently displayed the bias against them. The institutional preoccupation was so deep that differences in cultural settings and ideological frameworks of different countries were completely ignored. Also, most of the scholars studying the field downgraded the colonised people, their society and culture in their work. They took some countries of the West as the reference point and

judged the non western categories based on them. So the institutions of Britain, France and Germany served as the archetypes for the world. This bias towards the western civilization, race, culture and presumption of its superiority denotes ethnocentrism. At times, it amounted to being insensitive to the history, culture, traditions and colonial legacies of those societies. Third world creatively responded to this western hegemony with ‘third world perspective’ that proposed their way of looking and engaging with the world. It was felt that in order to grapple with the world; one must know the nature of distribution of power, privileges and recourses in one’s society and how they manifest. Second, post colonial societies must analyse the alternative futures.

3.3 Meaning of Eurocentrism

Eurocentrism is seen to be dividing knowledge between the West and the non- West. Here the idea that human civilization originated in the European experience of modernity becomes important. It makes Europe the centre of the narrative and also the analysis of growth. It was due to Europe’s superiority and its control of the world that provided the conditions for Europe’s ascendance and also created a scientific language that legitimized this perspective and made it into a universal truth. This truth creation becomes important as it emerged as the standard for understanding all forms of realities in different parts of the world. The two important foundations of Eurocentrism are: i) Evolutionism: The belief that Western societies evolved higher than the non-Western societies. It follows the logic established by Charles Darwin in *On the Origin of Species* that looked into how species have progressed over the years. The logic embedded in his writing is of the survival of the fittest. ii) Dualism: It stresses on the idea of Europe and the West being the fountainhead of knowledge, making them more powerful, which in turn is highlighted against the non-West, which was traditional. Thus, we see the creation of binary oppositions which is hierarchised leading to the formation of a dualism of the “self” and the “other”. In the arena of colonial history, and in the study of colonial forms of knowledge, where Said’s influence was most perceptible, Said was among those who laid bare the presumptions of Eurocentrism. Orientalist scholars appear as the wise and knowing subjects who represent the Orient not merely to the West but to the Orient itself: those who cannot represent themselves must be represented by others. Said himself had anticipated a yet more profound problem, to which he gave the term “second-order Orientalism”. A vast edifice of knowledge was created under the rubric of colonialism, giving rise to institutional modalities – in the case of India, for example, the Trigonometric Survey, the Geological Survey, the Archaeological Survey, and many others – as well as grammar and dictionaries of Indian languages,

besides, of course, histories, ethnographies, revenue studies, catalogues of native customs, and much else. Indian scholars inherited many of the assumptions with which the colonial state and its functionaries worked, replicating them in their work – even when they assumed that they were contesting such assumptions. In the meanwhile, two other developments came to the fore: while scholars working on India, Africa, and Latin America began to show an awareness of the acute complicity between imperialist and nationalist histories, in the West itself there would be a resurgence of “world history”. Some scholars argue that world history is the best antidote to both colonial and nationalist histories: indeed, the very enterprise, taking the “world” as the object of inquiry, seems dressed in the language of ecumenism, and some of its most well-known advocates are certain that a judicious practice of world history is one way of working towards a more equitable world.

3.4 Eurocentricism in Comparative Politics

The Global South are generally the economically less developed countries, which consists of a variety of states with diverse levels of economic, cultural and political influence in the international order. As mentioned earlier, these countries have remained poor due to the enforcement of centuries of colonialism and imperialism. Hence, Europe and the West are directly responsible for their ‘subaltern’ position, a process that still continues. Their subordinate position is also reflected in them being not studied in the theories of comparative politics. The absence of the perspectives from the Global South in comparative political studies is a grave injustice as it means turning a blind eye to the voices of the majority of the global population. There is a strong need to broaden the field of comparative political studies and incorporate the voices of the Global South so as to bring about a more just and representative understanding of comparative politics. According to scholars comparative political studies simply emphasises on concepts that do not reflect the reality in many Global South states. Their perspectives are absent or under-theorised in mainstream scholarship. Still, in the present age, colonial dominations profoundly shape the state of the current global order, which is not attributed in comparative political studies. Under this, issues of race and empire are missing from mainstream theories despite the presence of postcolonial and post-structural studies. It needs to be understood that the non-West or the Global South are able to build their own understandings of comparative political studies based on their histories and social theories. A form of indigenous theory from the Global South that has played a prominent role in contributing to comparative political studies are ‘subaltern studies’. The works of Homi Bhaba on subaltern studies and Arjun Appadurai on globalization are seen to be rebelling against Orientalism and Western dominance. Postcolonialism is seen as attempting to dismantle relativism and binary distinctions as seen

in the form of centre and periphery, First World – Third World and North-South. However, as Aijaz Ahmad writes, postcolonialism is seen to be not producing fresh knowledge about the Third World, instead, it restructures existing bodies of knowledge into the poststructuralist paradigm. It then occupies sites of cultural production outside of Euro-American zones by globalizing concerns and orientations originating at the central sites of Euro-American cultural production. Hence, non-Western attempts are seen to be heavily influenced by the West. This is due to the non-Western attempts basically framed within the cultural discourses originating from the West.

The universal/global assumption of comparative political studies is also seen to be reflected in policies that shape international politics. An important way through which this is seen to be happening is through assumptions that originate in Western modes of thinking. An example of this is seen in the context of ‘development’ - a word that has the power to dictate national and international policies and attract vast sums of money. One of the ways through which Western notions of development and economic progress gets imposed in the non-West is through the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals and their successors, the Sustainable Development Goals. These global initiatives are based on an understanding of development that sees many countries in the Global South as not having achieved the economic progress of the north. They involve targets that every country in the world agree to strive towards and to fund. Under this, there is an imposition of Western values and understandings regarding development and progress in the non-West. There have been strong challenges towards this Western understanding of development as an organizing principle in international politics. This is seen to be emerging from the dependency theory, which is a major contribution from Latin American scholars in comparative political studies. It emphasizes that underdevelopment and poverty are the results of political, economic and cultural influences exerted on the Global South from outside. The relationship between the Global South and Global North is termed as exploitative and unfair. This is due to the ways the Global South has been incorporated into the world economic system through capitalist development, which has exploited human and material resources and disrupted indigenous modes of production. The current economic relations between the Global South and Global North will not help the South to develop at all. Instead, the Global South will be poorer than the North. The Dependency theorists’ stress on the need for a complete restructuring of the entire international economic system to deliver economic justice for the world’s poor. One sees a continuation of colonisation in the Global South, which is termed as neocolonialism. Scholars have stated that in the final years of formal colonialism, the departing colonial powers brought a set of new policies and programmes that led to the establishment of domination over Global South economies.

3.5 Effect of Eurocentrism in Comparative Politics

In the present circumstances, the enterprise of world history, from whatsoever angle it is attempted, must be disowned and repudiated, certainly viewed far more critically than it has been so far. But let me push the argument further: keeping in mind the enormous inequities in the world system, the vastly different conditions under which research is conducted and produced in the North and the South, and the dominance of modern knowledge systems, there can be no more desirable outcome than to reduce *certain* contacts between cultures and reject *certain* kinds of conversations and exchanges. In the totalizing conditions of modern knowledge, perhaps best encapsulated now in the primacy accorded to historical knowledge, the intellectual and political imperative must remain one of increasing incommensurability. The intellectual project of the disciplines runs contrary to this dissenting politics, and to aim at a better knowledge of the world from within the framework of the categories deployed by the modern sciences is to do little more than to ripen the conditions under which oppression takes place. Even the most radical historians are unable to write the history of the ahistorical except as a form of pre-history, primitivism, or irrational myth-making, just as the most radical economists, while attentive to considerations of distributive justice, minimum wages, and the like, are unable to bring themselves to an acceptance of the view that the entire paradigm of “growth” may have to be rejected.

3.6 Conclusion

If there is a prognosis for the social sciences in the twenty-first century, which might introduce into the dominant frameworks some dissent that has not already been rendered captive by numerous models that are posturing as dissent, it is this: the historical mode may have to be compelled to pave way for the mythic and the ahistorical; the formalized platitudes of the social sciences will, at the very least, have to be brought into an engagement with folk, vernacular, subjugated, and recessive forms of knowing; and the claims of Western forms of universality will have to be adjudged not only against the strengths of local knowledge systems, but against competing universalisms which are content with a less totalizing reach. Thus might the stranglehold of Eurocentrism on which is taken as “knowledge” be broken. The model of state-building in the West is in the form of the Westphalian nation-state, which has its origins in Europe. There has been an export of the same model throughout the world, with ideas of state interaction such as realism, liberalism or Marxism emerging from knowledge, traditions in the West. Even the criticisms against the Western comparative political studies are coming from Western social, political theories. In response to these, the unit. Still, in conclusion, there is a steady rise in voices from the Global South

which is highly important as it is needed to bring about notions of equity and justice in comparative political studies.

3.7 Summing up

- In fact till 1980s most of the works in Comparative Politics revolved around the political institutions of American and some European nations considered the archetypes. This preoccupation of the comparative politics with the west that at best ignored and sometimes also derided the developing societies is known as Euro centrism.
- It has been the influence of Cultural Relativism, Post modernism, Multiculturalism and such other critical theories that compelled an anti-eurocentric turn of the discourse to become sensitive, diverse, open and inclusive.
- Looked into the so-called Perspectives from the Global South, which has remained scattered and somewhat incoherent.

If there is a prognosis for the social sciences in the twenty-first century, which might introduce into the dominant frameworks some dissent that has not already been rendered captive by numerous models that are posturing as dissent, it is this: the historical mode may have to be compelled to pave way for the mythic and the ahistorical; the formalized platitudes of the social sciences will, at the very least, have to be brought into an engagement with folk, vernacular, subjugated, and recessive forms of knowing; and the claims of Western forms of universality will have to be adjudged not only against the strengths of local knowledge systems, but against competing universalisms which are content with a less totalizing reach. Thus might the stranglehold of Eurocentrism on what is taken as “knowledge” be broken.

The model of state-building in the West is in the form of the Westphalian nation-state, which has its origins in Europe. There has been an export of the same model throughout the world, with ideas of state interaction such as realism, liberalism or Marxism emerging from knowledge traditions in the West. Even the criticisms against the Western comparative political studies are coming from Western social, political theories. In response to these, the unit looked into the so-called Perspectives from the Global South, which has remained scattered and somewhat incoherent. Still, in conclusion, there is a steady rise in voices from the Global South which is highly important as it is needed to bring about notions of equity and justice in comparative political studies. In fact till 1980s most of the works in Comparative Politics revolved around the political institutions of American and some European nations

considered the archetypes. This preoccupation of the comparative politics with the west that at best ignored and sometimes also derided the developing societies is known as Eurocentrism. It has been the influence of Cultural Relativism, Post modernism, Multiculturalism and such other critical theories that compelled the discourse to become sensitive, diverse, open and inclusive.

2.7: Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Discuss the effect of Eurocentrism in comparative politics.
2. Analyse the various ways in which Eurocentrism developed

Short Questions :

1. Describe the ways in which non-West tried to resist Eurocentrism
2. Explain the contribution of Third World leaders in highlighting Eurocentrism in comparative politics.

Objective Questions :

1. Mention the important foundation of Eurocentrism
2. Mention one feature of Eurocentrism
3. Name one proponent of 'subaltern studies'.

3.9 Further Reading

1. Grovogu, Siba. (2011). 'A Revolution Nonetheless: The Global South in International Relations'. *The Global South*. 5 (1), 175-190.
2. Patel, Sujata. (2015). 'Beyond divisions and towards Internationalism: Social Sciences in the Twenty-first Century' in Carol Johnson, Vera Mackie and Tessa Morris-Suzuki (eds) *The Social Sciences in the Asian Century*. Australia. Australia National University Press.
3. Said, Edward. (1979). *Orientalism*. London. Routledge.
4. Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1989). *Before European hegemony: The world system A.D. 1250–1350*. New York: Oxford University Press

Unit 4 Going Beyond Eurocentrism

Structure:

- 4.1 Objective
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Eurocentrism and beyond
- 4.4 Beyond Eurocentrism in Comparative Politics
- 4.5 Non-West and Comparative Politics
- 4.6 Conclusion
- 4.7 Summing up
- 4.8 Probable Questions
- 4.9 Further Reading

4.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the ways and means by which comparative political studies went beyond eurocentrism.
- know the methodological issues involved therein
- know the viewpoint of third world countries towards comparative studies

4.2 Introduction

Methodological Eurocentrism bears first an epistemological consequence as it suppresses alternative modes of knowledge – indigenous, local, or non-Western – thereby universalizing itself. On an institutional level, Western academia pool resources to the West and delegitimizes non-Western knowledge as ‘unscientific’. Non-Western students at home and abroad study ‘foundational texts’ from Plato to Max Weber without questioning their history and in turn look to their society through such ideas. Their incongruence with non-Western realities notwithstanding, their continued perpetuation could result in certain ‘self-fulfilling prophecies’ wherein Western perceptions and theories are internalized by those with power

to shape non-Western societies, thus reinforcing their ‘universal’ veneer. Whereas Western scholars before ‘Orientalized’ non-Western subjects, these subjects now Orientalize themselves: The (nationalistic) reaffirmation of a Chinese identity as Confucian or Indian identity as Hindu, despite their initial European construction through the texts of missionaries and ethnographers.

4.3 Eurocentrism and beyond

An understanding of Eurocentrism (and its methodological variety) requires some background into the disparate scholarship that valorized it: Postcolonial studies. Despite its deliberate heterogeneity and refusal of definition, there are common elements that can be identified. Postcolonial studies have a deconstructionist mode of analysis that transcends conventional disciplinary boundaries, with traceable inspirations from poststructuralist and postmodern authors like Foucault and Derrida. Methodological Eurocentrism refers to the idea that social science remains deeply Eurocentric, in that concepts and theories developed in Western historical settings and by Western academics can be universally apply everywhere to produce value-free knowledge. Western scientific knowledge is understood as true, universal, and objective. Analytically, methodological Eurocentrism goes beyond the general/specific dichotomy and cuts across disciplinary debates of structure/agency or materialism/idealism.

Methodological Eurocentrism bears first an epistemological consequence as it suppresses alternative modes of knowledge – indigenous, local, or non-Western – thereby universalizing itself. On an institutional level, Western academia pool resources to the West and delegitimizes non-Western knowledge as ‘unscientific’. Non-Western students at home and abroad study ‘foundational texts’ from Plato to Max Weber without questioning their history and in turn look to their society through such ideas. Their incongruence with non-Western realities notwithstanding, their continued perpetuation could result in certain ‘self-fulfilling prophecies’ wherein Western perceptions and theories are internalized by those with power to shape non-Western societies, thus reinforcing their ‘universal’ veneer. Whereas Western scholars before ‘Orientalized’ non-Western subjects, these subjects now Orientalize themselves: The (nationalistic) reaffirmation of a Chinese identity as Confucian or Indian identity as Hindu, despite their initial European construction through the texts of missionaries and ethnographers.

The universality of methodological Eurocentrism holds an implicit teleology and essentialism. Understanding concepts such as ‘political modernity’ inevitably invoke and engage the intellectual and theological traditions of Europe, while those beyond the West

are often disregarded or treated only as secondary materials. Here, Dipesh Chakrabarty critiques the ascription of 'pre-political', 'archaic', and 'traditional' or the secularizing logic as a sign of modernity in Hobsbawm's analysis of Indian peasant revolts. In the words of Dipesh Chakrabarty: "Historicism converted history itself into a version of [the] waiting room. We were all headed for the same destination ... but some people were to arrive earlier than others." We see instances of this in such declarations of Western liberal democracy as "the end of history." In the process, methodological Eurocentrism essentializes both the West and the Rest, through time and space. One end of the spectrum is the West – with identifiers of civilization, developed, democracy, rule of law – while the other end is the Rest – with perennial uncivilization, *developing*, authoritarian, and lawlessness. This bears upon our analytical prowess when such terms do not capture the subjects' diverse and changing realities, yet still used by virtue of their 'convenience' in political rhetoric and analysis.

Methodological Eurocentrism fuels a disciplinary divide as well. While much of these critiques is most felt in the humanities and international relations, their impact is less in political *science*. The crisis of confidence brought by the end of the Cold War has affected the former, though not enough to supplant the hegemonic Eurocentrism in a study of politics with 'scientific' aspirations. Demarcation exists within the humanities as well. "History belongs to the colonizers", separated from the anthropological realm of tradition and 'other cultures'. Non-Western subjectivities are treated effectively as exhibits in museums without much bearing on the present realities. That the intimate relationship between anthropology and colonialism likely contributed to its appreciation of postmodern and postcolonial critiques. Yet these newfound cultural sensibilities by anthropology contributed to its marginality as a 'science', critiqued by more 'scientific' endeavors for being too particularistic and unscientific.

Till 1980s most of the works in Comparative Politics revolved around the political institutions of American and some European nations considered the archetypes. This preoccupation of the comparative politics with the west that at best ignored and sometimes also derided the developing societies is known as **Euro centrism**. It has been the influence of Cultural Relativism, Post modernism, Multiculturalism and such other critical theories that compelled the discourse to become sensitive, diverse, open and inclusive. Whatever limited works on the non western societies were available; it apparently displayed the bias against them. The institutional preoccupation was so deep that differences in cultural settings and ideological frameworks of different countries were completely ignored. Also, most of the

scholars studying the field downgraded the colonised people, their society and culture in their work. They took some countries of the West as the reference point and judged the non western categories based on them. So the institutions of Britain, France and Germany served as the archetypes for the world. This bias towards the western civilization, race, culture and presumption of its superiority denotes ethnocentrism. At times, it amounted to being insensitive to the history, culture, traditions and colonial legacies of those societies. Third world creatively responded to this western hegemony with ‘third world perspective’ that proposed their way of looking and engaging with the world. It was felt that in order to grapple with the world; one must know the nature of distribution of power,

4.4 Beyond Eurocentrism in Comparative Politics

Postcolonial analysis or paralysis: The dangers of reductionist particularism

Searing though postcolonial critiques are, they are not without own analytical tensions. Immediately we see an issue in its definition: *What exactly is the postcolonial?* The sheer heterogeneity of the colonial experience across the Latin America, Africa, Asia, even North America, brings into question the usefulness of the term ‘postcolonial’. This is especially striking with the relative absence of the Asian experience and critics within a scholarship seemingly dominated by South Asian, Middle Eastern, and African scholars. Even the colonial enterprises themselves operated differently from each other – at times competing – rather than being monolithic (as ‘The West’). As a conceptual framework, ‘postcolonial’ stands to ignore certain particularities of the colonial experience and more refined terminology (e.g., neocolonial, anti-colonial) to justify itself as a viable mode of critique.

This brings us to another paradox of postcolonialism: That it, too, essentializes, despite its anti-universalism and anti-essentialism. For one, the insistence on the colonial encounter seems to reify its totality in restructuring the global experience and the complete lack of agency on the part of the colonized. The prevalent themes of hybridity and ambivalence therein function almost like metanarrative of the human condition, much like the postmodern ‘ironic metanarrative’ that there is no metanarrative. Both postcolonial and postmodern thoughts appear to reify existing social, political, and temporal differences and forego agency (because agential capacity is conditioned by totalizing discourses). Their points of departure eventually arrive at a reductionist particularism: Everyone at every moment is fundamentally different from each other. This precludes any possibility of knowing and acting to affect the status quo, because all actions either inflict violence upon difference or are preconditioned by existing discourses.

By relativizing Western modernity and Eurocentrism, postcolonialism is silent on why Eurocentrism was able to achieve its universal status. By overemphasizing culture and discourse, postcolonialism reduces Eurocentrism to merely another ethnocentrism and ironically accepts Eurocentrism and its West/Rest binary as ‘given’ universals, without explaining why it became so universalistic. This problematically implies a superiority of Euro-American values without specifying the content of such values that led to their hegemony, ignoring capitalism (indeed a Marxist *metanarrative*) as constitutive element of the colonial encounter that has now globalized. These prevailing issues deprive postcolonialism of any meaningful praxis and render postcolonial authors complicit in the maintenance of global Western hegemony. Such an accusation is not unwarranted: The most prominent postcolonial authors are tenured within the most prestigious Western institutions (Columbia University, for example, houses already Spivak and Said, two out of three towering figures in the scholarship).

The challenge against methodological Eurocentrism has engaged in an active *deconstruction* of Eurocentric assumptions, without any prospects of an alternative *reconstruction*. What is needed is a re-engagement with the universal, but in a way that does not reduce the differences of the subjects within said universal. Instead of understanding the universal as teleological with a parochial and homogenizing content, we may reconceptualize it as open and heterogenous, recognizing its inevitable historical unevenness and combination of interactive differences. In other words, an alternative to Eurocentric capitalist modernity can only be conceived in a construction of holistic social theory. Spivak herself acknowledged this necessity before with the notion of strategic essentialism: That practical political resistance inevitably requires a degree of essentialized (universalized) identity around which one can mobilize, but with an awareness of its contextual limits and the identity as means, not goal.

Postcolonial critiques furnished our awareness of our political dispositions in knowledge-making, but that extends as well to a position of indifference. Instead, heeding Bruno Latour’s argument, we should move beyond a mode of critique for the sake of critique, not to “get away from facts but closer to them, not fighting empiricism but, on the contrary, renewing empiricism.” In this sense of ‘renewing empiricism’, there will be always be some form and degree of essentialism in our categorization, critical or analytical – the analytics of essentialism is almost synonymous with categorization, generalization, and induction, thus unavoidable in any sort of social analysis. Much as we are guarded against sweeping overgeneralization, we should similarly keep our anti-essentialism targeted.

How do we move from a methodological Eurocentrism towards a constructive and non-Eurocentric methodology? Area studies given its deliberately particular and bounded (areal) focus is the best option.. To furnish constructive arguments, I address first the critiques: Its ulterior motives during the Cold War, the artificiality of its ‘areas’, and a secondary position to only test Eurocentric hypotheses. On the first critique, the end of the Cold War, much like the field of international relations, has compelled areas studies to reinvent itself and appreciate the critiques launched against it. Secondly, ‘areas’ (East Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, etc.) are only geographical demarcation, which in away serves a practical rather than epistemological purpose. ‘Areas’ are arguably less artificial than, for example, the disciplinary demarcation between political science and sociology, which often overlaps. Conversely, area studies prioritize an interdisciplinary commitment and contextual understanding of a certain area, paying attention to both particularities but not precluding generalizations, to capture more fully the dynamics of said area. Areas themselves do not erase difference, but exist alongside subunits (nations, provinces, etc.), just as both Asian studies and Japan studies are co-constitutive. The notion of ‘areas’ furnish a capacity for regional analysis, which enables an account of, for example, a budding European identity as larger than the sum of its nations. The most enduring critique thus would be the relegation of area studies to particularism and empirical testing, unable to transcend towards universal theories – a methodological Eurocentrism at core.

Yet area studies can still overcome methodological Eurocentrism. This is not a recourse to methodological nationalism, producing as many ‘indigenous’ national schools of thoughts which are derivative of self-Orientalization in its aspirations to European capitalist modernity. Nor is this to carve out an exclusive space by-Asian-for-Asian theorizing which ultimately would produce particularistic knowledge applicable to only Asia. The point, precisely, is to produce knowledge with contextually-bound observations that is generalizable and useful elsewhere. As has been made clear by postcolonialism, all knowledge is preconditioned within their production. The next step, then, is to universalize knowledge produced within non-Eurocentric contexts. It is with a throughgoing engagement with universalizability that area studies can contest methodological Eurocentrism, decenter Western modes of knowledge production, not by destructive ‘uprooting’ Western tradition but elevating non-Western knowledge.

4.5 Non-West and Comparative Politics

There are two concrete examples for universalizability-as-praxis. As Giovanni Sartori has pointed out, the expansion of ‘politics’ brings about the risk of ‘conceptual stretching’

that ‘waters down’ conceptual and analytical precision. There is thus a real need for theorization from non-Western empirical settings. One notable demonstration is the Murdoch School in Australia that theorizes from Southeast Asian state formation experience a more encompassing political economy theory that incorporates both structural and sociocultural factors. It finds that Weberian approaches, through focusing on ideal-types and bureaucratization, do not explain well the uneven and historically specific developments of Southeast Asian political economy. Historical institutionalism, on the other hand, by overemphasizing autonomy of institutions, is unable to explain why particular institutions exist or change, particularly Southeast Asian ‘institutions’ that are usually deeply wedded into sociocultural contexts, not quite rationalized or autonomous. In this sense, the Murdoch School challenges methodological Eurocentrism by providing a viable, generalizable competing alternative, while still paying attention to contextual specificity. It concurs with Charles Tilly that “history matters” but does not preclude the possibility of transhistorical explanations, such as Tilly’s WUNC configuration.

Another example is the emerging practice of Inter-Asia referencing by Asian scholars that decenters Western frames of comparisons. Inter-Asia referencing refers to the rising academic practice of Asian scholars where they cite more than just Western scholarship and include Asian works, and critically approach Western theories. While methodological Eurocentrism, with its pooling of resources and hegemonic knowledge production, casts non-European realities as lesser versions of the West, inter-Asia referencing allows Asian scholarship to ‘take itself seriously’ and paves the ways for new universals. Inter-Asia referencing is most prominent in export-oriented industrialization, urban development, and regionalization of popular culture, wherein there are ‘Asian’ specificities in economics and cultures that require a supple Asian – beyond a strictly Western – perspective. Nonetheless, the concentration of inter-Asia referencing in what appears to be products of Asian capitalism casts certain doubts into whether it can meaningfully provide alternative to capitalist modernity. An observation by Arif Dirlik is relevant here: “Although the agencies that are located in EuroAmerica maybe the promoters of Eurocentrism, they are by now the not the only ones, and possibly not the most important ones.” We might, instead, find viable alternatives beyond Asia, in Latin America with the indigenous experience and the outgrowing of rights-based discourse, for example. As such, area studies, with the promise of pluralized and complementary knowledge productions, is particularly promising.

The Political Culture approach appeared in 1960s, offering a larger canvass and greater inclusivity. This approach emphasised the study of set of belief, orientation and attitudes, governing the polities. Psychological and historical dimensions of the societies and citizens were highlighted. Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba initiated the discourse on

political culture and Arendt Lijphart made required modifications to it. The most recent approach that has created considerable interest in the field is the New Institutionalism that came in late 1970s. It symbolises the renewed interest in studying the vitality of institutions. Important work in this regard has been done by James G. March and Johan P. Olsen. This approach called upon the researchers to take into account the interaction of the institutions amongst themselves and its effect on the society. It shifted the focus to study how these institutions influence citizens, organisations, associations and other variables in that society. In this way we see that Comparative Politics is continuously evolving by inputs coming from various directions and new ways of understanding.

Dependency theory was the first non western attempt to analyse the world from the perspective of the marginalised nations. It was able to overcome problems of modernisation paradigm, but only partly. Even this thesis became outdated after sometime as it was over occupied in the core-periphery analysis and failed to factor in crucial variables and determinants like the role of gender, race, culture, ethnicity etc in its ambit. It also undermined the historical legacies, cultural constructs and specificities of particular societies. At the same time it was unjustified to put all developing countries under one umbrella. It ignored the distinct experiences of different third world countries that underwent colonial rule. For Example, the experience of French colonial regime was very different and more repressive in Algeria compared to the British colonial rule in India. Different countries had witnessed different kinds of anti-colonial struggles, based on their specific experiences of colonialism, their own histories of myth and traditions of protest, distinct political ideologies, intellectual contributions and stemming out of them, different visions for the futures. However, dependency school failed to catch specific historical traditions and distinctiveness of third world societies. Insufficiency of these theories led to the de-legitimisation of all the available modes of analysis, creating somewhat chaos in the field.

4.6 Conclusion

Dependency theory was the first non western attempt to analyse the world from the perspective of the marginalised nations. It was able to overcome problems of modernisation paradigm, but only partly. Even this thesis became outdated after sometime as it was over occupied in the core-periphery analysis and failed to factor in crucial variables and determinants like the role of gender, race, culture, ethnicity etc in its ambit. It also undermined the historical legacies, cultural constructs and specificities of particular societies. At the same time it was unjustified to put all developing countries under one umbrella. It ignored the distinct experiences of different third world countries that underwent colonial rule. For

example, the experience of French colonial regime was very different and more repressive in Algeria compared to the British colonial rule in India. Different countries had witnessed different kinds of anti-colonial rule in India. Different countries had witnessed different kinds of anti-colonial struggles, based on their specific experiences of colonialism, their own histories of myth and traditions of protest, distinct political ideologies, intellectual contributions and stemming out of them, different visions for the futures. However, dependency school failed to catch specific historical traditions and distinctiveness of third world societies. Insufficiency of these theories led to the de-legitimisation of all the available modes of analysis, creating somewhat chaos in the field.

4.7 Summing up

- One of biggest challenge to comparative politics is that how it can get rid of its apparent ethnocentric bias and at the same time, make itself open and sensitive to peculiarities of the third world and understand reasons behind it.
- Rejection of ethnocentrism also amounts to treating all discourses emanating from such societies at par and of equal research concern to the field.
- The discipline must come out of its prejudices and seek for newer possibilities that may come from developing societies.
- Also, the attempt of comparativists should be to sensitise itself to the voices coming from marginalised section from such societies as this could lead to discovery of diverse versions of history and politics of these societies.

4.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Discuss the effect of eurocentrism in methodology of knowledge generation.
2. Analyse the various ways in which Eurocentrism can be overcome methodologically.

Short Questions :

1. Describe the ways in which comparative politics went beyond eurocentrism.
2. Explain the contribution of Third World countries in helping comparative politics to go beyond.

Objective Questions :

1. Name a proponent of dependency theory
2. Identify one feature of post colonial critique of eurocentrism.
3. When did the political Culture approach emerge ?

4.9 Further Reading

1. Sartori, Giovanni. "Concept misformation in comparative politics." *The American political science review* 64.4 (1970): 1033-1053.
2. Phillips, Anne. "What's wrong with essentialism?." *Distinktion: Scandinavian journal of social theory* 11.1 (2010): 47-60
3. Rattansi, Ali. "Postcolonialism and its discontents." *Economy and society* 26.4 (1997): 480-500.
4. Dirlik, Arif. "Is there history after Eurocentrism?: Globalism, postcolonialism, and the disavowal of history." *Cultural Critique* 42 (1999): 1-34.
5. Dirlik, Arif. "The postcolonial aura: Third World criticism in the age of global capitalism." *Critical inquiry* 20.2 (1994): 328-356.

Unit 5 □ Recent Trends in Comparative Politics

Structure:

- 5.1 Objective**
- 5.2 Introduction**
- 5.3 New Methods in Comparative Politics**
- 5.4 New Issues in Comparative Politics**
- 5.5 New Areas of Study in Comparative Politics**
- 5.6 Conclusion**
- 5.7 Summing up**
- 5.8 Probable Questions**
- 5.9 Further Reading**

5.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the new methods of comparative politics
- know new issue areas of comparative political research and study
- know the real-world problems faced by comparative politics in 21st century.

5.2 Introduction

Described as an ‘eclectic progressive’ development, the discipline started with formal legal and institutional comparisons, moved to an almost exclusive focus on individuals (the ‘behavioural revolution’), rediscovered the importance of institutions (the advent of the ‘new institutionalism’), while continuously struggling with the question of culture. In response to patterns of globalization, comparative politics has become even more explicit in its attention to international variables, while international relations has paid more attention to the role that domestic variables play in shaping international behaviour. While the substantive foci, inclusion of variables, and theoretical perspectives with which to examine them are more eclectic and open to change than ever before, the importance of systematic comparison

and the need for inferential rigour, despite attempts to argue otherwise, has remained constant. In addition to the many strengths and weaknesses of the different comparative methods outlined in this book, there are several new developments in the field that will continue to improve its ability to make strong inferences about the political world. These include important issues of data collection and analysis, the transcendence of traditional boundaries in the field, and the development of new analytic software and comparative techniques. New techniques for combining quantitative and qualitative methods have been developed to offer more holistic explanations for political outcomes. Future comparative studies may want to adopt this strategy, which strikes a balance between quantitative and qualitative approaches while remaining systematic.

5.3 New Methods in Comparative Politics

The period of ‘new eclecticism’ recognizes and even celebrates the plurality of topics, theories, and methods in comparative politics. But this eclecticism and claim of methodological pluralism does not mean ‘anything goes’. Rather, as Part I has made clear, the method adopted and the research design that is formulated are a function of both the type of research question that is being addressed and the theoretical perspective that has been adopted. There is not a unity of method in comparative politics, but as in more general developments in the philosophy of the social sciences, there is now the practice of ‘cognitive instrumentalism’, which applies the necessary theoretical and methodological tools to a series of important and challenging political puzzles. But as new issues emerge and new research questions are posed, the key for comparative politics in providing sound answers to such new puzzles is systematic analysis

The ‘Perestroikan’ movement primarily based in the United States, criticizes the discipline’s over-emphasis on method and mathematical sophistication, leading the profession to lose sight of political puzzles and problems and/or providing answers that are largely unintelligible to policy makers and practitioners. The main charge of the movement is that the discipline has become highly ‘technicist’ and ‘statistical’, where method is given greater weight than substance. The movement argues that more weight should be given to substance over method, effectively loosening the rules of inquiry and the logic of inference, while providing ‘distinctive insights into substantive political questions’ (Smith 2002:10). Flyvbjerg (2001, 2006) proposes a way of recapturing the substance of politics and making political science ‘matter’. Flyvbjerg challenges fundamentally the desire and attempt within the social sciences to emulate the natural sciences (i.e. its appeal to observable events and the logic of inference advocated in King *et al.* 1994). He draws on a short passage in

Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* on the 'chief intellectual virtues' to build a framework for conducting more holistic social scientific analysis that pays greater attention to the rich complexity of context, while offering a deeper understanding of politics that moves beyond the narrow techno-rationalism of certain dominant strands in contemporary political science. In particular, he uses Aristotle's virtues of knowledge (*episteme*), craft (*techné*), and practical wisdom (*phronesis*) to build what he sees is a more complete approach to studying social phenomena. Where *episteme* refers to abstract and universal knowledge (e.g. the rational individual) and *techné* to the specific 'know-how associated with practicing a craft', *phronesis* comes from an 'intimate familiarity with the contingencies and uncertainties of various forms of social practice embedded in complex social settings'. Of course, many have referred to this idea more colloquially as 'getting your feet wet in the mud' through knowing your cases and the political contexts in which you are working. *Phronesis* is thus 'situated practical reasoning' and for Flyvbjerg, it ought to be at the centre of social science research. While he does not seek to displace *episteme* and *techné* altogether, which he sees as the essential features of the natural science model of social inquiry, he does want to recapture *phronesis* and place it on an equal footing to these other two elements. While not abandoning methodological concerns altogether, this proposition for political science and complementary arguments put forth more generally by the Perestroika movement argues that political science research 'may not be methodologically innovative, unusually precise, or indeed mathematical, but [it must] nonetheless [provide] fresh empirical evidence and well-reasoned arguments sufficient to judge some positions on important issues to be more credible than others' (Smith 2002:B10). In this sense, the movement is making a call to re-balance the discipline away from an emphasis on *explanation* towards a greater emphasis on *understanding*. This duality between explanation and understanding, much like other dualities in the social sciences (e.g. universality and particularity, qualitative analysis ongoing debate and refinement of comparative quantitative methods, such an evolution in the inferences about the relationship between development and democracy would not have been possible.

5.4 New Issues in Comparative Politics

The proliferation of new issues and the examination of old ones continue to provide an ample supply of research topics for systematic comparative analysis. The accretion of comparative methods that has developed over the years provides scholars with a rich 'tool-chest' to examine and explain observed political phenomena in the world. Continued developments in information and communications technology will make the world a smaller

place and ought to encourage an ethos of replication, develop a network of shared knowledge, build a stronger comparative-research community, and for certain research areas, promote links with the field of international relations. Dialogue, transparency, and intellectual honesty about the links between research questions, methods, and inferences in comparative politics will provide the basis for a thriving and fruitful discipline.

The discipline of Comparative politics has had its share of struggles and distress due to some of apparent limitations inherent in it. From its subject matter to the methodology, there are many matters of contentions. As Lijphart states that the term “comparative politics” indicates the how but does not specify the what of the analysis. In comparative politics there is no longer any central body of literature, any grand theory, any set of concepts arrived consensually; which can function as fulcrum of analysis. This has further accentuated the ambiguity in the field. Further highlighting the problems, Klaus Von Beyme makes an interesting observation that the comparative politics has been particularly embarrassed by its failure to predict any major political events since Second World War like student rebellion of 1960s, the oil crisis, the rise of new fundamentalism, the collapse of communism in 1989 and all these events came as surprise. This unease in the field was lurking for quite some time and was also felt by the researchers. But it was not clearly outlined that what was the exact nature of the problem that was pulling the stream down. Problems were many however, the most quoted crisis of the discipline was proclaimed by Roy Macridis in 1955. It displayed the dismay of the scholars of this field. Many felt the immediate and drastic need of change in the discipline as it was bogged with primitive Institutionalism and obsolete outlook. Macridis argued that comparative politics was parochial since it focused solely on the experience of Western Europe; that it was descriptive rather than analytical; that it was formalistic and legalistic; and that it highlighted individual case studies rather than comparison of two or more societies. All the works of earlier times in the field fell in the old or classical institutional paradigm. Under institutionalism, studies basically focused only some political institutions of a particular society or at the best compared the government of few societies. Such works have never been comprehensive on any account. Most of the time, they compared legislative and executive branches of some similar countries of Europe. Definitely some very fine works have come from the institutional framework like that of Beard, Finer and many more, but from the modern parameters, they still were captivated in the legal-historical paradigm. Paradoxically, it has been as recent as 1950s that comparative literatures in real sense have come up. The contribution of institutional approach has been that, it offered the first generation of scholarships to the field. The challenge put by Macridis became a watershed catalyzing newer ways and modes of explorations in the field. It depicted the redundancy of the

traditional institutional framework, furthering the urgency of new interventions. Limitations of the discipline were overwhelming and comparativists have to rescue it at the earliest.

The question of utility of comparative politics is concerned with its usefulness and relevance for enhancing our understanding of political reality. It seeks to know how a comparative study helps us understand this reality better. First and foremost, we must bear in mind that political behaviour is common to all human beings and manifests itself in diverse ways and under diverse social and institutional set ups all over the world. It may be said that an understanding of these related and at the same time different political behaviours and patterns is an integral part of our understanding of politics itself. A sound and comprehensive understanding would commonly take the form of comparisons. Partial cooperation with the area of International Relations could also prove beneficial, as considerations in the areas of multi-level analysis and diffusion research have demonstrated. Moreover, many questions of International Politics are anchored within Comparative Politics. Prime examples are themes concerning the external promotion of democracy and the rule of law, as well as the realization of the Millennium Development Goals for developing countries. It is precisely this use of external means which requires sufficient knowledge about internal effect mechanisms, so as to avoid non intended consequences.. If it is therefore correct for the investigation of institutionalized forms of coordination of policy action, and their performance in policy problem solving, to form the focal point of Political Science's analysis of governance, then for Comparative Politics, a rich field of activity will unfold. In the process, multi-level coordination should claim the fullest attention. As already intimated above, the establishment of a large number of governance structures with global, regional or bilateral competence points to the development of a largely functionally conceived, new supranational steering level. With this, multilevel coordination – its success or failure – is becoming an ever-present problem for Political Science, of which the handling necessitates the closest cooperation from all of its sub-disciplines. Comparative Politics can make this knowledge available. Comparative Politics in the 21st century is a collective venture, driven not least, and not insignificantly, by communication within the scientific community.

5.5 New Areas of Study in Comparative Politics

It can thus be reckoned that in the 21st century, within the context of the structural transformation of world society (with the spread of scientific, technical civilisation and the increasing integration and interdependence between countries), as well as looming structural changes (such as climate change, the crisis of the progress paradigm and the incompatibility of traditional and post-modern lifestyles), political institutions will be put under enormous

pressure to govern effectively and at the same time, to secure institutions' own interests, as well as those of established elites. These considerable changes within the subject matter of Comparative Politics signal new directions in thematic profile and research.

Direct our attention to important contexts which provide the incentive for a change in research perspective in Comparative politics. To begin with, we shall look at three not entirely new areas of analysis. Comparative social policy could look more intensively into the problem of divisions within society, a problem accentuated by globalisation, namely the forever growing disparity between that segment of society which profits from the integration of world markets and that which suffers from economic, social and political disintegration.

Comparative research into violence, armed conflict and the causes thereof still does not command the attention it deserves. Current military and other violent conflicts are frequently related to globalisation processes, which in the developing zones of world society limit many states' capacity to act. The systematic investigation of these is essential, so that we may find more effective approaches for their pacification. Much speculation is taking place concerning the logic of new wars, however well-founded, empirical studies (for example in connection with Lebanon, Pakistan, or Darfour), are in short supply. This deficit has however been recognized recently in the area of peace studies . In this context, constructivist and theoretical approaches are gaining in importance.

As far as the analysis of the consequences in terms of power and rule of 'externalised' centres of decision-making in individual policy areas is concerned, comparative policy regime research is still in its infancy. The democracy and legitimacy deficits of international and supranational levels of policy action are indeed the subject of multi-faceted debate, however for all the efforts of the currently flourishing field of Europeanisation research, we know relatively little about the consequences of outsourcing decision-making powers and structures for the organization of policy areas on the one hand and for the stability of governments and nation state-centred democracy on the other.

5.6 Conclusion

Moreover, many questions of International Politics are anchored within Comparative Politics. Prime examples are themes concerning the external promotion of democracy and the rule of law, as well as the realization of the Millennium Development Goals for developing countries. It is precisely this use of external means which requires sufficient knowledge about internal effect mechanisms, so as to avoid non intended consequences. If it is therefore correct for the investigation of institutionalized forms of coordination of policy

action, and their performance in policy problem solving, to form the focal point of Political Science's analysis of governance, then for comparative Politics, a rich field of activity will unfold. In the process, multi-level coordination should claim the fullest attention. As already intimated above, the establishment of a large number of governance structures with global, regional or bilateral competence points to the development of a largely functionally conceived, new supranational steering level. With this, multilevel coordination – its success or failure – is becoming an ever-present problem for Political Science, of which the handling necessitates the closest cooperation from all of its sub-disciplines. Comparative Politics can make this knowledge available. Comparative Politics in the 21st century is a collective venture, driven not least, and not insignificantly, by communication within the scientific community.

5.7 Summing up

- The last few decades have seen wide reaching changes in the context and with it the subject matter of Comparative Politics.
- This has enormous implications for comparative research itself. Comparative Politics in the 21st Century cannot be identical to that of the 20th century. Simply to continue as before would be to overlook the fundamental difficulties inherent in so doing.
- This does not mean however that Comparative Politics should be completely reinvented. Continuities will remain, and rightly so. However it does mean that given the context of significant empirical changes, research has to be rethought and deliberated upon.

5.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Discuss the effect of changes of new millennium in the study of comparative politics.
2. Analyse the various new methods of studying comparative politics.

Short Questions :

1. Describe the new areas of study in comparative politics.
2. Explain the contribution of globalisation in comparative political research.

Objective Questions :

1. Mention one new method in comparative politics
2. Identify one feature of perestroika movement in comparative politics.
3. What is the full form of MDG ?

5.9 Further Reading

1. Erickson, K.P. and Rustow, D.A. (1991) 'Global Research Perspectives: Paradigms, Concepts and Data in a Changing World', in D.A. Rustow and K.P. Erickson (eds) *Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives*, New York: Harper Collins, 441–459.
2. O'Neil, P. (2007) *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, 2nd edition, New York and London: W. W. Norton.

Module - II

Unit 6 □ Capitalism : Meaning and Development

Structure:

- 6.1 Objective**
- 6.2 Introduction**
- 6.3 Meaning of Capitalism**
- 6.4 Characteristic Features of Capitalism**
- 6.5 Marxian Analysis of Capitalism**
- 6.6 Weber's Understanding of Capitalism**
- 6.7 Conclusion**
- 6.8 Summing Up**
- 6.9 Probable Questions**
- 6.10 Further Reading**

6.1: Objective

After going through this unit, the learners will be familiar with –

- meaning and features of capitalism
- historical development of capitalism
- Marx's Interpretation of capitalism
- Weber's analysis of capitalism

6.2: Introduction

Capitalism is a system in which goods and services, down to the most basic necessities of life, are produced for profitable exchange. Under capitalism labour-power is also a commodity for sale in the market and all economic actors are dependent on the market. This is true of the capitalists as well, who depend on the market to buy inputs and sell their output for profit. This clearly perceptible system of market dependence means that the requirements of competition and profit maximization are the fundamental rules of life.

Capitalism with its emphasis on free market and free enterprise is in principle accessible to every individual irrespective of their status or rank in society. Moreover, capitalism seems capable of harnessing the natural resources of the world in order to overcome scarcity of resources and the continuous threat of famine and mass disease characteristic of the pre-capitalist Society. The claims made in favour of capitalism is not without basis. The standard of living of millions of people in the modern world has vastly improved. Scientific and technological research has transformed the face of the earth and created hopes of inventions that could permanently end scarcity in the near future.

However, capitalism has created entrenched inequalities of its own. In the past two centuries the world has witnessed unprecedented economic crises. New diseases and epidemics have arisen and new patterns of scarcity have emerged. The world economy has been beset by the cyclical crises. Periods of economic growth have been followed by spiralling inflation, poverty and economic slowdown.

6.3: Meaning of Capitalism

Capitalism is a controversial concept. Many scholars avoid it. To them it seems too polemical, since it emerged as a term of critique. The word is rarely used by non-Marxist school of economics. But even in Marxist writings it is a late arrival. Marx, while used the adjective capitalists, did not use capitalism as a noun either in the Communist Manifesto or in Capital 1. Only in his correspondence with Russian followers he used it in a discussion of the problem of Russia's transition to capitalism.

It may be said that the concept emerged out of a critical spirit and from a comparative perspective. Usually it was used in order to make observation about one's own era, which was conceived in contrast to earlier conditions, as new and modern. The concept of capitalism emerged mostly in the context of a critical outlook on the present.

Capitalism is an economic system that emphasizes decentralisation, commodification, and accumulation as basic characteristics. Individual and collective actors have property rights that enable them to make decisions in a relatively autonomous way. Markets serve as the main mechanisms of allocation and coordination. In this system capital is central which is owned by the capitalists. Workers are typically employed as wage workers on a contractual basis. Relations between capital and labour, between employers and employed are an exchange relationship on the one hand, and on the other hand an asymmetrical authority relationship that allows absorption of surplus value and has a variety of consequences for society.

6.4: Characteristic Features of Capitalism

Capitalism as a mode of production can be said to be characterised by following features :

- a) Goods and services are produced for sale in the market. Producers do not simply produce for their own needs or for the needs of individuals with whom they are in personal contact. Capitalism involves a nation-wide, and often an international, exchange market, this contrasts with simple commodity production.
- b) Both conceptually and historically capitalism has been identified with three sets of market arrangements : the labour market, credit or money market and commodity market. Among these the most significant is the labour market where labour power is bought and sold, the mode of exchange being money wages for a period of time or for a specified task. The existence and viability of capitalism is crucially dependent on the existence of wage labour.
- c) Under capitalism exchange is mediated by the use of money. In taking the money form, capital permits the maximum flexibility to its owner for reinvestment. This aspect gives a systemic role to banks and financial intermediaries.
- d) Capitalist or his manager controls the production process. This implies control not only over hiring and firing workers but also over the choice of techniques, the work environment and the arrangements for selling the output.
- e) Under capitalism the universal use of money and credit facilitates the use of other people's resources to finance accumulation. This implies the power of the capitalist to incur debts or float shares or mortgage factory buildings to raise finance. Workers are excluded from this decision but will suffer from miscalculation by the capitalist.
- f) Capitalist's control over the labour process and over the financial structure is modified by its constant operation in an environment of competition with other capitalists. This increasing competition operates as an impersonal law of value forcing the capitalist to adopt new techniques and practices to cut costs and to accumulate to make possible purchase of improved machinery. It is competition which ultimately leads to concentration of capital in large firms. It is to neutralise competition that monopolies and cartels emerge. The continuous improvement in technology creates new forms such as the multinational corporations. But this

does not eliminate competition, it only modifies the form in which the firm faces it.

6.5 Marxian Analysis of Capitalism

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, intellectuals and social scientists regarded capitalism as the decisive feature of their era. Many historians were using the term to investigate the history of capitalism in previous centuries when the term did not even exist. Many authors contributed to the broadening of the concept of capitalism from a politically tendentious term into an analytically, sophisticated systemic concept. In this section we will explore somewhat comprehensively two thinkers whose classic statements have shaped the definition and discussion of capitalism to this day : Karl Marx and Max Weber.

Karl Marx rarely used the term capitalism and then only marginally. But he wrote so extensively and penetratingly about the capitalist mode of production that his analysis shaped following generations more strongly than the work any other single person. The main component of the Marxist concept of capitalism may be summarized in the following points.

1. Marx saw the market, which presumed a division of labour and money economy, as a central component of capitalism. He emphasized how a merciless, cross-border competition stimulated technological and organizational progress while simultaneously positioning market players against each other. He identified the compulsive character of the law of the market, a law capitalists and workers, producers and consumers, sellers and buyers had to obey, no matter what their individual motives might be.
2. For Marx, it is of the essence of capital that it must be accumulated, independent of the subjective preferences or religious beliefs of individual capitalists. The coercion on individual capitalists to accumulate operates through the mechanism of competition. Because capital is self-expanding value, its value must at least be preserved. Because of competition the mere preservation of capital is impossible unless it is expanded. The formation and continuous increase of capital initially as original accumulation and later as the reinvestment of profits is derived from the value that labour created. Thus capital is congealed labour.
3. The rising organic composition of capital which takes place as capitalism proceeds is intimately connected with a trend towards centralization and concentration of capital. Concentration refers to the process whereby, as capital accumulates,

individual capitalists succeed in expanding the amount of capital under their control. Centralisation, on the other hand, refers to the merging of existing capitals. The effect of both is to lead to larger and larger productive units. The competitive character of capitalism entails that producers must constantly try to undercut the prices of their rivals. Those capitalists controlling the larger organisation enjoy various advantages over the small producer which allow them to triumph over the latter. The greater the resources at the command of an individual entrepreneur, the more efficiently he can produce and can easily withstand setbacks such as those which follow from temporary contraction of the market. Thus as a general rule, the larger units tend to drive smaller units out of business and to absorb their capital.

4. Marx saw the core of the capitalist mode of production in the tension between capitalists as owners of the means of production on the one hand and workers, contractually bound but otherwise freely employed in return for wages, on the other. Both sides are bound to each other by an exchange relationship and by a relationship of dominance and dependency, leading to the exploitation of workers by capitalists.

Marx developed the theory of surplus value to explain the whole phenomenon of exploitation in capitalist society. In simple terms surplus value is what is normally called profit. Surplus value arises because some part of the worker's labour is not paid to him. Surplus value is the difference between market value of commodity and wage paid to a labourer for creating this value. Marx calls the ratio between necessary and surplus labour the rate of exploitation. With the growth of capitalism and the rise in competition, the wages of the workers continue to fall. Cut throat competition leads to deterioration of the lot of the workers. This is, according to Marx, the precondition for revolution that will abolish the system of capitalism in favour of socialism though Marx did not enter into any detailed discussion of the alternative system.

Marx described the enormous dynamism of the capitalist system that was dissolving everything traditional and was on its way to spreading all over the world. It has the capacity to extend its logic into non economic areas of life. Marx was convinced that the capitalist mode of production has a tendency to shape society, culture and politics decisively.

This picture of capitalism was influenced by the dynamic conditions that Marx observed in the second half of the 19th century in western Europe. He perceived industrial revolution as an epochal upheaval. He conceptualised capitalism in a way that made it appear fully formed as industrial capitalism with the factory and labour at its core. Marx did not deny

the existence of older varieties of capitalism prior to industrialisation yet they were not the subject of his investigation. He was interested in capitalism in its modern form and in its emergence in England starting with the 16th century.

Marx's analysis of capitalism has been subject to various criticism. He has been accused of having underestimated the civilizing impact of market while over estimating labour as the only source of value. Marx has also come in for criticism for his lack of attention to the importance of knowledge and organization as sources of productivity, his wrong predictions about the social impact of industrial capitalism and his mistrust of the market, exchange and self-interest. However, Marx's analysis remains an original, fascinating and fundamental framework, a point of reference to this day for most subsequent interpreters of capitalism, no matter how much they may criticize Marx.

6.6 Max Weber's Understanding of Capitalism

Max Weber treated the subject of capitalism as part of a comprehensive history of modernisation of the west. Against this background he removed the concept from its fixation on the industrial age. Unlike Marx, he did not expect capitalism to be destroyed by its own crises; rather, he feared the danger of petrification owing to an excess of organisation and bureaucratization.

For Weber, capitalist economic action was characterized by competition and exchange, orientation to market prices, the deployment of capital and the search for profit. In his definition, capitalist economic action had to include a modicum of calculation, that is, estimating expected risk, loss and profit, as well as control over the profitability of the capital deployed. Weber was familiar with different forms of capitalism, such as the politically oriented capitalism and rentier capitalism of ancient Europe, or the "robber capitalism" that was associated since ancient times with wars and pillaging but has not been absent from the speculation and exploitative businesses of modern finance capitalism, which is characterised by formal, calculative rationality. He saw these features guaranteed by the structure of capitalist enterprise. He emphasized how that enterprise was separated from the private household of economic agents and he underlined the purposive rationality systematically built into the enterprise's organization of authority.

The systematic purposive rationality of the capitalist enterprise included such elements as the division and coordination of labour, formally free labour by workers who do not own the means of production and are subjected to work place discipline. He elaborated on how effective management of a capitalist enterprise required, on the one hand, markets in

money, credit and capital. and, on the otherhand, he regarded specific kind of economic conviction as indispensable. In his judgment, this was not to be equated with unlimited acquisitive greed, but rather called for its ‘rational tempering’, specifically in the form of a long range and calculated readiness to invest and reinvest with the aim of longterm success as such.

An important source of this spirit of capitalism Weber saw in the calvinist-puritan ethic. The spirit of modern capitalism is characterised by a unique combination of devotion to the earning of wealth through legitimate economic activity, together with the avoidance of the use of this income for personal enjoyment. This is rooted in a belief in the value of efficient performance in a chosen vocation as a duty and a virtue.

Weber elaborated theoretically and historically how capitalism in this sense presupposed a certain differentiation of social reality, which includes a subsystem called economy, with relative autonomy vis-a-vis politics. This autonomy finds expression in freedom of contract and market related entrepreneurship. On the other hand he demonstrated how much the rise of capitalism across the centuries depended on extra-economic factors – on politics and law, on states, their wars and their financial needs.

He emphasized that the kind of fully developed capitalism was a phenomenon of the modern world. Weber was convinced that modern capitalism could only have emerged in the west, not owing to the type of state formation that took place there. He was not uncritical admirer of capitalism. He underscored that the growing economic efficiency this brought did not have to be accompanied by permanent growth in prosperity for every segment of the population. He was convinced that capitalism does not provide for the satisfaction of needs but only satisfaction of needs with buying power. Here he saw a fundamental and unavoidable element of irrationality at work.

Weber’s analysis of capitalism has been subjected to great deal of criticism. His thesis about the connection between Puritan Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism has repeatedly been questioned empirically. His assessment of whether non-western civilizations were capable of capitalism is not altogether free of prejudices. Yet his analyses have made significant contribution in understanding the basic character of modern capitalist society.

6.7 Conclusion

Capitalism is not a thing, a system, a model but, first and foremost a process. It is a product of very specific historical conditions. Viewed historically capitalism has meant the

subordination of social forms to the pursuit of a single goal, that of the private appropriation of profit or the accumulation of capital. This has involved wide variety of possibilities and strategies both determined and limited by the specifics of diverse contexts. The expansionary drive of capitalism is the product of its own historically specific internal laws of motion, its unique capacity as well as unique need for constant self-expansion. These laws of motion required vast social transformations and upheavals to set them in train.

Capitalism, from the beginning, has been a deeply contradictory force. The Capitalism's unique capacity and need, for self-sustaining growth has never been incompatible with regular stagnation and economic slowdown on the contrary, the very same logic that drives the system forward makes it inevitably susceptible to economic instabilities.

6.8 Summing up

- Capitalism as a mode of production is characterized by commodity production, market exchange, wage labour and a highly organised technical and social division of labour.
- Capitalism has changed and evolved. Successive waves of innovation have changed capitalism in terms of the requirements of individual capital, the possibilities of control and its extent and reach.
- The process of capitalist modernity is driven by endless and inescapable pursuit of profit.
- Marx's view of capitalism is that it is constantly developing within the limits of its basic form and that it can ultimately be no more than a passing historical phase of human production. Marx conceived an alternative future contained within yet radically moving beyond the capitalist present.
- For Weber the dominant characteristics which distinguishes the modern capitalist economy is that it is rationalised on the basis of rigorous calculation directed with foresight and caution towards the economic success. The spirit of modern capitalism is characterized by a unique combination of devotion to the earning of wealth through legitimate economic activity together with the avoidance of the use of this income for personal enjoyment.

6.9: Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions:

1. Write a critique on Marx's analysis of capitalism
2. Examine Max Weber's understanding of modern capitalism.
3. Analyse the basic features of capitalism.
4. Define capitalism and indicate its core elements.

Short Questions:

1. What does Max Weber mean by the Spirit of capitalism.
2. How does Marx explain the phenomenon of exploitation in capitalist society?

Objective Questions:

1. On which factor does the existence and viability of capitalism depend?
2. What, for Marx, is the core of the capitalist mode of production?
3. What, according to Weber, is the salient feature of modern finance capitalism ?

6.10: Further Reading

1. Giddens, Anthony : *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory : An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*, Cambridge University Press 1998
2. Rochester, Anna, *The nature of capitalism*, International Publishers, New York, 1946.
3. Neal, Larry and William Son, Jeffrey (eds), *The Cambridge History of Capitalism*, Vol-1 and Vol-2, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Unit 7 □ Globalization

Structure:

- 7.1 Objective**
- 7.2 Introduction**
- 7.3 Meaning of Globalization**
- 7.4 Dimensions of Globalization**
 - 7.4.1. Political**
 - 7.4.2 Economic**
 - 7.4.3 Cultural**
- 7.5 Globalization Territoriality and State Sovereignty**
- 7.6 Globalization : An Assessment**
- 7.7 Conclusion**
- 7.8 Summing Up**
- 7.9 Probable Questions**
- 7.10 Further Reading**

7.1: Objective

After going through this unit, the learners will be familiar with the

- meaning of globalization
- different dimensions of globalization
- impact of globalization

7.2: Introduction

Globalization is a misused concept and has engendered much intense debate. There is a controversy concerning the novelty of globalization. A number of historians have claimed that while globalization is certainly new, it is far from being novel. People differ in their assessment of the economic and social benefits of globalization. Globalists celebrate the

virtues of the globalized world, on the other hand, the critics have condemned globalization for being anti-poor and positively contributing to widen the gap between the rich and the poor. The champions of globalization claim that a cosmopolitan culture is increasingly uniting the globe critics, however, insist on the disruptive assertions of local cultures against the threat of cultural imperialism of the west.

7.3: Meaning of Globalization

Globalization is variously defined. It is best understood as a multi-dimensional process characterized by an extension of social, political and economic activities across the world, so that what happens in an area almost invariably impacts the lives, decisions and activities of others in distant localities. It also implies an unprecedented intensification and deepening of interconnectedness of various kinds across all areas of social life. Globalization implies that the cumulative scales, scope, velocity and depth of contemporary interconnectedness is dissolving the significance of the borders and boundaries of the states. The concept of globalization seeks to capture the dramatic shift that is underway in the organization of human affairs. Globalization, therefore carries with it the implication of an unfolding process of structural change in the scale of human social and economic organization. Central to this structural change are contemporary information technology and infrastructures of communication and transportation. These have greatly facilitated new forms and possibilities of virtual realtime worldwide organization and coordination. Although geography and distance still matter it is nevertheless the case that globalization is synonymous with a process of time-space compression in which the source of even very local developments may be traced to distant conditions. In this sense globalization implies a process of deterritorialization. As social, political and economic activities are increasingly stretched across the globe they become in a significant sense no longer organized solely according to a strictly territorial logic. Territorial borders no longer demarcate the boundaries of national economic or political space. This does not imply that territory and borders are now irrelevant. However, under conditions of globalization their relative significance has declined. In an era of instantaneous real-time global communication and organization the distinction between the inside and outside the State breaks down.

In contemporary globalized world States no longer have a monopoly of power resources whether economic, military or political. In an increasingly interconnected global system, power is organized and exercised on a trans regional, transnational or transcontinental basis. Many other actors, apart from the State, from international organization to criminal networks exercise power within, across and against States. Thus globalization is a process

which involves much more than simply growing connection or interdependence between states. It involves a fundamental transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities .

7.4: Dimensions of Globalization

7.4.1. Political globalizations

Globalization in the political sphere is evident when events in one part of the world affect lives of the people in the rest of the world. Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been unprecedented rise in the number of global, regional and transnational institutions or networks of rule-making and surveillance. Different multilateral organizations are at work to monitor and regulate every sector of global activity, such as Missile Technology control regime and International Telecommunication union. Citizens and private organizations too have acquired a global presence as they organize across national borders to promote and pursue their common interests.

Moreover, immediate communications and almost real-time media reporting alter the context and dynamics of politics and policy making. For governments and many multinational corporations, reactions and decision times have shrunk under the pressure of 24-hours a day global media reporting and global markets. Besides, decisions in one organization create global consequences. When the Thai monetary authorities decided to de-link the Thai Baht from the US dollar in July, 1997, they could not have imagined that this would create worst financial crisis throughout East Asia and threaten global stability. Global communications are transforming the context of politics and amplifying the worldwide impact of political action and decision making. All these changes have led to the blurring of the local global or domestic. Domestic issues are becoming internationalized and world affairs are becoming domesticated.

7.4.2 Economic globalization

The economic globalization refers to the emergence of an interlocking global economy and the worldwide spread of capitalism. Over the last three decades some important changes occurred in the world economy. These are growing salience of giant corporations operating as multinationals and integrating production on a global scale, and the emergence of a 24-hour, global capital market created by the fusion of national capital markets. It has become increasingly difficult for any country to regulate the international flow of capital, thus making it difficult for individual states to manage economic life. States have also found

it difficult to regulate multinational companies for they can easily relocate production and investment. The runaway growth of the information technology has been the force behind these changes.

The impact of information technology and the trend towards an integrated global economy are dematerialization and disembedding of production. Dematerialization refers to the fact that the cutting edge of contemporary capitalism is not about the production of physical goods but the manipulation of symbols. US global dominance used to be symbolized by US Steel and General Motors, now it is Microsoft, Intel, Time-warner and Disney, and the actual physical products are largely made outside the US. When what was being produced were things, where they were produced was crucial, and one could still think about a national economy. There are still a lot of actual material things being produced in the advanced industrial world. However, the integration of global production and the emergence of global capital markets combined with the impact of new technologies does suggest that it is more difficult than it once was to conceptualize the idea of a national economy.

7.4.3. Cultural globalization

One common speculation about the globalization process is that it will lead to a single global culture. This is only a speculation, but the reason it seems possible is that we can see the unifying effects of connectivity in other spheres – particularly in the economic sphere where the tightly integrated system of the global market provides the model. However, increasing global connectivity by no mean necessarily implies that the world is becoming either economically or politically unified. Despite its reach, the effects of globalization does not extend in any profound way to every single person or place on the planet. There are many countervailing trends towards social, political and cultural division. Despite all this, there persists a tendency to imagine globalization pushing us towards an all-encompassing global culture. Cultural globalization implies a form of cultural imperialism – the spread of western capitalist culture to every part of the globe.

In fact, the idea of global culture is varied. It means different things to different people. it connotes the effective global dissemination of images and representation, of ideas, practices and political symbols and their apparently easy accessibility throughout the world. People can now appreciate other cultures and access them more easily than before. But this hardly leads to cultural homogenization. People are still embedded in their local cultures. But the local has to adjust to the global. The vast majority of the people of the world are situated in their familiar context. They mediate the global through their native prisms. The central

dynamic of cultural globalization is the twofold process of the particularization of the universal and the universalization of the particular. In other words, globally defined values and practices are increasingly adapted at the local level, just as, globally, the celebration of particularistic difference becomes a value in itself.

The technologies of the new world makes it impossible to isolate societies in full. In states as different as china or Iran, dissenting individual are emboldened by the new global culture, which stresses freedom and human rights. the horizons of the imagination of the people has definitely been broadened by the cultural dynamics of globalization. It has created new opportunities and fears, domination and empowerment in different societies.

7.5 Globalization, Territoriality and State Sovereignty

Opinion regarding the nature and extent of the impact of globalization on Sovereignty and the state is extremely varied. Most commentators believe that globalization has profoundly affected the meanings of territoriality and State sovereignty. Capitalist restructuring over the last four decades has created both a real and a virtual system of interrelated networks of circulation and production, the combined effect of which is to qualitatively reduce the capacity of states to significantly regulate national economies. In this situation States are increasingly ceasing to be real players in the new world order and, as a result, new power centres are to be found either at the supra-national level of new trading blocs or at the sub-national level of various economic or political regionalisms. While some commentators are, however, less radical in their perception of change.

The States have become increasingly marginal to the provision of global public goods, be it regulative, distributive or redistributive. It is argued that the instrumental capacity of the nation state is decisively undermined by globalization of core economic activities, by globalization of media and globalization of crime. The territorial integrity of states is seen as undermined by unintended consequences with respect to their own defensive efforts in terms of establishing supra-state structures and by the formation of regional associations. Hence, a state can no longer decide its agenda by its own terms.

Globalists point out the essentially contested character of national identity; the different meanings that people attach to such identity and the fluid, constructed nature of these categories. McGrew and David Held argue that individuals in the contemporary world are subject to varieties of information and communication. They can be influenced by concepts, life styles and ideas from beyond their local communities and can identify with ethnic, religious, social and political groups well beyond national borders. It is argued that the

concept of unitary national identity is misplaced because individuals identify themselves with diverse political communities simultaneously. People can participate in transnational social movements without violating their political commitments to the state. Globalization, therefore, has altered the meanings of the concepts of territoriality, sovereignty and the State.

If globalization has denied the State a number of vital economic powers, it has also helped to create others which explain the continued relevance of the state for a whole range of global economic activities. Moreover, successful globalization demands good governance, which is closely related to successful exercise of authority and implies a legitimate polity. Sceptics argue that the identity of the State is not a fixed datum. Its history is not universal or unilinear. In different circumstances, the State prevailed over its rival models of organisation for different reasons.

In fact, there has been a gradual evolution in the meaning of the state at the global level. The shift is away from the weberian model of the state to a neo-liberal state. The welfare State with substantial intervention in economy and society gave way to a new trend towards deconcentration and withdrawal partly due to the end of the cold war, but more due to the centrifugal forces of globalization.

Globalization apparently led to two distinct tendencies. First, the massive extension of the project of liberal capitalism across different parts of the globe, Second, the forces of globalization also coincided with a series of collapses of post colonial development projects, most specifically in Africa, leading to the rise of failed states that could neither provide security to its citizens nor provide effective governance through traditional welfare means. The combined effect of all this is a shift away from Weberian understanding of the State to a more symbolic plane.

Along with changes in the meaning of statehood come transformation in the idea of territoriality and sovereignty. Territoriality is faced with an unprecedented challenge due to the development in information technology and communication sciences. Our old ideas of geographical space and of chronological time are undermined by the speed of modern communications and media. Globalization has breached the divide between the inside and the outside, and territorial forces have not been strong enough to prevent this transformation. Under globalization, control of networks becomes more important than territorial control of space.

Together with territoriality, the meaning of sovereignty has also undergone changes under the impact of globalization. The classical meaning of sovereignty as undisputed control of physical territory no longer remains the significant indicator of sovereignty.

Recognition has now become cardinal to the life of sovereignty. Recognition does not depend on physical control of territory. It depends more on claimants attending a prescribed threshold of democratization and human rights. Sovereignty now depends on a broad range of performance criteria, whose ethical foundation is determined by the dominant western powers, the USA to be more precise.

Several authors believe that globalization is itself driven by the State. States are themselves the authors of globalization by promoting and shaping the nature and pace of globalization. Trade agreements and regionalization support this argument. Political elites in different countries often use globalization as an ideological device to make the move towards market reforms appear inevitable. States are now more concerned about their role as actors in global markets to protect national economic well being and are entre preneurial. Moreover, globalization will affect a powerful European state differently from a vulnerable State in Asia or Africa. Thus globalization could have different consequences for different States. As States differ in the degree of power and influences they can assume role of agents of globalization as well as become its passive victims. Thus the impact of globalization on State sovereignty is much more complex.

7.6 Globalization : An Assessment

The process of globalization tends to divide the world into two camps. The west argues that the benefits of globalization are inclusive and benefit both the developed and the underdeveloped nations. The developing countries, however, tend to view globalization with much more skepticism.

The western claims for the benefits of globalization are that it : (1) provides considerable capital investment for both institutional and individual development; (2) provides increased employment opportunities to citizens of developing countries ; (3) Increases the possibilities of improving the well-being of the masses through education ; (4) Stimulates infrastructure development, such as roads, powerplants, modern electronic communications and (5) involves technology sharing by advanced countries to developing countries. This process will eventually lead to equalising working conditions, standards, attitudes and values globally.

Developing countries, however, argue that globalization is delivering considerably less than has been promised. Their arguments run as follows : (1) Globalization has decapitalized the developing countries by taking out more money in profits than what has been invested in these countries; (2) Rather than bringing in more investment capital, many Multinational Corporations resort to borrowing from local creditors, thus depleting scarce capital

resources that might have been used by indigenous business ; (3) The promise of benefits from new technology is more likely to disappoint in the long run because the dependence it creates stifles innovation in the developing countries ; (4) with globalization comes a polished brand of advertising that encourages consumerism, (5) under globalization, MNCs can counter mercantilist restrictions on trade by establishing subsidiaries abroad. In effect, it allows them to bypass trade barriers and continue production and collecting profits at the expense of the developing countries.

The problem in understanding globalization lies in its dualism that governs the present world order. If globalization refers to a unified world, it is equally true that the world is increasingly divided into two unequal parts - the rich and the poor nations. The developed countries of the west are taking advantage of the so called free trade and the openness advocated by the new global order. The porousness of national boundaries is working in favour of the advanced nations. This iniquitous world order has different implications for different nations. In fact, the issues of inequality and justice are going to be the most important concerns of the emerging global order. With the coming of the information age, the world has shrunk into what Marshall McLuhan calls the Global village, where national boundaries become more porous in political and cultural terms. It brings more anxieties and concrete worries about political and cultural onslaughts by the west on the more vulnerable third world countries. The global economic order combined with the New Information Order is likely to strengthen the nation state in advanced countries and weaken the State in the third world. This contradiction is going to characterize the nation state in the emerging global order.

7.7 Conclusion

The relative decline of the nation State's sovereignty in the sphere of global economy is creating a democratic deficits mainly in the third world countries where the expectations of the State are very high and State capacities are low. The citizens continue to hold their national governments accountable on issues over which the States have no autonomous control. The democratic deficit in the third world is going to create tensions on a much higher scale. Globalization puts severe strains on the third world state on economic, political and cultural fronts because of the iniquitous global order.

Neither the nation nor the State is about to disappear as a result of globalization. There are no substitute structure that can perform all the functions associated with the nation state. Neither the people are prepared to give up nationalism because it is historically embedded and culturally experienced.

7.8: Summing up

- Over the last few decades the sheer scale and scope of global interconnectedness has become increasingly evident in every sphere from the economic to the cultural.
- Globalization can be conceptualized as a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organisation that links distant communities and expand the reach of power relations across regions and continents.
- Globalization is multidimensional, uneven and asymmetrical process.
- Globalization is transforming but not burying the Westphalian ideal of sovereign statehood.
- Globalization creates democratic deficit in that it places limits on democracy within States and new mechanism of global governance which lack democratic credentials.

7.9 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions:

1. Examine the impact of globalization on territoriality, sovereignty and state.
2. Make a critical assessment of the process of globalization.
3. Examine the nature of cultural globalization in the contemporary world.
4. Analyse the impact of economic globalization on State sovereignty.

Short Questions:

1. What is meant by political globalization.
2. What are the benefits of globalization as claimed by the developed western countries ?

Objective Questions:

1. What does cultural imperialism imply ?
2. What does sovereignty mean in its classical sense ?

1.8 Further Reading

1. Stiglitz, Joseph, *Globalization and its Discontents*, Penguin Books India – 2003.
2. Ritver, George and Dean Paul ; *Globalization, The Essentials*, John Wiley and Sons Ltd. 2019.
3. Ritzer, George (ed). *The Blackwell Compassion to Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2007.

Unit 8 □ Socialism: Growth, Meaning and Development

Structure:

- 8.1 Objective**
- 8.2 Introduction**
- 8.3 Origins of Socialism**
- 8.4 Meaning and Philosophy of Socialism**
- 8.5 Utopian Socialism**
- 8.6 Marxian Concept of Socialism**
- 8.7 Different types of Socialism**
 - 8.7.1 Anarcho Socialism**
 - 8.7.2 Christian Socialism**
 - 8.7.3 Fabian Socialism**
 - 8.7.4 Guild Socialism**
 - 8.7.5 Democratic Socialism**
 - 8.7.6 Modern Socialism**
- 8.8 Conclusion**
- 8.9 Summing up**
- 8.10 Probable Questions**
- 8.11 Further Reading**

8.1 Objective

After going through this unit, the learners will be able to:

- understand the meaning of socialism
- realise the growth and development of socialism
- explain the different aspects of socialism

8.2 Introduction

Socialism as a political doctrine evolved during the late 18th and 19th centuries in opposition to uncontrolled capitalistic individualism arising from the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe. It had become centre of debate and discussion in the field of economics, politics and society in the 19th and 20th centuries. Concept of socialism emerged as a reaction of Capitalism, a mode of production based on the private ownership and motivated to earn maximum profit. On the other hand, Socialism is an economic, social, and political system based on public rather than private ownership of a country's means of production. It is a doctrine as well as a movement. Basic aim of the socialists is to end exploitation and to establish a rule of the working class. To achieve this goal socialists launch movement. Socialism thus combines three things – it is a theory, a movement and finally an objective. However, concept of socialism has provoked many reactions from different scholars and intellectuals, some have admired its emancipatory potential while others have criticized it for being a closed system.

8.3 Origins of Socialism

The term socialism or socialist has been derived from the Latin word *sociare* which means to combine or share. The present meaning has got sufficient relevance to the Latin meaning though at present it is used in broad sense. However the intellectual legacy of the term socialism can be traced back to Plato's Republic (324BC). Plato is often regarded as the father of socialism. In Republic, Plato depicts a society where men and women of the "guardian" class share with each other not only their few material goods but also their spouses and children. Early Christian communities also practised the sharing of goods and labour, a simple form of socialism subsequently followed in certain forms of monasticism. Several monastic orders continue these practices today.

After Plato, concept of socialism appeared in the famous work of Thomas More (1478-1535). His idea about socialism was published in a book in 1516 entitled 'Utopia' which is regarded as a first comprehensive and to some extent modern book on socialism. Christianity and Platonism were included in More's Utopia. Land and houses are common property on More's imaginary island where everyone works for at least two years on the communal farms and people change houses every 10 years so that no one develops pride of possession. Money has been abolished, and people are free to take what they need from common storehouses. However, religious and political turmoil, soon inspired others to try to put utopian ideas into practice. Common ownership was one of the aims during the

protestant reformation movement. At the time of civil war in England (1642–51) several socialist groups emerged. Most important among them was the Diggers whose members claimed that God had created everything in the world for the people to share not to exploit each other and earn profit. French journalist Babeuf emphasised on the abolition of property and utilization of land for common enjoyment.

8.4 Meaning and Philosophy of Socialism

Socialism is considered as an ethical revolt against the terrible dehumanising process involved in the institutional apparatus of capitalism. This doctrine emphasises on the collective effort to remove the deteriorating social, political and economic conditions prevailing in the capitalist system. Fundamentally, it is a political, social, and economic system in which the means of production – that is, everything that goes into making goods for use—are collectively controlled, rather than owned by private corporations. Basic concept of socialism is that everything we use in our daily lives is a social product and every person who has a contribution in the production of a good is entitled to get a share in it. As a result, society as a whole has the right to own or at least control property for benefit of all its members. Basic aim of socialism is to control human actions rationally in order to produce socially desirable results. In a socialist system everything is controlled by the government which means all types of decisions regarding production, distribution and fixation of price of goods are made by the government. Citizens in a socialist society depend on the government for fulfilment of basic needs like food, housing, education, healthcare etc.

However, Socialism is not a homogeneous concept. This popular doctrine is widely varied and defined in various ways. Yet a few general definitions may be mentioned which would help us in understanding the broad premises of Socialism.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines socialism as “that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution and in due subordination thereto a better production of wealth than now prevails.”

Bernard Crick in his small book *Socialism (World View, 1998)* describes socialism as, “an invented system of society that stressed the social as against the selfish, the cooperative as against the competitive, sociability as against the individual self-sufficiency and self-interest, strict social controls on the accumulation and use of private property; and either economic equality or at least rewards according to merits (merits judged socially) or rewards judged according to need”. Strictly speaking socialism is not only a political and economic ideology, it at the same time envisages methods to reach certain goals which large number of men aspire to.

Socialism is not a homogenous concept . This popular concept is widely varied and defined in a variety of ways. Yet some of the basic principles on which different schools of socialist thought tend to agree are as follows:

- Based on public rather than private ownership of a country’s means of production,
- Means of production include machinery, tools and factories including land and capital used to produce goods needed to satisfy human needs.
- Redistribution of wealth, through tax and spending policies that aim to reduce economic inequalities.
- Elimination of the upper economic classes, as a result there would be no differences between them and the rest of society. In this way, those who derive benefits from the work of others would cease to exist.
- All legal production and distribution decisions are made by the government in a socialist system. The government also determines all output and pricing levels and supplies its citizens with everything from food to healthcare .
- Within socialism special emphasis is placed on the idea of society, leaving something aside to the individual. It is intended that each economic action emphasises in the common benefit and not in the individual earnings of each one.
- Nationalization of key industries, such as mining, oil, steel, energy and transportation.
- Social security schemes in which workers contribute to a mandatory public insurance program.

8.5 Utopian Socialism

Outraged by the self-interested competition of capitalists and observing the poor conditions of the workers radical critics of industrial capitalism advocated for peaceful creation of a new “perfect” society based on totally equitable distribution of goods. The term socialist was first used around 1830 to describe the more influential of these radicals, who later became known as the “utopian” socialists. One of the first utopian socialists was the French aristocrat Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon. Instead of public ownership of productive property, he advocated public control of property through central planning, in which scientists, industrialists, and engineers would anticipate social needs and direct the energies of society to meet them. According to St. Simon, such a system would be more efficient and effective than capitalism. Another prominent utopian socialist was Robert Owen who was himself an

industrialist. Owen's fundamental belief was that human nature is shaped by social conditions. He argued, if conditions are changed nature of human beings would be changed. In 1825 he established a model of organization, New Harmony, on land he had purchased in the U.S. state of Indiana. This was to be a self-sufficient, co-operative community in which property was commonly owned. New Harmony failed within a few years eventually evolved into capitalistic communities. Another French writer Charles Fourier advocated similar ideas. Fourier envisioned a form of society that would be more in keeping with human needs and desires. Fourier left room for private investment in his utopian community, but every member was to share in ownership, and inequality of wealth, though permitted, was to be limited. It would be pertinent to mention that these utopian socialists greatly contributed to the critical analysis of capitalism, their theories, though deeply moralistic, failed in practice.

8.6 Marxian concept of Socialism

Karl Marx propounded a set of doctrines that is known by his name as Marxism or Communism which perhaps has become one of the most important political philosophies in the study of politics. Without question, Marxism is the most influential of all socialist and communist theories. In fact, Marxist philosophy resulted in creation of socialist political systems in almost half part of the world in the twentieth century. Marx has been a prolific writer, who has written tremendously on the rise of industrial capitalism in Western Europe, its expected demise and its replacement with the communist form of governments. Frederick Engels has been his lifelong collaborator and co-author of many of works by Marx.

According to Engels, the basic elements of Marx's theory are to be found in German philosophy, French socialism, and British economics. Of these, German philosophy was surely the formative influence on Marx's thinking. Marx saw capitalist society as unequal and unjust society which flourished at the cost of the working class. The dynamics of industrial capitalism produces two classes: the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class owns the mode of production and expropriates the resources of the society to further its own interests. The goal of the capitalist or bourgeoisie class lies in maximising its profit or surplus generated by exploiting the working or proletariat class. The working class is compelled to slog for long working hours, have no share in the surplus, and lose all control over their creativity and their lives. This leads to alienation in the working class. Since the interests of both these classes are hostile to each other, there is ongoing class war in capitalist societies. This is explicit in the famous lines of Karl Marx, as he says the history of all societies hitherto is the history of class struggle. In other words, Marxism argued that

history is narration of class struggle between two diagonally opposite classes. It is the private property which is the main factor and responsible for all social divisions and exploitation in the society. Individual ownership is despised as it leads to an unequal and oppressive social order. Industrial way of life in Western Europe has been the exemplifier of this reality. In fact, Marx thought that bourgeoisie class' control is so encompassing that the State also acts as the "executive committee of the ruling Bourgeoisie". Therefore once he said that "the theory of communism may be summed up in one sentence: "Abolish all private property."

The way out is the revolution that will overthrow the existing capitalist mode of production by the communist mode of production. Marx believed that the capitalism harboured inherent contradictions due to which it was doomed to collapse. On one hand capitalism has higher development of forces of production; on the other hand, within them exist most efficient forms of class exploitation and highest development of human alienation. Because the workers are paid so poorly, their purchasing power will be limited, causing overproduction and under consumption leading to periodic crises. These selfcontradictions in capitalism will lead to crumbling of such system under its own pressure, thought Marx. The annihilation of capitalism will give way to socialism. In the Socialist mode of production State/ public ownership would replace private ownership of major means of production, conscious public planning would replace the anarchy of capitalist decision making, and social equality would progressively replace class inequality. Marx believed that when the polemics in the society will reach its extreme, revolution will become inevitable. Following that, the proletariats class will seize power establishing 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'. Socialism will be a transitory stage leading to establishment of communist society. This society will be a classless, non exploitative society in which the State will wither away. There will be equal opportunities for all, and enough for everyone. The guiding principle will be "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs". Ironically his predictions did not come true. There could never emerge that assumed of working class against the capitalist class as workers and labour unions won concessions on the working conditions and voting rights in the times of Marx itself. On the contrary, later on, capitalism in different countries explored various ways to avert such crisis and survived by co-opting the working class. Examples are Market-led capitalism, Negotiated/consensual capitalism, Developmental state forms of capitalism being practiced in many countries of Europe. For example Social market capitalism followed by Germany's obliges the capitalists to generate strong sense of job secure.

8.7 Different types of Socialism

Many forms of socialism exist around the world, and they all differ when it comes to ideas on how best to incorporate capitalism into a socialistic structure. In addition, the different forms of socialism emphasize the diverse aspects of social democracy. Here are some of the types of socialistic systems: By the time of Marx's death in 1883, many socialists had begun to call themselves "Marxists." Many scholars after Marx explain socialism from different perspectives. Some of them deviated from Marx's idea of socialism. An indepth study of different aspects of socialism reveals that it is an ever-changing concept. With the change of social, political, economic conditions and also with the change in attitude the concept simultaneously undergoes changes. Here are some of the types of socialistic systems:

8.7.1 Anarcho-socialism

Anarcho- socialism opposes the State, religion and all private ownership of the means of pro[duction] instead it advocates that ownership be collectivized, being made the joint property of the commune. Doctrine of Anarcho Socialism is an anti-authoritarian, anti-statist and libertarian political philosophy within the socialist movement which rejects the state socialist conception of socialism as a statist form where the State retains centralized control of the economy. Basic ideas of Anarcho -Socialism is associated with the philosophy of Mikhail Bakunin. This is in contrast to Marxist Socialism which advocated a much greater role for the state in overseeing the means and products of labour.

8.7.2 Christian Socialism

Christian Socialism emerged as a reform movement in England in response to the political, economic, social, and religious developments in the mid-Victorian period. It includes religious and political philosophy that blends Christianity and socialism. This form of socialism attempted to apply the social principles of Christianity to modern industrial life. The term was generally associated with the demands of Christian activists for a social program of political and economic action on behalf of all individuals, impoverished or wealthy, and the term was used in contradistinction to laissez-faire individualism. It also retains political and economic liberty and avoids the excess of Communism

8.7.3 Fabian Socialism

Fabianism, emerged from the activities of the Fabian Society which was formed in 1884 in London by a band of intellectuals who were pragmatic in outlook and flexible in

approach. Fabianism may be considered as an English version of evolutionary socialism which added a new meaning to this doctrine conceived in harmony with new conditions and developments that came over England in the last part of the nineteenth century. In other words Fabianism is socialism re-defined 'in harmony with new conditions.' Rejecting the path of fierce class struggle the Fabians undertook a path of pilgrimage for exploring the light of socialism. They followed the method of evoking community consciousness in favour of their ideas. Fabians aimed to establish social democracy through slow and steady democratic movement not through revolution or violence like the Marxists. They wanted to reorganize the society by the emancipation of the land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. Primary belief of Fabian Socialist was that capitalism is an inhuman system to the majority of people as it creates an economic system based on exploitation. For the Fabians, legislation, protest, and localized action were the ways to achieve social reforms. Renown intellectuals and prominent believers in fabianism like George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Graham Wallas, and H.G. Wells thought that persuasion and education were more likely to lead to socialism, however gradually than violent class struggle.

The Fabians were successful to convince a large part of the nation that socialism is a refinement and logical conclusion of democracy. However, Fabians contributed a lot for the social welfare of the British society due to their in depth study of the social and economic conditions of the country and placing them with prudence before the people and administration. Ultimately Government adopted some effective measures to put into actions of various welfare schemes safeguards against unemployment, minimum standard of health, safety and wages, improved educational opportunities etc. The influence of the Fabian Society still persist in British Society to a great extent.

8.7.4 Guild Socialism

Guild Socialism arose as a protest against prevalent capitalism and emerging State socialism It was considered as an English movement that attracted a modest following in the first two decades of the 20th century. Inspired by the medieval guild, an association of craftsmen who determined their own working conditions and activities, theorists such as Samuel G. Hobson and G.D.H. Cole advocated the public ownership of industries and their organization into guilds, each of which would be under the democratic control of its trade union. The Guild Socialists recognise the limited role of the State in the society. Unlike the state socialists they emphasise on the withdrawal of State control from the economic sphere for the presence of bureaucratic control . Early exponents of Guild Socialism were Pentry, Drage, and Hobson. They were all the members of the Fabian Society but they were

unhappy with the Fabians' emphasis on centralised political socialism. The Guild Socialists oppose the painful devaluation of the spirit of inner mind spirit by machine civilization Man is reduced to an automation a machine and hence he fails to discover any creative joy or the thrill of creation in his work. In modern democratic states the workers have no substantial control over their conditions of work. Guild Socialism advocated in withdrawal of powers from the owners of capital both the power to determine the conditions under which in modern democratic society labourers would work and the right to derive profit out of what labourers produced. The Guild Socialists advocate the setting up of cooperative associations or guilds in the economic sphere. Each industry will be managed and controlled by a self governing association of mutual dependent people organised for a responsible discharge of a particular function of a society. The Guild Socialists advised that workers should work for control of industry rather than for political reform.

Several working Guilds were formed after the world war 1 but almost all the Guilds were either collapsed or dissolved after few years because highly complicated scheme of the Guild Socialists is almost unworkable in practice. However it would be worthwhile to mention that Guild Socialism had a significant impact on British trade unions.

8.7.5 Democratic Socialism

At the last part of the twentieth century, a new less stringent application of Socialism emerged emphasising on government regulation, rather than ownership of production. It also advocates adoption of social welfare programs. By propagating this centrist ideology, democratic socialist parties came to power in many European countries. A growing political movement in the United States today, Democratic Socialism stresses social reforms, such as free public education and universal healthcare, to be achieved through the democratic process.

8.7.6. Modern Socialism

Soviet Russia was the world's first constitutionally socialist state which was established in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin. Lenin was a staunch believer in Marxism. He modified Marxian conception of socialism since conditions in Russia differed markedly from those Marx thought necessary for socialist revolution. Marx expected socialism to develop first in one of the highly developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, with their extensive industrial production and large urban proletariat. Russia's population was mostly peasantry, and the industrial working class was small. The new socialist government set up in Russia after the victory of the revolution was composed of mass organizations called Soviets, councils democratically elected by workers, peasants and soldier. The new Soviet

government instantly nationalized the banks and major industries, rejected the former Romanov regime's national debts, charged for peace and withdrew from the First World War, and implemented a system of government through the chosen workers' councils or Soviets. Lenin's moderate brand of Socialism had been replaced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after his death. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under Josef Stalin announced a policy of "socialism in one country", taking the route of isolationism. By the 1940s, Soviet and other communist regimes joined with other socialist movements in fighting fascism in World War II. This tenuous alliance between the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact satellite states dissolved after the war, allowing the USSR to establish communist regimes across Eastern Europe. With the gradual dissolution of these Eastern Bloc regimes during the Cold War and the ultimate fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the prevalence of Communism as a global political force was drastically diminished. With the gradual dissolution of these Eastern Bloc regimes during the Cold War and the ultimate fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the prevalence of Communism as a global political force was drastically diminished.

After achieving independence in 1949 China under the leadership of Mao-Tse -Tung followed the path of planned economy which emphasised on rapid industrialization .The economic system in China was built entirely on the public ownership of means of production in accordance with the Marxist theory of socialism. This economic policy explicitly modelled on Soviet experience is still regarded as having been enormously successful. But just few years later it was noticed that the vast majority of the investment went to industry leaving agriculture relatively starved for resources. As a result, there was a shift in policy making. More stress was given in agriculture by introducing co-operative system. But general incompetence in agricultural Planning, crack down on dissent and bad crop conditions caused a famine that killed havoc people. Soon Communist Party of China realised that China was still immature stage of socialism owing to the low forces of production and the underdeveloped commodity. In the late 70s, a moderate named Deng Xiaoping came to power. He was a reformist and took initiatives for modification of Chinese Socialism. His administration was marked by various economic reforms that he collectively named "Socialism with Chinese characteristics". In order to boost up economy several steps were taken like multilayered ownership system comprising state enterprises, collective enterprises, joint ventures, wholly foreign own enterprises, Private enterprise. This economic system is known as the socialist market economy (SME). An economic model of economic development employed in the People's Republic of China. This economic system is functioning with the predominance of public ownership and state-owned enterprises. The Chinese President Xi Jinping has stated that China will have fully transitioned into socialism by 2050.

8.8 Conclusion

The greatest contribution of the idea and concept of socialism has been that it has offered a reasoned critique of industrial capitalism and free market society. It has not only exposed the hollowness of claims of equality and freedom of capitalist society, it has also shown the way ahead. It constitutes a principle alternative to the liberal rationalism or western capitalism. No doubt, there have been lots of problems with the socialist systems. The post socialist states are still struggling with their politics and economy. The challenge is to creatively engage with the transformed time new realities and develop sustainable democracy.

8.9 Summing Up

- Socialism emerged as a critique against the Laissez Fair doctrine and inhuman exploitation of capitalist system in the nineteenth century.
- Broadly speaking it stands for state ownership of means of production and abolition of private ownership. There are divergence of opinions among the different schools of socialist thought regarding the goal and methods for establishing a socialist society.
- The most prominent and influential philosopher of all the social scientists is Karl Marx who explained explained the scientific socialism.
- Soviet Russia was the world's first socialist state established in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin.
- But the year 1991 witnessed the disintegration of the mighty Soviet Union.
- This created a jolt to the socialist countries in the world and majority of them has tilted towards market economy and democratic form of government.
- Yet socialism is still alive and many countries follow the principles of socialism perhaps not in the form as depicted by Marx.

8.10 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Discuss the early concepts of socialism.

2. Describe the Marxian concepts of Socialism.
3. Discuss Lenin's idea of Socialism

Short Questions

1. Define Utopian Socialism.
2. What is Guild Socialism?
3. Define Fabian Socialism.

Objective Questions

1. What is the root of all evils in society according to socialism ?
2. Who explained Scientific Socialism ?
3. Who are the prominent exponents of Utopian Socialism ?

8.18 Further Reading

- "Socialism". *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, July 15, 2019, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/Socialism/#SociCapi>.
- Rappoport, Angelo. "Dictionary of Socialism." London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1924.
- Hoppe, Hans Hermann. "A Theory of Socialism and Capitalism." Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988, ISBN 0898382793.
- Roy, Avik. "European Socialism: Why America Doesn't Want It." *Forbes*, October 25, 2012,
- <https://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2012/10/25/european-socialism-why-america-doesnt-want-it/?sh=45db28051ea6>. Iber, Patrick.
- Democratic Socialism: Lessons from Latin America." *Dissent*, Spring 2016, <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/path-democratic-socialism-lessons-latin-america>.
- Gornstein, Leslie. "What is Socialism? And what do socialists really want in 2021?" CBS News, April 1, 2021, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/what-is-Socialism/>.

Unit 9 □ Socialism in Practice

Structure

- 9.1 Objective**
- 9.2 Introduction**
- 9.3 Evolution of Socialism**
- 9.4 Marxist Socialism**
- 9.5 Socialism in Practice**
 - (a) USSR**
 - (b) Eastern Europe**
- 9.6 Socialism in Practice**
 - (a) China**
 - (b) Cuba**
 - (c) Vietnam**
 - (d) North Korea**
- 9.7 Euro Communism**
- 9.8 Socialism in Latin America**
- 9.9 Critique of Theory and Practice of Socialism**
- 9.10 Conclusion**
- 9.11 Summing Up**
- 9.12 Probable Questions**
- 9.13 Further Reading**

9.1 Objective

The learners, after studying this unit, will be able to

- understand the theoretical and evolutionary aspects of socialism.
- grasp the actual functioning of socialism in socialist countries both former and existing.

-
- know about Euro-Communism
 - understand the meaning of Latin American socialism.
 - have an understanding of the criticisms against the theory and practice of socialism
-

9.2 Introduction

Socialism is both an economic system and a political ideology. A socialist economy features social rather than private ownership of the means of production. It also emphasises on the organisation of economic activity through planning rather than leaving it to market forces and gears production towards satisfaction of human needs rather than profit accumulation.

Socialist ideology asserts the moral and economic superiority of an economy with these features especially as compared with capitalism. More specifically, socialists argue that capitalism undermines democracy, facilitates exploitation, distributes opportunities and resources unfairly, and vitiates community, stunting self – realization and human development. Socialism, by democratizing, humanizing and rationalizing economic relations, hugely eliminates these problems.

As an ideology socialism has both critical and constructive aspects. Critically, it provides an account of what is wrong with capitalism and constructively, it provides an alternative theory of how to transcend the flows of capitalism like private property, markets, profits etc with socialist-like social ownership in the means of production, economic planning etc.

In the Critique of the Gotha Programme Marx divides post-capitalism into two parts the lower phase or the first phase called socialism and the higher phase or the last phase called communism. The lower phase or socialism follows immediately on the heels of capitalism, and so resembles it in certain ways. As Marx puts this point in Gatha Programme, “in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose wombs, it emerges.” The birth marks include (a) Material scarcity, (b) the existence of the state (c) the division of labour and finally, (d) under socialism many people will retain certain capitalist attitudes about production and distribution.

So, in all these ways, the ‘lower phase’ of post capitalism resembles its capitalist predecessor. Over time, however, these capitalist ‘birth marks’ fade, all traces of bourgeois attitudes and institutions vanish, humanity finally achieves the higher phase of post – capitalist society – communism – a classless and stateless society where the guiding principle will be “From each according to his ability to each according to his needs”. Socialism cannot be

understood without having a knowledge about capitalism and its ills. Capitalism is an economic and political system which allows unbridled economic activity and recognises the importance of private property. In a capitalist system, the means of production remain in the private hands and free market economy reigns supreme. Consequently, the prime objective of production is profit for the capitalists who are known as “bourgeois” in Marxist parlance. The bourgeois accumulated all wealth created by the workers and was able to establish their hegemony, over other classes in society. This resulted in the sharp division between the bourgeois and the working class.

On the other hand, socialism emerged as a more humane and better alternative to capitalism by replacing the capitalist mode of production by the socialist mode of production. In socialism as means of production are socially owned, everything that is produced is considered to be a social product and the value of such production belongs to the society as a whole. The principle which is followed in socialism, “from each according to his ability to each according to his needs”. Daniel De Leon defined socialism as “a social system under which the necessities of production are owned, controlled and administered by the people for the people.”

9.3 Evolution of Socialism

Although the socialist thought has existed throughout history, it was only in the early 1800s that socialism was found its way in the writings of Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Robert Owen (1771-1858), Charles Fourier (1772-1857) and others who came to be known as the early socialists or the utopian socialists.

The utopian socialists pointed to the inequalities, injustices and suffering of the people and they held the capitalist mode of production responsible for all these ills. They had no doubt that by convincing the bourgeoisie it was possible to fulfil the socialist goals like good wages, good housing, health care, education etc. for the workers. What was needed was to change the attitude and behaviour of the capitalists. But this kind of utopian socialism was subjected to criticism by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on the ground that socialism could not be achieved by moral development of the capitalist class. That’s why they termed this socialism as ‘unscientific’ or ‘utopian’ socialism. They were utopian because their diagnosis of the social ills was correct but the remedy they talked about was wrong. It was impracticable too. As such they were called utopian socialists.

Karl Marx and Fredrich Engles built up their theory or doctrine of socialism in the “Communist Manifesto” published in 1848. They called this socialism as ‘scientific socialism’

as it offers the economic interpretation of history by utilizing the scientific methodology of dialectical materialism. Scientific socialism not only analyses the true causes of exploitation, but also explains the scientific remedy of social revolution to end the ills of capitalist exploitation and to establish socialism which is to be ultimately replaced by communism – a stateless and classless society.

9.4 Marxist Socialism

Unlike their predecessors, Marx and Engels saw socialism not as an ideal for which an attractive blueprint could be drawn up, but as the product of the laws of development of capitalism which the classical economists were the first to discover and analyse. The form or forms of socialism might take would therefore only be revealed by an historical process which was still unfolding. Given this perspective, Marx and Engels quite logically refrained from any attempt to provide a detailed description, or even a definition of socialism. To them, it was first and foremost a negation of capitalism which would develop its own positive identity (communism) through a long revolutionary process in which the proletariat would remake society and in so doing remake itself.

Karl Marx's most important work on socialism is the Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875). In this work, Marx distinguished between the two phases of communist society. The first phase is the form of society which will succeed the capitalist society. This phase will bear the marks of its origin ; the workers who will be the new rulers will create their own State and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to protect the socialist system from the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. The principle which is followed in socialism regarding the livelihood of the people is "from each according to his ability to each according to his work." In such a social economic system, productive forces will develop rapidly and in course of time, the limits imposed by the capitalist system on the productive forces will be overcome and society will enter what Marx called the "higher stage of communist society" under which the state will wither away and a new attitude will develop among the people towards work and the new society will be able to inscribe on its flag the motto, "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs".

Lenin in his 'State and Revolution' stated that "what is usually called socialism was termed by Marx as the first or lower phase of communist society" and this usage was thereafter recognised or adopted by practically all who regard themselves as Marxists.

9.5 Socialism in Practice

a) USSR

The first socialist revolution took place in the Soviet Union under Lenin's leadership in 1917 which destroyed the centuries old Czarist rule in Russia and established a society where political power went into the hands of the working class and the society was officially designated as socialist (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic).

The leaders of the Soviet Union faced a difficulty in using Karl Marx's writings as a foundation for a socialist system. Marx had sought to explain why capitalism would collapse, he had little to say about how the socialist system that would replace capitalism, would function. He did suggest that over time, there would be less and less requirement of a government and the State would wither away. But his writings did not provide much of a blueprint for running a socialist economic system.

Lacking a guide for establishing a socialist economy, the leaders of the new regime in Russia struggled very hard to discover one. There were two main problems faced by the victorious Bolsheviks – a political one – the role and function of the party and the State, and an economic one – how to lay the foundation of a socialist economy. War Communism, the New Economic policy (NEP) and finally the doctrine of socialism were all various responses to the problem of how to develop an industrialised socialist economy in a backward peasant country.

By the summer of 1918, the onset of civil war rendered Lenin's 'state capitalism' untenable. The extreme State control known as "war communism" was instituted in order for the Soviet government simply to survive. Nationalisation was undertaken on a big scale. Runaway inflation limited the State's power to increase its resources by issuing more money and had to requisition resources from the peasantry. As the pressure of the civil war ended, militarization of the labour forces started taking place. Both Trotsky and Bukharin supported War Communism. Bukharin departed from classical Marxist tradition by proclaiming that a revolutionary period implied an initial disintegration of productive forces.

Socialism was conceived as a definitive resolution of the contradictions and crises of capitalism with which was primarily concerned the Marxist theory. Marx and Engels refused to speculate about the economic and social arrangements of the future society which, according to them, would develop on its own foundations. Some Marxists (Kautsky) recognized that the construction of a socialist economy and society, far from being an easy matter would throw a variety of problems. Kautsky and Otto Bauer argued that the

process of socialist construction of political power being achieved by the working class would be slow and difficult.

But war communism could not last long. It was to find a more lasting incarnation in certain aspects of Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country', but by early 1921, it was clear that it was increasing the economic problems of the country rather than finding a solution to them. Unless drastic changes were put in place, the Bolshevik government would have been in trouble.

To counter the ill effects of War communism. New Economic policy was adopted on Lenin's initiative. Lenin presented NEP as a return to the state capitalist policies of early 1918. Lenin wrote "it was the war and ruin that forced us into war communism. It was not and could not be a policy that corresponded to the economic tasks of the proletariat. It was a makeshift". He was of the opinion that War communism "was in complete contradiction to all we had previously written concerning the transition from capitalism to socialism." At the same time, Lenin referred to NEP as a 'retreat', implying a temporary regrouping of forces before a new offensive. He regarded NEP as a longterm one and the aim was to build an economically stable union with the peasantry and he even talked about NEP being in force for a ten year period. Talking about the speciality of NEP, he said "what is new at present moment for our Revolution is the need to resort to a "reformist gradualist, cautious, and round about approach to the solution of the fundamental problems of economic development".

The NEP was a drastic shift from war communism and generated a lot of controversy. Lenin was sharply criticised by some Marxists both in Russia and outside. The left criticised that Lenin was retreating into capitalism. They claimed that to build socialism, collectivization of production had to always advance to higher levels and individual production had to be steadily curtailed. Other criticism came from the right. They claimed that the dire problems in Russia's, economy proved that constructing socialism in Russia was premature.

Lenin responded to the critics of both 'left' and 'right'. To the 'left', he stated that socialism could not be built without a qualitative modernization of economy. The NEP was a 'retreat' but a temporary one under the firm hand of the socialist government. Socialism could not be built through constant advances, retreats were sometimes necessary. Addressing his critics on the 'right', he pointed out that Russia's economy would be most quickly modernized not under the rule of the capitalist but under a socialist government. Only under socialism, more resources could go into ensuring economic development. The protracted nature of building socialism became clearer to Lenin during the course of NEP. Lenin also saw the need for experimentation in building socialism. Since there was no roadmap to

socialism, different methods had to be tried to see what method would be successful.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin took up the reins of the USSR. Stalin stated that the State would remain even in the period of Communism, which is yet to be accomplished by the USSR, unless and until the capitalist encirclement is destroyed and the danger of foreign military aggression is eliminated. His main objective was to subordinate everything to the goal of rapid heavy industrialisation for which the Russian peasantry had to pay a heavy price largely as a result of the growing dearth of production goods which meant that the peasants had less for which they could exchange their surpluses. Bukharin and his followers opposed Stalin's policy of rapid heavy industrialisation. More than ever in control of the party, Stalin radicalised his policies. Despite agrarian problems, Stalin rejected the notion of class war in the rural areas and opposed the expropriation of Kulaks. But the gathering storm which broke in December, 1929, forced Stalin to declare a war on the Kulaks as a class. Agricultural front went through a lot of upheavals as a result of the government's firm control over agriculture although foundation for rapid industrialisation was firmly laid. The prerequisites for collectivisation of agriculture had been building up for some time. Throughout 1929 food supplies for the cities was in a perilous state and provoked widespread unrest. Agricultural prices rose as the opposition of peasantry to government demands increased. Stalin expressed the view that class struggle intensified as socialism approached and felt that the fragile momentum of industrialisation could only be preserved by a frontal attack on agriculture. With the collectivization of agriculture, the framework of a planned economy with emphasis on the development of heavy industry was firmly established.

Stalin's policies on the party were also very drastic. The purges of the late 1930s can be seen as the political counter part of Stalin's economic policy. After Lenin's death, Stalin continued for the next 30 years guiding the USSR through the difficult task of socialist construction. He led the country to victory over the Nazi attack and played a major role in organising the international united front against Hitler in alliance with USA, UK and France. Stalin's leadership was key of defense of socialism in the USSR when it was under attack from forces that ranged from the Trotskyists inside home to the fascist legions of Hitler.

Stalin deviated greatly from classical Marxism when it came to 'subjective factors' claiming that party members, whatever be their rank, had to profess fanatic adherence to the party's line and ideology and that otherwise those policies would fail.

Although Stalin had no subtle mind, he was responsible for several innovations in Marxism. Firstly, he was the author of the doctrine of socialism in one country in opposition

to Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution. Stalin introduced the novel concept of 'revolution from above' which will be accomplished from above on the initiative of the State and directly supported by millions of peasants. Stalin opined that with the advent of socialism in the USSR, although classes continued to exist they can be defined as 'non-antagonistic' since no class oppresses the other.

Stalin was of the opinion that class struggle must become fiercer as the building of socialism progressed. This principle remained officially valid even after Stalin declared that there were no longer any antagonistic classes in the USSR – there were no classes, but the class struggle was acuter than ever. Another principle enunciated by Stalin at a plenum of the control committee on 12 January, 1933 was that before the State withered away' under communism it must, for dialectical reasons, first develop to a point of maximum strength.

So far as philosophical questions were concerned, Stalin's innovations related to linguistics and he maintained that language is the creation of the whole people and not of any class and hence not related to ideology Stalin talked about relative autonomy of ideas. He reiterated his doctrine of non-antagonistic classes and practically denied the application of the law of quantity and quality to the Soviet Union. Stalin was of the opinion that the correctness of the Marxist doctrines was limited to the period in which they were expressed.

Trotsky criticised Stalin's policy of economic isolationism, his nationalist view on revolution or his equation of nationalisation with socialism. He was faced with the problem of how to categorise Russia in Marxist terms. In analysing the character of Russia, he put emphasis on bureaucracy and its power in Soviet society. He described bureaucracy not as a class of exploitation but as social parasitism. Trotsky characterised the Soviet regime by a contradiction between the increasing socialisation of the productive forces and the increasingly bourgeois norms of distribution. It was therefore a transitional society but not necessarily in transition to world socialism.

Nevertheless his criticism, he was with the Soviet Union – a country of revolution and an inspiration to the world proletariat. Soviet Union alone had the nationalised property that was a basic precondition for socialism.

Post Stalin, Nikita Krushchev took the reins of Soviet Russia. Krushchev criticised the 'cult of the individual' practised by Stalin and he was in favour of restoring the Leninist principle of Soviet Socialist democracy. It goes to the credit of Krushchev that he implemented economic decentralization, although on a limited scale. But above everything else, he devoted all his efforts to the improvement of agriculture which was direly neglected during

Stalin's regime. It was during the time of Krushchev when it was declared that "peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist countries is an objective necessity for the development of human society." and that capitalism had entered a new crisis 'the principal feature of which is that - its development is not related to a world war'. Krushchev had no doubt that USSR would lay the material and technical base for communism in the next decade and by 1980 "a communist society will be in the main built in the USSR." Krushchev claimed that the party was no longer the vanguard of the proletariat, but of the whole people. The programme called for the inculcation of a communist morality based on the principles of socialist humanism – a concept which was not to be found in the orthodox Leninist tradition for a long time.

With the fall of Krushchev, Brezhnev came to power and a more positive attitude to Stalin began to emerge together with the decline in the emphasis on peaceful coexistence. Brezhnev's doctrine of 'limited sovereignty' showed that the paths towards socialism could not be all that different and that the defence of socialism was a matter for the world socialist system and the concept of the national dictatorship of the proletariat into that of an international dictatorship, A new constitution came into being in 1961 which reinforced the power of the party and in line with the 22nd congress dropped 'the dictatorship of proletariat in favour of 'State of the Whole People'.

Krushchev condemned the 'cult of the individual' espoused by Stalin and called for a restoration of the Leninist principles of Soviet Socialist democracy. Krushchev was in favour of a limited degree of economic decentralization. He concentrated on improving the agriculture sector, so neglected by Stalin. Material incentives were restored, investment improved, collective farms were allowed to control their own mechanised power. It was during Krushchev that it was declared "peaceful coexistence of the Socialist and Capitalist countries is an objective necessity for the development of human society." It was also declared that 'a communist society will be in the main built in the USSR". Nor only this, it was also claimed in striking contrast with orthodox Marxism that the party was no longer the vanguard of the proletariat but of the whole people.

USSR got a new leader in March, 1985 in the form Mikhail Gorbachev. He was forward-thinking and reform-minded. He had no doubt that Russia was undergoing an economic downturn and a general sense of discontentment with communism gripped the people. He wanted to introduce a broad policy of economic restructuring which he called 'perestroika'. Gorbachev had hands on knowledge of the powerful bureaucrats who stood in the way of economic reform in the countries. That is why he wanted the Russian people to be on his side to put pressure on the bureaucrats and thus introduced two new policies

– glasnost meaning openness and demokratizatsiya (democratisation). They were intended to encourage ordinary Russian citizens to openly criticise the government and the party. These policies had their intended effect but soon went out of control. When Russians got to know that Gorbachev would not resist their newly won freedom of expression, they started not only to speak out against the regime and the bureaucracy, the whole concept of communism – its history, ideology and effectiveness as a system of government came up for debate.

b) Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe, socialism was implemented after the IInd world war and lasted for more than four decades. East European socialism started as a copy of the soviet socialism but subsequently acquired its own characteristics.

The ‘Stalinist Model’ was implemented throughout the region consisting of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic (GDR), Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. The first economic measures adopted in post-war Eastern Europe were administrative restructuring, expropriation of former capitalists, nationalisation of major industries, institution of State monopoly on foreign trade, agrarian reform and introduction of economic planning. In 1948, relations between USSR and Yugoslavia were snapped with the later following its own path of non-political alignment and a particular economic model based on workers’ self-management. In other East European Countries, Stalinist economic model was implemented until the 1960s. Although economic reforms started in the 1950s, they did not change the basic features of the Stalinist economic prescriptions. The most important changes took place in Poland where the process of collectivisation of agriculture was abandoned in 1956.

The Stalinist economic measures ensured the centralisation of decisions and resources so as to the priorities established were resolved. In the post-war case, the priority was industrialization. This was done in East European countries so that they can take a quantitative leap in the development of their productive forces. Maximum emphasis on industrialization led to negligence of the light and food industry. The abandonment of private property in the countryside created difficulties in supplying staples to the people. Rationing in consumer goods caused popular discontentment against East European governments in the 1950s. In addition, oppression and repression by the governments created a popular legitimacy crisis for these governments.

The Stalinist economic system served the post-war economic reconstruction purposes of the Eastern European countries. From a scarcity scenario left by the war, these countries

succeeded in building an industrial base which even overcame the pre-war situation. The rapid industrialization came with great costs which resulted in social instability in East European countries. Repressive state of affairs that characterised the relationship between citizens and governments pointed to the dissatisfaction of the civil societies with the initial fears of socialism which led to popular demands for economic and political changes.

In the 1960s, Eastern European countries faced a gloom in its economic growth performances. At the same time Stalinist model of industrialization began losing its ability to ensure a strong space of economic growth. The reason for economic decline was attributed to the exhaustion of growth possibilities based on the extensive use of resources, particularly in Czechoslovakia and GDR. The policy makers wanted to free the economic life of the people from political considerations.

Faced with these problems in the functioning of the Stalinist system, discussions about changes in the economic mechanism took place both within the ruling parties and in academic circles. They suggested solutions like decentralization of policy-making in companies, creation of a price system adequate to the cost structures of firms, adoption of measures to mitigate waste in the use of inputs and means of production, cost minimization, material motivation and efficiency and tailoring production to consumer needs and international trade requirements. These measures were meant to modernize the socialist economy through the permanent use of market and its social categories as an instrument to increase productivity and make the economic measures perfect.

The market mechanism was regarded as something capable of making the economy function to the maximum of its potential, so that the supposedly superiority, in terms of productivity, of the socialist economy over capitalism could be proven by qualitative results. During the 1960s, reforms in the planning and management system took place throughout Eastern Europe. The reforms varied widely across the region but the main idea was to use the market and its categories to perfect the economic system.

The most radical reforms regarding the presence of mercantile elements took place in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia while Yugoslavia abandoned planning once and for all, Hungary stopped short of a full market economy. In Czechoslovakia, the reforms moved forward to a pro-mercantile direction but they retreated in the early 1970s within the framework of 'Normalization' policy.

The reforms failed to solve the problems faced by the Eastern Europe economies. The presence of the planning and management system in the East European countries created hindrances with regard to resource, technological innovations, adapting itself to the demands

of the consumers. The result was the dismantling of the planning system altogether and using profit as a decisive factor for economic decisions and as a prime incentive for those involved in production. This expanded the role of mercantile elements in the economic life of these societies. It needs to be pointed out here that the economic reforms in the 1960s did not take into account the elites of East Europe who whimsically and despotically allocated economic resources. In fact, the social regimes of Eastern Europe had a State apparatus with an encrusted social layers that struggled to maintain its privileges at all costs, thereby becoming conservatives who were interested only to maintain the status quo. The Elites convinced the people that the sacrifices to be made for real socialism was the price to be paid for building a qualitatively better society than capitalism but this ideological structure was soon perceived by the people as a hollow one and lost its credibility altogether.

East European socialism entered the 1970s as a consolidated social system that appeared to be a viable alternative to capitalism. The system achieved stability by being a part of the overarching State apparatus controlled by an elite that maintained a tight grip over society. The economic mechanism faced several problems but it was able to keep growing quantitatively.

Despite this apparent stability, Real Socialism collapsed in the late 1980s due to its many problems and contradictions and a specific set of historical events. During the 1970s and 80s, balance of payment situation was very bad, in the age of detente socialist countries increased their financial and trade relations with the capitalist countries and this brought troubles later on, since the international market was regulated under capitalist terms. East European Countries took up the strategy of borrowing from international financial markets. The adoption of this strategy was entrenched in the manner by which Real socialism dealt with the question of raising the productivity levels. In other words, this was a direct consequence of the policy undertaken by the privileged class to legitimise themselves through the idea that socialism was a better system than capitalism in all spheres. In as much as it started competing with the capitalist countries, the socialist block needed to import technology, production goods and consumer goods from these countries. They also followed the path of foreign indebtedness to finance their external payment obligations and later they fell back on the international monetary organisations like IMF, World Bank etc. The exception was Albania but the worsening of relations with China created difficulties for its economy.

Critics argue that internal logic of real socialism, the productionist logic pushed policy makers to a vicious cycle of resorting to global capitalist market in order to try to close the gap between capitalist and socialist productivity levels. As Real socialism's political,

economic and social contradictions deepened, the Eastern European regimes began a process of reconversion to capitalism. The first case was that of Poland where the government faced strong opposition from the Solidarity Union and the Catholic Church and the people were beset by economic crisis. After Poland, the turn came for Hungary where the transition to the new social regime was simpler than in the Polish case because the economy was already close to capitalism followed by fall of the Berlin Wall, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, the pro-capitalist reforms led by the communists in Bulgaria and the deposition of Ceausescu in Romania. There were also transformations towards capitalism in Yugoslavia and Albania. The changes in the USSR made it possible for astonishing transformations to occur at a rapid pace throughout the region. These reforms included the replacement of the “Brezhnev Doctrine” for a “New Political Thinking” in the conduct of Soviet foreign policy which granted greater space of action for the Eastern European countries to restore sovereignty and follow their own path.

9.6 Socialism in Practice

a) China

Following the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, Mao himself had undertaken the task of achieving speedy growth of productive forces. China, prior to revolution, was what Karl Marx had once called “a society vegetating in the teeth of time”. The Chinese revolution decisively broke the chain of subservience of China to imperialist interests as well as the chains of stagnating backwardness thus freeing China from semi-feudal exploitation and its associated social consciousness among the people. Mao declared that, “only socialism can save China.” It is with such clarity that Mao had embarked on an economic plan of a “socialist self-reliance”.

The basic tasks faced by the Chinese Communist party after the founding of People’s Republic of China were – consolidation of the revolution, rehabilitation of the war-torn economy and transition from new democracy to socialism. Suppressing the forces of counter-revolution through the US aggression against Korea and restoring industrial agricultural production capacity was successfully carried out by 1952. But the socialist transition of agriculture, petty production, industry and trade took a longer time.

The agrarian reforms liquidated the feudal landlords and lands were distributed to the peasantry which necessitated mutual aid and cooperation. Socialist agrarian reforms such as producer’s cooperatives were created through transitional forms of cooperation that were only semi-socialist in nature. Social transformation of agriculture was by and large

complete by 1956. It was in the case with industry that large-scale trade and commerce was essential for which purpose a number of transitional forms of state capitalism were devised. The first five year plan was successfully completed in 1957 as a result of which rapid and balanced economic growth was ensured.

The 8th National Congress declared that the socialist system was basically established in China and the basic contradiction was no longer between classes but “between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of the economy and culture which fell short of the needs of the people”. The line drawn by the Eighth Congress of the CPC laid the basis for next ten years of socialist construction. There was alround growth in all spheres but the leadership felt that not sufficient. Hence, they coined slogans like the ‘Great Leap Forward’ and ‘Communes’ with an aim to decentralise the administration. Development which took place as a result of the Great Leap Forward had a high element of voluntarism and the ground realities were not taken into consideration. The level of conscioussess of the masses and technological requirements were also not given the required importance. Material incentives were ignored. Some of the leftist excesses which were evident in these movements continued to persist and became a major tendency within the party culminating in the so-called “Cultural Revolution”.

The Cultural Revolution was a decade-long policy which had massive consequences for the Chinese people. The revolution was Mao’s attempt at reasserting control and sending radical youths against the communist party hierarchy, intellectuals, those with nationalist party alliances, class enemies, those with Western ties and any one else deemed an enemy. It was such a jarring event in chinese history that the effects had economic and cultural repercussions for decades to come. This cultural revolution began in 1966 when the Chinese Communist Party issued a notice on May 16, for the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The announcement called for the purge of “representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture and destroy the “Four Olds” – old ideas, old customs, old culture and old habits.

History has proved that the cultural revolution did not reflect the objective needs of China or the principles of Marxism-Leninsm. It disrupted the paramount task of advancing the productive forces in agriculture and industry and resulted in severe economic setback. It negated basic principles of organisation of the party leadership and democratic centralism.

The Chiness Commnist party has self-critically analysed why such a grave deviation took place in its history of socialist construction. The victory of the Chinese revolution is

due to the success in creatively developing Marxism to suit the specific conditions of semi-feudal/semi-colonial China. Mao-ze-Dong played a very important role in the process. His analysis laid the basis of socialist transformation of the Chinese economy. But instead of creatively applying Marxism/Leninism to the new conditions of socialist China, he interpreted Marxism – Leninism dogmatically to the new situation. Taking class struggle as the key link even after socialist transformation was a one-sided interpretation of Marxist – Leninist understanding of the nature of petty production and the principle of equal right. The personality cult that came to be built around Mao also made collective and democratic functioning of the party difficult. The semi-feudal cultural traditions of China provided a fertile ground for personality cult and anti-democratic tendencies.

Following the political turmoil that took place during the Cultural Revolution and dethroning of the “Gang of Four”, serious introspection began and the CPC adopted a comprehensive ideological line that culminated in what the party called “one central task and two basic points”. One central task is economic development, the ‘two basic points’ are adherence to the four cardinal principles, Marxism – Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, Socialist Road, Peoples’ Democratic Dictatorship and leadership of the Communist Party and the Implementation of Reforms and Open door policy.

After the death of Mao, Deng Xiaoping became the leader of the party in 1978 and dominated the political thought of China. Market economy advocated by him had been the beacon light for the party all these years. The party has thus been the architect and defender of the new concept of socialism as sponsored by Deng who is said to have hijacked Communism while unleashing economic reforms in 1978. The fourteenth Congress of the party convened on 12 October, 1992, talked of New Revolution whose aim was to “fundamentally change the economic structure that had hampered the development and set up a socialist market economy”. Under Deng’s influence, the party discarded the left principle of class struggle as a key link and switched focus on economic development. It was emphasised that, “Reform is also a revolution – a revolution whose goal is to liberate the productive forces It is the only way to modernise China. If we cling to outmoded ideas and remain content with the status quo, we shall accomplish nothing.”

Deng induced his party to uphold a new brand of socialism with Chinese characteristics. it is evident that the party under the leadership of Deng and his followers initiated New Revolution and pledges. The present leadership of China in no way lags behind in toeing the line of the departed leader. The present leadership have vowed to push ahead with market reforms that have boosted the economy and it is now the envy of the world.

b) Cuba

Cuba is a country which has declared itself as an “independent and sovereign socialist state of workers’. On a successful revolution in 1959, Marxism-Leninism was introduced and a communist regime was put in place under the leadership of the Cuban Communist party. Since 1959, Marxism – Leninism continues to be the guiding ideology of the communist party of Cuba. As a socialist country, the Constitution of Cuba talks about a socialist economy based on the people’s socialist ownership of the fundamental means of production and the abolition of exploitation of man by man. Cuba also follows the socialist principle of distribution of what is produced in the country, ‘from each according to his capacity to each according to work’. The State organs in Cuba are based on the ideal of socialist democracy.

Like other socialist states, Cuba also does not allow dissenting voice. Although Cuba has made some attempts for reforms in political spheres as proved by constitutional amendment of 1992, allowing more political parties, the Cuban Communist party has resisted such political reform. Cuba is a one-party State with no opposition. In 2002, constitution was amended and it was declared that socialism in Cuba is “irrevocable” and the country “shall never return to capitalism”

c) Vietnam

Marxism – Leninism is the ideological basis of socialism in Vietnam. To this was added Ho Chi Minh thought. According to Ho Chi Minh. “Socialism is not a complete model but a constant formula, so building socialism must be practical, consistent with objective conditions, must uphold the law and must know how to apply rules in a creative way, avoiding liberal dogma and stereotypes”. The victory of the 1945 revolution under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam marks the first victory of Ho Chi Minh Thought about the revolutionary path of national liberation under the proletarian revolution. In Vietnam, it was a long-term three stage struggle involving the liberation of the country, eliminating the semi-feudal and feudal remnants to implementing and improving the people’s democratic regime – to build the foundation of socialism and then proceed to implement socialism.

From 1954, Vietnam followed the Soviet model of development with highly centralised planning and state ownership of capital and means of production. There was collectivisation of agriculture. The Communist Party controlled all aspects of society. This model was applied to the South Vietnam from 1975 and private enterprises were taken over. The Vietnamese economy was strongly supported by the Soviet Union and it was dependent

on Soviet aid much of which was spent on large projects with mixed results.

Economic reforms were initiated by the Vietnamese Communist party in 1986. These were aimed at restructuring the Vietnamese economy away from Soviet type central planning and towards a market-based mixed economy intended to be a transitional phase in the development of a socialist economy. The goal of this economic system was to improve the productive forces of the economy, developing a firm technical - material base for the foundation of socialism and to enable Vietnam to better integrate with the world economy. In the early 1990s, Vietnam accepted some World Bank advice for market liberalisation but rejected structural adjustment programme and conditional aid requiring privatization of State owned enterprises.

d) North Korea

The basis of communism in North Korea can be traced back to the liberation of Korea from Japanese imperialism in 1945. Kim il Sung led the struggle against the Japanese domination under the stewardship of the Marxist – Leninist Workers’ party of North Korea. Marxism - Leninism continued as the official State ideology until 1972.

North Korea has maintained one of the most closed and centralised economies in the World since the 1940s. For several decades, it followed the Soviet-style five-year plan with the ultimate goal of achieving self-sufficiency. Extensive Soviet and Chinese support helped North Korea to rapidly recover from Korean war and register very high growth rates.

The loss of Eastern European trading partners caused several economic hardship including wide-spread famine. In an attempt to recover from the collapse, the government began structural reforms in the late 1990s that formally allowed private ownership of assets and decentralised control over production. A second round of reforms in 2002 led to an expansion of market activities, partial monetization, flexible prices and salaries and the introduction of incentives and accountability techniques. Despite these changes, North Korea remains a command economy where the State owns almost all the means of production and development priorities are defined by the government.

Since 1970s, North Korea promoted Kimilsungism - more commonly known as Juche. Simply put, Juche means ‘self-reliance’ and espouses that man is the master of his own destiny. This Juche philosophy which was espoused by Kim Jong II is unique to socialist theory in the sense that while Marxist historical materialism asserts material conditions as being the governing force for societal change, Juche insists that a country can develop and maintain socialism through powerful ideological conviction and human drive even when

correct material conditions are absent. Juche emphasises on Korean style of socialism and preaches ideological independence for socialist countries. This philosophy came into being in the real sense of the term following rifts between North Korea and its northern neighbours – China and USSR during which time, North Korea began to adopt a more isolationist, self-reliant stance.

The fact of the matter is that despite Juche philosophy and its commitment to socialism, North Korea has faced challenges of dynastic rule which prevents the country from being self-reliant. The campaign of ‘military-first -policy’ also imposes a heavy burden on the economy of the country.

9.7 Eurocommunism

The idea of a gradual and peaceful transition to socialism sounded very much like the so-called “attrition-strategy” articulated by Karl Kautsky in his debate with Rosa Luxemburg in the German Social Democratic Party. According to this strategy, the power of the state could systematically be chipped away, gradually eroding the strength of the ruling class.

Ernest Mandel, in his book, “From Stalinism to Euro Communism” wrote that Euro Communism was more than a parliamentary strategy to garner electoral support, but a deeper political transformation. He described the roots of eurocommunism as lying in the theory of ‘socialism in one country’ developed by Stalin’. Marxism from the time of Marx and Engels was committed to internationalism. As Trotsky explained, “The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena and is completed on the world arena.” Stalin’s construction of the theory of socialism in one country was a definitive break with this socialist principle.

The effect was that the communist parties outside Russia was subordinated to the interests of the USSR and followed by the perpetual zigzags dictated by Soviet foreign policy. For the socialist movement internationally, this meant the substitution of an offensive revolutionary strategy for a defense of the Soviet ‘bastion’. According to Mandel, the roots of eurocommunism can be traced to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, with turn towards a goal of the USSR’s ‘peaceful coexistence’ with imperialism and the establishment of the “popular front” based on cross-class alliances. From the 1950s onwards what had been intermittent and sharp forms in comintern policy became a, “reformist practice applied without interruption for nearly 20 years”, so told by Mandel who compared the period to the degeneration of Marxist theory and practice during the era of “classical social democracy between 1900 and 1914”. The result was that eurocommunism learned nothing except to prepare for routine elections and immediate wage struggles.

During the same period, Stalinism underwent a crisis that coincided with Stalin's death, the revelations about the crimes the USSR under Stalin committed in the name of socialism and revolutionary uprisings against the satellite regimes modelled on the USSR in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

While these conflicts and struggles loosened the grip of Stalinism, the dominant response of the communist parties in Western Europe was to move more determinedly toward the reformist theory and practice of social democracy.

9.8 Socialism in Latin America

The most instructive evidence about socialist transformation has emerged from Latin America. There, in what has been called the 'pink tide', many countries have been governed by parties of the left. Observers have frequently divided the region's left-wing governments into "social democrats", especially Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and "democratic socialists", like Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia and sometimes Argentina, though some of them have been more democratic than others. While the left parties retain power across much of the region, the high-water mark of the "pink tide" certainly seemed to have been reached by 2015-when the left lost in Argentina and Venezuela. Weak economic performance across the region makes the expansion of social programmes impossible. In drawing up a balance sheet of pink tide's achievements, however, there is particular puzzle with respect to the "socialists". Most of the world's democratic socialist intellectuals have been skeptical of Latin America's examples citing their authoritarian qualities and occasional cults of personality. To critics, the appropriate label for these governments is not socialism but populism.

9.9 Critique of the Theory and Practice of Socialism

Socialism, till the mid-twentieth century was an ideology having its presence in almost every part of the world – many countries embracing socialism in one form or the other. But since the latter half of the 1980s, popular movements emerged in many socialist countries demanding democratization and reforms in the economic activities of the socialist states. China faced such challenges in 1989. The socialist state, Poland broke up in 1989. Hungary preferred multi-party democracy over communist rule. East Germany did away with socialism with the fall the Berlin Wall. East European socialist countries like Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, etc, gave up communism. But the most brutal blow to socialism was the fall of the USSR, the first ever socialist state in the world, in 1991.

Francis Fukujama in his famous essay, 'The end of History' remarked that the fall the USSR marked the end of ideological evolution of human kind and he went so far as declaring the 'end of history'. Fukuyama predicted that communism would be the last phase of human progression and liberal democracy would be the final form of human political organisation.

Critics are divided in their criticism of socialism and its functioning in practice. Some critics see socialism as a completely theoretical concept and they prefer to criticise socialism on theoretical grounds. Others are of the opinion that since the existence of socialist states is a fact, they should be subjected to criticism keeping the practice in mind. Milton Friedman, a proponent of free-market economic organisation, argued that free-market and private ownership are natural institutions and the socialist principle of state ownership of mean of production would not be able to serve the economic interests of the common people. Friedman also argued that socialism as an economic proposition hinders scientific competition. F. Hayek and some other neoliberal economists shared Friedman's views. They contended that without the market it would not be psossible to make a rational calculation over the resources in society.

The functioning of the 20th century socialist states have not been very encouraging. Despotic regimes of Stalin in the USSR, Cambodia under Polpot, China under Mao are inevitable dark episodes in socialist comtries. There is no denying that some socialist states made remarkable economic progress – authoritarianism, repression of democratic values and restrictions on political freedom have subjected the socialist states to criticism by countries outside the socialist world. The end of cold-war presented challenges to the socialist states which forced these states to initiate economic and political reforms. To cope up with these challenges, many socialist countries have introduced economic reforms based on market and opened up their economy to the international economic system. Most socialist countries have adopted market socialism – a form of socialism that embraces certain features of capitalism within the socialist system. For example, China under Deng Xiaoping, initiated reform and opening up policy. Cuba allowed communities greater participation in decision – making and it directed its economy towards the market model to deal with globalisation challenges. Livewise, Vietnam went for a 'socialist- oriented market economy' in 1986 known as 'Doi-moi' economic reforms which resulted in the transformation of its centrally planned economy to a 'multi-sectoral' market oriented economic model under which the State plays an important role in ensuring economic development to build socialism while permitting private individuals and enterprises to function complying with the dictates of the market.

Despite capitulating to capitalist economy, these countries still call themselves socialist and the communist parties still have their firm grip on the political system. Whether they will gradually transform themselves into a market economy or remain socialistic remains to be seen.

9.10 Conclusion

Marx and Engels provided a theoretical exposition of scientific socialism. Lenin, Stalin and Mao - Tse -Tung enriched scientific socialism with their different practical experience they gained in the course of building socialism in USSR and China respectively. Building socialism has been not that easy. In Russia both Lenin and Stalin had to depart from the traditional Marxist path to build socialism in the USSR although both of them adhered to Marxist theory in general. Post Lenin and Stalin, the Russian leaders like Krushchev, Breznev deviated from the Marxist-Leninist principle and finally Gorbachev put the last nail in the coffin of Soviet socialism by resorting to economic and political reforms with led to the fall of Soviet Union as a socialist country.

In China, Mao-Tse-Tung led the struggle for building socialism and subsequently to fight his opponents he made some mistakes as done by Stalin in USSR. Critics refer to cultural revolution which succeeded in keeping China socialist during Mao's life time but it did not succeed in preventing the revisionists as was proved in the post Mao period. Restoration of capitalism was the main objective of the revisionists in both the two countries. The capitalist roaders or for that matter, the revisionists in both the two countries. deviating from the classical Marxist prescription of building socialism tried to establish the the state of the whole people or market socialism in USSR and China respectively. The same had happened in Eastern Europe and in other former socialist block countries.

The lessons learnt from the restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries and market socialism in the existing socialist countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea are a) socialism is necessary and inevitable as its alternative to capitalism which is based on exploitation of the working class. b) Socialism is far superior to capitalism. It is a fact that before revisionism took over in the socialist countries, socialism proved its superiority from the point of view of the great masses of these countries, c) the loss of face of socialism worldwide was primarily due to internal weaknesses in the one-time Marxist-Leninist parties leading the socialist countries. External factors, that is the machinations by the capitalist countries played a secondary role in the fall of socialism in USSR and Eastern Europe. But as the class struggle still continues in capitalist countries, it is inevitable that a

new world Marxist-Leninist movement will emerge which will lead to the accomplishment of the transition from capitalism to communism.

9.11 Summing up

- As an ideology, socialism has both positive and negative aspects. Critically, socialism sees capitalism as an exploitative system and constructively, it provides an alternative theory of transcending capitalism and creating a socio-political system with social ownership in the means of production and no exploitation.
- Although socialist thought has existed throughout history, it was in the writings of the utopian socialists that socialism found its way for the first time.
- Karl Marx analyzed socialism in his ‘The Gotha Programme’ where he distinguished between socialism- the first phase and communism- the ultimate phase when the principle “from each according to his ability to each according to his needs” will be followed.
- The first socialist revolution took place in the USSR under the leadership of Lenin in 1917 when socialism came out of theory and became a reality.
- Following Russia, socialist society was established in many East European countries like Albania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Romania etc.
- Post Second World War, China, Vietnam, Cuba, North Korea embraced socialism in keeping with their own traditions and characteristics.
- Socialist countries were able to bring about immense socio-economic and political development in their respective countries by centralized planning.
- Reformist theory and practice of social democracy followed by countries of Western Europe gave birth to Eurocommunism, whose roots were in the theory of ‘socialism in one country’ developed by Stalin.
- In Latin America, many countries were governed by the parties of the Left which has been called the ‘pink tide’. But due to poor economic performance across the region made the expansion of social programmes impossible. The critics have levelled the left governments in Latin America as more populist than socialist.
- Socialism was embraced by many countries post Second World War but since the latter half of the 20th century popular movements emerged in many socialist

countries demanding democratization and reforms in the economic activities of the state. Socialist countries faced many challenges and as a result, socialism fell in countries one after another, the most significant one being the USSR in 1991.

- Some critics of socialism see it as a purely theoretical concept and criticize it from theoretical standpoint. Others are of opinion that since the existence of socialism is a fact, it should be criticized keeping its practice in mind. Milton Friedman, a proponent of freemarket economic organization, argued that free-market and private ownership are natural institutions and the socialist principle of social ownership of the means of production would not be able to serve the economic interests of the common people.

9.12 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Write a note on the evolution of socialism.
2. Discuss Russian or East European or Chinese socialism.
3. Distinguish between utopian and scientific socialism

Short Questions

1. What is utopian socialism ?
2. What is Eurocommunism ?
3. What is dictatorship of the proletariat ?
4. What is NEP ?
5. What is collectivization of agriculture ?

Objective Questions

1. Who wrote 'The Gotha Programme' ?
2. Name one utopian socialist.
3. Who authored 'State and Revolution' ?
4. What is the full form of NEP ?
5. Whose name is associated with 'socialism in one country' ?

6. What is the full form of USSR ?
7. Whose name is associated with 'Perestroika' ?
8. With which country is the 'Juche' philosophy associated ?
9. Which country is related to the concept of 'Doi-Moi' ?
10. Name the country where socialism was first established ?

9.13 Further Reading

1. Tom Bottomore (ed), *Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Blackwell, 1983.
2. L. Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, Vol-III, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978.
3. Vishnu Bhagwan, Vidya Bhusan, Vandana Mohla, *World Constitutions- A Comparative Study*, Sterling, New Delhi, 1984.
4. David McLellan, *Marxism after Marx*, MacMillan Press Ltd, 1979.

Unit 10 □ Limitations of Capitalism and Socialism

Structure:

- 10.1 Objective**
- 10.2 Introduction**
- 10.3 Ideas about Capitalism**
- 10.4 Limitations or Disadvantages of Capitalism**
- 10.5 Ideas about Socialism**
- 10.6 Limitations of Socialism**
- 10.7 Capitalism vs Socialism Debates**
- 10.8 Capitalist and Socialist Countries Today**
- 10.9 Conclusion**
- 10.10 Summing Up**
- 10.11 Probable Questions**
- 10.12 Further Reading**

10.1 Objective

After going through this unit, learners will be familiar with:

- meaning, type, characteristics, advantages and limitations of Capitalism.
- meaning, type, characteristics, advantages and limitations of Socialism.
- difference between Capitalism and Socialism.

10.2 Introduction

The terms capitalism and socialism are both used to describe economic and political systems. On a theoretical level, both of these terms also describe specific schools of economic thought. One of the most fundamental differences between the systems of capitalism and socialism lies in the scope of government intervention within an economy.

The capitalist economic model relies on free market conditions for the creation of wealth. The production of goods and services is based on supply and demand in the general market. This economic structure is referred to as a market economy.

In a socialist economic model, the production of goods and services is either partially or fully regulated by the government. This is referred to as central planning, and the economic structure that is created is known as a planned economy or a command economy.

10.3 Ideas about Capitalism

What is Capitalism:

Capitalism is that part of economic systems where productions are owned and managed by private individuals and institutions. Or it is economic individualism wherein the individuals are the one to decide what and how much to produced and distributed. They are at liberty to use any technique of production and produce anything they like. In this economic system, State is to take care of only internal and external security of the country. Normally the activities related to Defence, Police, Administration and Courts of Justice are controlled by the government.

A private enterprise economy characterized by the existence of business fluctuations and considerable unemployment. In capitalism there will be considerable ups and downs – swings of the business cycle with their inevitable repercussions on the people.

Types of Capitalism: There are two types of capitalism :

1. Classical Capitalism
2. Monopoly Capitalism

Classical capitalism

For introduction of classical capitalism credit goes to Adam Smith, in fact Adam Smith the founder of economics presented the idea. Adam Smith assumed the presence of perfect competition. The State is more or less non-existent so far as the economic matters are concerned. The State job was restrained to enforcement of contracts, protection of property, maintain law and order national frontiers. They were on the opinion that the State has no right to interfere in the economic activities of the country. In this type the doctrine of *laissez-faire* dominated.

Monopoly Capitalism

There is no more room for classical capitalism in today's economic system. Free market, perfect competition and State's non-interference in the economic activities are not existed. Perfect competition is yielded to imperfect competition. Nowadays market is restricted. Now countries are intervening in the activities of their economic systems.

Main Characteristics of Capitalism

1. Right to own property
2. Profit motive
3. Private ownership of means of production
4. Consumer's sovereignty
5. Economic freedom
6. Social division of people
7. Price mechanism

Advantages of Capitalism

The major benefits or advantages of capitalism are :

1. The resources are utilized efficiently and economically.
2. Producers, consumers and the workers all enjoy economic freedom and are free to work, as they like. Goods are produced according to the taste, preference and demand of consumers.
3. Capitalist system can make changes according to the needs and circumstances of the economy. It has inbuilt flexibility.
4. An automatic equilibrium is brought about by the operation of price mechanism and market forces. No central direction is required for the operation of the economy.
5. There is no interference in economic matters. Every individual is free to take decisions as to his economic activities keeping in mind his own-interest.
6. Every producer tries to earn as much as possible by increasing his output, bringing newer commodities in to the market etc.
7. Entrepreneurs are encouraged to invest more money even in the projects involving

high risk by providing them incentives. This results in technological progress and new innovations, which involves great risks.

8. The capitalist countries have become rich and affluent, and people of such countries enjoy higher standard of living.
9. Capitalism encourages capital formation.

10.4 Limitations or Disadvantages of Capitalism

The major limitations or disadvantages of capitalism are :

1. It must be regulated in some way to be an effective form of economics

The nature of capitalism is that the most powerful business in every industry will eventually gain control over the rest of its competition. Those with the most money and resources can perform the highest levels of research and development. That means they control more of the production cycle every time expansion opportunities occur. Even when a disruptor can create something better than the largest organization in the sector, the big company can purchase the rights to the product – or buy the new company.

That means there is a chance to have a monopoly of power if regulations are not in place to control outcomes. A firm that has a monopoly can abuse their economic position by charging whatever they want for goods or services.

2. Capitalism eventually leads to inequality

One of the founding principles of capitalism is that it allows each person the right to pass down their wealth to the next generation. If a small group of families hold a majority of the money in any given economy, then they can pass it to their children to keep the value in the same group over multiple generations. Over time, this disadvantage causes the rich to get richer, while the poor continue to struggle to make ends meet. It allows for money to hold as much power as innovation, leadership, or oversight. If you have enough of it, then you can purchase whatever you need to retain your power.

3. Capitalist economies do not always stay in a pattern of growth

It can be exciting to live in a society that focuses on capitalism when there is a period of expansion occurring. When the economy decides that it is time to contract, then this recession can cause higher levels of unemployment, more people on social safety net

programs, and a decline in revenues for producers. Those who have high levels of wealth withstand this time because they can dip into their reserves to maintain their quality of life. Someone living paycheck-to-paycheck would not have that luxury.

4. It marginalizes the people who are unable to maintain high productivity levels

True capitalism does not take into account age, wisdom, experience, or health. It expects people to remain competitive to stay active in the economy. If you do not have any skills that are in demand, then there is theoretically no place for you to exist. Social safety net programs are not part of this economic theory. You either contribute or you don't, and if you choose the latter, then it could be a life-threatening experience.

Capitalist economies will take this advantage to the extreme, providing fewer goods that offer positive externalities. That means there would be less of an emphasis on education, public transportation, infrastructure, and healthcare needs. Each organization and worker would always be looking out for themselves above anyone else.

5. A capitalist economy ignores adverse external outcomes

Profit is the sole motivation in a capitalist economy. Even though there are higher levels of innovation to consider with this approach, it comes at the detriment of everything else. There is no consideration of the environment unless it contributes to the bottom line in some way. Damage to health is common with this economic approach because organizations can replace one worker with another without much difficulty.

Although this approach creates cheaper products for consumers, there is a long-term cost that everyone will pay. Mining companies that strip the land of resources and leave behind toxic residues have no incentive to clean the air or help the local population. The cost of removing these items would be left to those who want them gone, leaving the firm free and clear of their responsibilities.

6. Capitalism requires consumption to be successful

Capitalism only works as it should when consumers decide to spend their discretionary money. If they decide to save it instead, then this approach struggles to survive because profit is the primary motive. When there are no buying or selling activities happening, then a business can no longer continue its operations. By making a purchase, each member of society contributes to the employment of everyone else.

Capitalists don't like the idea of income redistribution because it feels like some people get to have their needs met without the obligation to work. This disadvantage redistributes wealth more by corporate choice than government mandate.

7. The capitalistic approach doesn't consider ongoing opportunities

What capitalism defines as "fair" is not the same as other market systems. Although everyone gets the same initial chance to pursue success, there are several factors in play that can limit how much progress is possible. Someone with more money will have more opportunities than those who have less. Poor schools tend to underperform, while wealthy schools meet or exceed educational expectations.

Some families are working 2-3 jobs to make ends meet, which means the children have less time with their parents for mentoring, homework assistance, and companionship. There are plenty of people who work hard and still scrape by each pay period with barely enough.

8. Governments use taxation as a way to fund their operations

Since the government in a capitalistic society stays out of the marketplace, taxes are necessary to fund its operation. Businesses and individuals pay their "fair share" to have access to public resources. Since the primary expense for most agencies is labor, there is always money being directed toward innovative concepts while the expenses of the workforce are trimmed whenever possible. That means workers receive the lion's share of risk in this approach. One wrong spending or investment decision could create a decade of financial hardship if a bankruptcy becomes necessary.

9. Capitalism bails out the business, but not the consumer

If a company becomes overly influential in society, then its failure could drag down everyone else with it. This disadvantage is why the U.S. government distributed bailout funds to numerous organizations to help them continue their operations. These investments came through taxpayer dollars. Small businesses don't receive that luxury, and individuals wouldn't even get unemployment protection under a true lens of capitalism. When a monopoly exists and then disappears, the hole that it leaves in the economy can create a massive recession that could require a recovery of several years.

10. Wages creep lower as more capitalism tendencies appear

Your status as an individual in a capitalist society is based on your ability to be productive. If there is a worker who builds cars at \$20 per hour, but an unemployed

person with the same skills is willing to do the labor for \$18 per hour – guess which option the company will choose? Capitalistic idealism pushes people to balance the value of their productivity with the overall wages they need for survival. This disadvantage causes economic decline over time because most positions have someone who is willing to work for less than a current employee.

This process is one of the reasons why the federal minimum wage in the United States is still \$7.25 after nearly a decade of not being updated. It's also the reason why the real value of wages has been stagnant since the 1980s.

11. Capitalism can create more segregation

People tend to stick to the neighbourhoods where everyone makes about the same amount of money. If you are affluent, then you wouldn't voluntarily have an apartment in the projects of an inner city. Middle-class families can't afford the mansions that are in a luxury neighbourhood. Every social and economic class segregates itself in a capitalistic society because these groupings are the only way people can relate to one another.

10.5 Ideas About Socialism

What is Socialism:

In socialism means of production are owned and managed by the State. Ownership of means of production is not allowed. In socialism economic activities are carried on mainly for social gains and personal interest is of less significance. In this economic system the anti social activities like smuggling and hoarding find no place. Economic activities are planned with the motive of social benefit by a central planning authority.

The individuals in socialistic society surrender their economic freedom in exchange of assurance of freedom from wants by the State. It is the responsibility of the State to provide food, lodging and clothing besides other requirements, by assigning a suitable job to each one of them.

Characteristics of Socialism

1. In socialism means of production are owned by the State
2. Economic activities are planned by the central planning authority
3. Absence of competition

4. Equal opportunities to all
5. No economic freedom to the people

Advantages of Socialism: Following are the benefits or advantages of socialism

1. Greater Efficiency

Economic efficiency under socialism is greater than under capitalism, the means of production are not left in the market forces rather they are controlled and regulated by the central planning authority towards chosen end. The central planning authority makes an exhaustive survey of resources and utilizes them in the most efficient manner.

2. Greater Welfare

In a social economy, there is less inequality of income as compared to capitalist economy because of the absence of private ownership of means of production. In socialist economic system every one works hard and paid as per his skills & ability.

3. Absence of Monopolistic Practices

One of the benefits of socialism is that it is free from monopolistic practices to be found in a capitalist society. Since under socialism all means of production are owned by the State, the exploitations by the monopolist are absent. Instead of private monopoly, there is State monopoly over the productive system but this is operated for the welfare of the people.

4. Absence of Business Fluctuations

A socialist economy is also superior to a capitalist economy that is free from business fluctuation. Generally planned economy co-ordinates the action of various producing units, prevents discrimination between saving and investment and make full use of available resources. It is able to control over production and avoid general deflationary trend.

5. Economic Growth

Economic growth may be considered as an important advantage of socialism because it adopts economic planning as a means of promoting rapid economic growth. A planned socialist economy functions right according to the plan in a systematic and orderly manners and marches rapidly on the road to economic progress.

10.6 Limitations of Socialism

Following are the limitations or disadvantages of socialism :

1. Elimination of Individualism

There are many disadvantages of socialism but first come in mind is the lack of economic freedom. In socialist economic system everything is controlled by a centralized body. Individuals are not allowed to own any assets, everything belongs to the state. Workers are assigned specific jobs and are not allowed to change them without consent from the planning authority.

2. Socialism creates a significantly higher tax burden for individuals

When an economy has a high rate of progressive taxation, then there are more disincentives than benefits to consider when working or creating a business opportunity. Under the proposed Green New Deal being developed by progressives in the United States, the idea of a 70% tax rate on the highest incomes could generate extra revenues of \$12 billion. The only problem is that this figure would reflect just a 0.3% share of the overall tax hike that would be necessary to complete the plan.

It is easier for people who have excessive wealth to live abroad where tax havens exist. They can take a free ride on the others who don't have the opportunity to pay the tax. That's why making a rate that's too high will almost always be a self-defeating effort when trying to establish a socialist society.

3. Entrepreneurs have no motivation to operate since they aren't true owners

Socialism can create ownership opportunities, but it is rarely for the individual. That means entrepreneurs are instantly disincentivized from putting in the effort to build up a business from scratch. Even if the government doesn't demand 100% ownership of the venture, these leaders can feel like their governing officials are taking an unnecessarily high percentage of their profits. That means their work might go overseas somewhere since there could be fewer risks associated with their venture.

4. The creation of a welfare state can lead to industrial disincentives

When the welfare state of a socialist government is too generous, then there is a disincentive to find a job. That means the society may see a reduction in its labour force

as people decide to stay home instead of pursuing a career. That's why poverty eventually develops. Welfare is supposed to give people just enough to scrape by so that the desire to have more money leads someone to a job.

That's why governments often counter the results of this disadvantage with mandatory work. This outcome further disincentivizes the individual worker to be productive, so their individual efforts reduce. That leads to the implementation of specific quotas, so there is always a back-and-forth between society and its leadership over how much production is possible.

5. Governments can fail when trying to regulate industries or own businesses

If we were living in an ideal world, then each government would have success in their business regulation activities. Labour markets and public industries would work like clockwork every day. This disadvantage exists because of the fallible nature of humanity. Government interventions are prone to failure. Even if they are successful, then the structure is prone to a higher risk of failure over time because of inefficiencies that exist in resource allocation.

If there are labour market regulations that call for a low-hour maximum for the working week or a high minimum wage, then there can be a spike in unemployment claims. There would also be a lack of flexibility for agencies if there are sudden increases or decreases in demand. High levels of regulation often discourage investment, which eventually leads to lower levels of economic growth when compared to capitalism.

6. Excessive labour market regulations can lead to fewer employment opportunities

Socialist governments can institute severe regulations on various industries to the extent that the efforts restrict the number of available employment opportunities. Requiring workers to be available for a specific shift or to work for a particular wage can limit the number of open positions a business can support. Higher levels of market regulations can support a better environment or lead to cheaper goods or services, but it is a disadvantage that can also discourage investments if they are severe enough.

7. Socialist regulations can cause problems with structural employment

Structural unemployment is a form of involuntary unemployment. It occurs because there is a mismatch between the skills of the workers in the economy with what an

employer demands. This gap in ability is often brought about by technology changes that tend to make repetitive skills obsolete. If a large company is the only employer for a given industry, then workers have no competition that can use their experience to their advantage. The local educational system encounters a burden as well since massive levels of career retraining becomes necessary.

Under some forms of socialism, the government is the only employer for the economy. If leaders decide that certain industries are no longer necessary, then there may not be any options for work for some individuals.

8. Unions can exist in socialist countries to create division between workers and owners

The overall goal of socialism is to create a society that offers more equality and harmony to the average worker. If the policies implemented by the government are geared toward the strengthening of trade unions or perfect equality, then it can lead to an antagonistic relationship between owners and workers. An attitude of “us vs. them” develops that can lead to significant levels of lost time.

During the 1970s, the UK labour market experienced severe shortages because of the high levels of distrust between the unions and company owners. Public ownership can't stop this disadvantage in its entirety because no one at the management level really cares if everyone gets a bad deal.

9. It reduces innovation opportunities for the society

There may be an advantage in socialism structures in the fact that people with a specific skill or talent receive placement into employment positions that directly benefit the society from that experience.

Production within a socialism-style government structure tends to focus on internal needs instead of new possibilities. That limits the options for innovation because there is little engagement with the government to develop new concepts. Over time, that means the socialist society can fall behind the ones that decide to incentivize innovation.

10. Socialism creates higher levels of bureaucracy to navigate

All governments have high levels of bureaucracy that cause everyone to waste time and money. The difference between socialism and capitalism is that the latter offers an economic benefit that can supply revenues to other industries.

The government will want to determine who is eligible to receive specific benefits when socialism is the primary emphasis of the society. Applicants must fill out paperwork to prove their eligibility. Continuous renewals must go through processing. The goal of socialism may be to streamline the culture and equalize access to services, but more bureaucracy is created in doing so. That means it could take much more time to make services available to those who need them.

11. Socialist System forces the government to do all of the spending

If an economy is going to have an opportunity to grow, then there must be a balance in trade between foreign and internal sources. When there are declines in innovation, then manufacturing grows stagnant in every industry. That means there are fewer purchasing opportunities for everyone except the government. This disadvantage means that more imports may become necessary to maintain the status quo. If this issue continues for some time, then trade deficits can lead to high levels of debt.

This issue causes the socialist government to spend more than it would over the long-term than if it had allowed capitalistic innovation to have some investments.

10.7 Capitalism vs. Socialism Debates

The key arguments in the socialism vs. capitalism debate focus on socio-economic equality and the extent to which the government controls wealth and production.

1. Ownership and Income Equality

Capitalists argue that private ownership of property (land, businesses, goods, and wealth) is essential to ensuring the natural right of people to control their own affairs. Capitalists believe that because private-sector enterprise uses resources more efficiently than government, society is better off when the free market decides who profits and who does not. In addition, private ownership of property makes it possible for people to borrow and invest money, thus growing the economy.

Socialists, on the other hand, believe that property should be owned by everyone. They argue that capitalism's private ownership allows a relatively few wealthy people to acquire most of the property. The resulting income inequality leaves those less well off at the mercy of the rich. Socialists believe that since income inequality hurts the entire society, the government should reduce it through programs that benefit the poor such as free education and healthcare and higher taxes on the wealthy.

2. Consumer Prices

Under capitalism, consumer prices are determined by free market forces. Socialists argue that this can enable businesses that have become monopolies to exploit their power by charging excessively higher prices than warranted by their production costs.

In socialist economies, consumer prices are usually controlled by the government. Capitalists say this can lead to shortages and surpluses of essential products. Venezuela is often cited as an example. According to Human Rights Watch, “most Venezuelans go to bed hungry.” **Hyperinflation** and deteriorating health conditions under the socialist economic policies of President Nicolás Maduro have driven an estimated 3 million people to leave the country as food became a political weapon.

3. Efficiency and Innovation

The profit incentive of capitalism’s private ownership encourages businesses to be more efficient and innovative, enabling them to manufacture better products at lower costs. While businesses often fail under capitalism, these failures give rise to new, more efficient businesses through a process known as “creative destruction.”

Socialists say that state ownership prevents business failures, prevents monopolies, and allows the government to control production to best meet the needs of the people. However, say capitalists, state ownership breeds inefficiency and indifference as labor and management have no personal profit incentive.

4. Healthcare and Taxation

Socialists argue that governments have a moral responsibility to provide essential social services. They believe that universally needed services like healthcare, as a natural right, should be provided free to everyone by the government. To this end, hospitals and clinics in socialist countries are often owned and controlled by the government.

Capitalists contend that State, rather than private control, leads to inefficiency and lengthy delays in providing healthcare services. In addition, the costs of providing healthcare and other social services force socialist governments to impose high progressive taxes while increasing government spending, both of which have a chilling effect on the economy.

10.8 Capitalist and Socialist Countries Today

Today, there are few if any developed countries that are 100% capitalist or

socialist. Indeed, the economies of most countries combine elements of socialism and capitalism.

In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark—generally considered socialist—the government provides healthcare, education, and pensions. However, private ownership of property creates a degree of income inequality. An average of 65% of each nation’s wealth is held by only 10% of the people—a common characteristic of capitalism.

The economies of Cuba, China, Vietnam, Russia, and North Korea incorporate characteristics of both socialism and communism.

While countries such as Great Britain, France, and Ireland have strong socialist parties, and their governments provide many social support programs, most businesses are privately owned, making them essentially capitalist.

The United States, long considered the prototype of capitalism, isn’t even ranked in the top 10 most capitalist countries, according to the conservative think tank Heritage Foundation. The U.S. drops in the Foundation’s Index of Economic Freedom due to its level of government regulation of business and private investment.

Indeed, the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution sets one the nation’s goals to be “promote the general welfare.” In order to accomplish this, the United States employs certain socialist-like social safety net programs, such as Social Security, Medicare, food stamps, and housing assistance.

10.9 Conclusion

Over the years capitalism has evolved. Starting with the bartering system which led to slavery system, then the Feudalism followed by mercantilism then to capitalism. It was suggested by the classical school of economics that government role should not be removed from economic system but, its role should be limited only to protect individual rights and providing public goods and services. History reveals that government is necessary and its role has expanded. We cannot deny that without government intervention we would have fail. With government intervention capitalism has develop over the years. Government involve in the form of nationalization, welfare and fiscal policies and minimum wage laws which adds to the development of capitalism. In the world today pure capitalism is not practiced but rather a mix economy by former capitalist states like the United State where government plays a more important role in market decisions.

However, like everything else capitalism has its disadvantages such as negative externalities like pollution and diminishing non-renewable resources; a disproportionate distribution of wealth or income; and high unemployment rates and economic instability due to the cyclical nature of the capitalistic system. Additionally the main motives of firms was gaining a profit which lead to the misallocation of scarce resources and stagnation.

In other side, socialism can offer households access to a society where public ownership leads to a rising tide where all boats can rise. Although this benefit comes at the cost of income redistribution that targets the very rich, this switch in monetary access can reduce poverty without completely destroying the motivation to earn more money.

The problem that socialism tends to create is an increase in financial constraints. Rationing is common with this economic approach, especially when looking at severe forms of it like communism. This disadvantage can lead to a rejection of goods or services to the point where there might not be enough supplies to manage the daily needs of life. Cuban rationing in 2000 was six pounds of rice, 20 ounces of beans, and six pounds of sugar.

When we look at the socialist structures of the Nordic countries of Europe where government spending can be as high as 50% of the GDP, there are private and public ownership opportunities that work together in a hybrid system. The U.S. even incorporates some elements of this economic idea into its society. That's why a careful evaluation of each key point is necessary instead of making assumptions about what socialism is or is not.

Finally, we can say that no country follows fully capitalist policies and no country follows socialist policies. In the language of political science we can say most countries are mixed economies, falling somewhere on the spectrum between pure capitalism and pure socialism.

10.10 Summing Up

- Capitalism and socialism are economic systems that countries use to manage their economic resources and regulate their means of production. Capitalism is based on individual initiative and favours market mechanisms over government intervention, while socialism is based on government planning and limitations on private control of resources.

- Left to themselves, economies tend to combine elements of both systems: capitalism has developed its safety nets, while countries such as China and Vietnam may be edging toward full-fledged market economies.
- Both capitalism and socialism have some pros and cons. So it can be seen in reality that most countries are mixed economies, falling somewhere on the spectrum between pure capitalism and pure socialism.

10.11 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Discuss the limitations of capitalism.
2. Discuss the limitations of socialism.
3. Discuss the definition, types and characteristics of capitalism.

Short Questions

1. Discuss the advantages of capitalism.
2. Discuss the advantages of socialism.

Objective Questions

1. What are the two basic characteristics of capitalism ?
2. In which doctrine economic rights are included in the Constitution ?
3. Who determines prices in a capitalist economy ?

10.12 Further Reading

1. “*Back to Basics: What is Capitalism?*” International Monetary Fund, 2015, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2015/06/basics.htm>.
2. *Busky, Donald F, "Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey."* Praeger, 2000, ISBN:978-0-275-96886-1.
3. Colander C. David, “*Macroeconomics,*” Fourth edition, New York: McGraw Hill Inc., 2001.
4. *De Soto, Hernando, "The Mystery of Capital."* International Monetary Fund, March, 2001, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2001/03/desoto.htm>.

5. *Ellen Judy Wilson and Peter HannsReill, "Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment" InfoBase Publishing, 2004.*
6. *Fulcher, James, "Capitalism A Very Short Introduction." Oxford, 2004, ISBN-978-0-19-280218-7.*
7. Mankiw N. Gregory, "*Macroeconomics*," Fifth edition, New York: Worth Publishers, 2003.
8. *Nove, Alec, "The Economics of Feasible Socialism Revisited." Routledge, 1992, ISBN-10: 0044460155.*
9. *Newport, Frank, "The Meaning of 'Socialism' to Americans Today." Gallup, October 2018, <https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/243362/meaning-socialism-americans-today.aspx>.*
10. *Weber, M. "The protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (London : Routledge,first edition 1930, HarperCollins Academic, translated by Talcott Parsons, 1992).*

Module - III

Unit 11 □ Colonialism: Meaning and Context

Structure:

- 11.1 Objective**
- 11.2 Introduction**
- 11.3 Meaning of Colonialism**
- 11.4 Characteristics of Colonialism**
- 11.5 Theoretical Basis of Colonialism**
- 11.6 Conclusion**
- 11.7 Summing up**
- 11.8 Probable Questions**
- 11.9 Further Reading**

11.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the meaning of colonialism
- grasp the characteristics of colonialism
- perceive the context of colonialism
- know about different approaches to colonialism
- understand different methods of colonialism and neo-colonialism

11.2 Introduction

The practice of control over others' areas, resource, human resource and economy exists since time immemorial. The era of modern colonialism began during 15th century following European discovery of sea-route around Africa's Southern coast and of America (1492). Colonialism also corresponded with the belief of racial superiority of Europeans and inferiority of indigenous population. The resource driven exploitation still continues even in the world today. Hence, the question arises as to the need to analyse the process of colonialism, anti-colonialism and post colonial world.

11.3 Meaning of Colonialism

Throughout the history of human civilization nations subjugate one another, exploit resources and impose one's language and cultural values over another. The word 'Colonialism' has originated from latin word 'colonus' – meaning farmer.

Colonialism is a relationship between an indigeneous majority and a minority of foreign invaders for economic exploitation, political subjugation, cultural hegemony and racial superiority. It involves master – subordinate relationship between colonizer and colonized people.

It is the practice of invading other land and territories for settlement and exploitation of resources. Thus, there is conflict and war when an invading force confronts an indigenous population occupying a territory.

From time to time the colonial powers like Britain, America and other European powers invaded native colonies for new lands and raw materials, cheap labour and for the dumping of their surplus goods to the colonized nations.

As a result, colonialism is characterized by genocides, enslavement of indigeneous populations, destruction of food and shelter of native populations. The ideology of colonialism is also based on racial superiority and ethnocentrism.

Colonialism and imperialism are often used interchangeably. Both imperialism and colonialism lead to economic domination and exploitation. In colonialism one nation establishes control over the other, imperialism refers to formal economic and political control. In both cases one group of people takes control over land and resources of other.

Imperialism is the tendency and activity of strong nation to occupy weaker territories through military force. It is the policy of gaining territorial control through the imposition of power and rule.

Imperialism had its origin in the ancient times when empires like Rome and Greece dominated other countries.

Colonialism originated in the age of discovery when European Powers began to establish colonies in different parts of the world. In short, colonialism is the establishment of a colony in foreign land. But imperialism take control of another country by force.

11.4 Characteristics of Colonialism

Common characteristics of Colonialism are political and legal domination over alien society. It creates economic and political dependence between the colonial powers and the

colony. Sovereignty over the colony is established by the colonial power. It is destructive in nature. Such destruction is internalized by the indigeneous people. Some characteristics of colonialism are as follows :–

1. **Internal Violence and Aggression** : Anger and violence is the common characteristic of colonialism. It is directed towards oneself, one another, family and community. Instances of rape, murder, assault, abuse of children, suicide and many such crimes are the outcomes of colonization. Loss of habitat and occupation, poverty, loss of identity, break down of family, group life, natural structure lead to irrational violence within the indigenous people.
2. **Fragmentation and Competition** : Colonization leads to the break down of the traditional nation, family and institutions. Unity and community life of indigeneous society is replaced by fragmentation and competition.
3. **Subordination of Indigenous Culture and Assimilation** : Colonization portrays the indigenous culture as negative. Thus the indigenous people have to assimilate and conform to the culture and values of colonial rulers.
4. **Inferiority Complex and Identity Crisis** : Racial superiority of the white people, defamation of indigenous culture, physical and mental subordination of colonised people give birth to identity crisis among the natives.
5. **Migration and Abandonment of Native Land** : As the colonial rulers establish control over the land and resource of colonies, indigeneous people are forced to migrate from their native land. Sometimes, indigenous people migrate to derive benefit from colonial programs. Establishment of modernized projects, education, construction of roads and transportation, introduction of private property are undertaken by colonial rulers.
6. **Scientific Analysis** : Survey and scientific analysis of geography, resources, population, customs, is done by the colonial rulers to facilitate resource extraction from the colonized region.
7. Integration of the colony with the world capitalist system in a subordinate or subservient status.
8. The drain of wealth or unite the transfer of surplus to the metropolis through unrequited exports.

According to Neel Ahuja, modern colonial states try to reshape matter, the natural landscapes, resources, human and animal bodies of the colonised territory – in order to

sustain the profitability of the colonial system. One of the more justifications for modern colonial projects thus became a claim to superior materialism, a more efficient and profitable use of nature, and labour than that of indigenous societies. But such colonial myths of development serve to mask the widespread violence, hunger, social, inequality, and environmental degradation generated by colonial warfare and settlement.

11.5 Theoretical Basis of Colonialism

Liberal Approach

Liberal approach is based on civilizing mission of the civilized for uncivilized people. The logic is survival of the fittest. Stronger and powerful people must rule the weaker. Colonialism is the culmination of the process of historical development. Only the superior and powerful nations are capable of sustaining liberal institution and self government. Liberal philosophy of Kant, Rousseau, Hobbes, John Locke emphasised the need of freedom, right, equality, humanism, self government and coordination or integration.

Marxist Approach

Maxist approach considers colonialism and imperialism as the phase of late capitalism. In his Book – Imperialism - The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916), Lenin pointed out that through colonizing the underdeveloped countries, the capitalist countries garner benefits through exploitation of its resources. One distinctive element of Lenin's analysis was that since late capitalism was organized around national monopolies, the competition for markets took the military competition between States over territories that could be dominated for their exclusive economic benefit.

Dependency theory

World system theory of Wallerstein highlights the colonies of Third World as the suppliers of raw materials to capitalist nations. Andre Gunder Frank has developed dependency theory for explaining Colonialism. According to it, the world economic system comprises of wealthy nations at the centre, and the poor countries at the periphery. Poverty of the peripheral countries is the result of their inter-relation in the global system.

Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism is the form of economic imperialism and conditioned to influence and control developing countries instead of direct military and political control.

Thus neo-colonial relationship takes the form of dependency and obligation on behalf of developing and weaker nations.

Jean Paul Sartre (1956), Nikrumah used the term in the context of 20th century when European countries continued economic and cultural relationship with the former colonies even after liberation. Nikrumah in his Book 'Neo-Colonialism', the Last Stage of Imperialism' (1965), pointed out that like colonialism, neo-colonialism is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries. Neo colonialism exports foreign capital for the exploitation of the less developed regions. It is the propensity of a State to exploit the poor nations without employing direct military power.

Methods of Neo-colonialism are as follows :

1. Interference in the internal affairs of poor and new states.
2. Supply of Foreign Aid and Loans
3. Control over international economic organizations
4. Use of multi-national corporations
5. Creation of satellites or satellite states.
6. Supply of Arms and Weapons
7. Creation of Economic Dependencies.

11.6 Conclusion

Although the earlier form of colonialism has ceased to exist, still millions of people continue to live under neo-colonial rule. Former colonial powers like U.K, France and United states as well as many other powerful nations perpetuate post-colonial practice in the name of globalization, promise of financial aid, nation - building etc. The cultural and religious assumptions of colonialist logic remain active practices in contemporary society and are the basis of the Mother country & neo-colonial inclination towards her ex-colonised subjects – an economic source of labour and raw materials.

11.7 Summing up

- Colonialism is a relationship between indigenous majority and minority of foreign invaders for economic, political and cultural exploitation and subjugation.
- Liberal approach tries to explain colonialism as survival of the fittest.

- Marxist approach explains it as a propensity to exploit the poor by the powerful nations.
- Dependency Theory explains colonialism in terms of centre-periphery relationship.
- Neo-colonialism is the form of economic exploitation without direct military and political control.

11.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions:

1. Describe the major characteristics of colonialism.
2. Point out the Marxist approach to colonialism

Short Questions:

1. How does the liberal approach justify colonialism.
2. Point out the tools of neo-colonialism.
3. What do you mean by colonialism ?

Objective Questions:

1. Colonialism originated from the Greek / Latin / French word
2. Rousseau / Lenin / Marx was a liberal philosopher
3. Supply of foreign aid / direct control / occupying territory is tool of neo-colonialism.

11.9 Further Reading

1. Crozier, Brian – *Neo-colonialism, A critical Analysis*, London 1964
2. Frankel, Joseph – *International Relations in a Changing world*. O.U.P. Bombay, 1983.
3. Nakrumah, Kwame - *Neo colonialism : the Last State of Imperialism*, New York, international Publishers co. 1965
4. Stanley Hoflman (ed), *Contemporary theory in International Relations*, Engelwood Cliffs, 1960.

Unit 12 □ Forms of Colonialism

Structure:

- 12.1 Objective**
- 12.2 Introduction**
- 12.3 Forms of Colonialism**
- 12.4 Conclusion**
- 12.5 Summing up**
- 12.6 Probable Questions**
- 12.7 Further Reading**

12.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the forms of colonialism
- understand the contexts against which the forms of colonialism emerged.
- explain the meaning of each form of colonialism

12.2 Introduction

Colonialism means controlling people's life and culture. The main objective of colonialism is economic exploitation of the colonised country. It culminates in the control over the lives of the colonised people in every sphere. Colonialism took different forms at different phases of history. Although extension of power and exploitation of resources were the major goals, the pattern and form of control varied according to the nature of colonial power and colonised territory.

12.3 Forms of Colonialism

Colonialism is classified into different types or forms:

- (a) Settler colonialism, (2) Exploitative Colonialism, (3) Plantation Colonialism, (4) Surrogate Colonialism (5) Internal Colonialism etc.

1. Settler Colonialism :

The most common form of colonialism is settler colonialism. It is the migration of large groups of people from one country to another to build permanent, self supporting settlement. While remaining legal subjects of the native country, the colonists harvest natural resources and attempt to drive away the indigeneous people or force to live under subjugator to assimilate into colonial life. With the support from imperial ruler, settlements created by settler colonialism last for long period.

For example, migration of Dutch, German, and French settlers to South Africa and British colonialism in America. The Dutch East India Company established an out post in South Africa in 1652.

European colonization of the Americans took place in 1492. Spanish explorer Christopher Colombus sailed for the Far East and landed in the Bahamas. He declared that he had discovered “the new world.” Spanish explorers exterminated and enslaved the indigeneous population. Permanent British colony was in Jamestown, Virginia (V.S) in the year 1607. During that time early European settlers looked down upon the indigeneous people labelling them as sub-human threatening savages. With the arrival of colonial powers, the indigeneous people were subjugated and enslaved.

2. Exploitative Colonialism :

Exploitative Colonialism is the control of another country for exploiting its human labour and its natural resources. Instead of settlements the colonial power seeks to increase wealth by using indigeneous people as low cost labour. Here few colonists emigrate and indigeneous people remain in their native place enslaved as labourers.

Colonization end exploitation of Congo by Belgium in 1870 is the example of such colonial rule. Congo’s vast resources like ivory, rubber and other resources were highly exploited and the indigeneous people were starved to death. Ultimately Congo remained an impoverished country even after independence from Belgium in 1960.

3. Plantation Colonialism

Planter colonialism is an early method of colonization in which settlers under took large scale production of some crop like cotton, tobacco, sugar, coffee etc. In some cases, western culture and religion is imposed over indigeneous people. For example, the British Colonialists exported more than 20 thousand tons of tobacco to England from its colony in Virginia of North America during 17th century.

Colonisation in Africa, Malayasia, Chilli, Philipines may be referred here.

4. Surrogate Colonialism :

Here, a foreign power encourages and supports the settlement of a non-native group occupied by an indigeneous population.

East Asia where the indigenous population was used as slave labour to cultivate cash crops such as tea and rubber.

For example, Britain facilitated Zionist-Jewish settlement inside the Islamic state of Palestine.

5. Internal Colonialism :

To Frantz Fanon, internal colonialism is the oppression or explotation of one social or ethnic group by another within the same country. Unlike traditional colonialism, here exploitation and oppression is perpetrated by one another inside the country rather than from a foreign power Discriminatory treatment of Mexicans in the United States after Mexican – American war (1846-1848) may be referred to here. Mexicans living in the South West of U.S. became subjects of the U.S. Government without rights and freedom as U.S. Citizenship. Viewing these people as having been effectively colonised by the USA, many scholars use the term internal colonialism to describe the ongoing unequal economic and social treatment of Chicanx peoples in the USA through subordination.

6. Trade Colonialism :

Trade colonialism is a focus on control over the trading relationships of the colony. A good example of trade colonialism is the British trade coercion post-1842 Opium War with China forcing the opening of additional post for foreign trade.

7. National Colonialism :

National Colonialism is a process in solving elements of both settler and internal colonialism, in which nation-building and colonization are symbolically connected, with the colonial regime seeking to remake the colonized peoples in their own cultural and political image. The Republic of China in Taiwan is the archetypal example of national-colonialist society.

Similarly Ceylonese in Sri Lanka imposed domination over Tamil minority. Racism against Blacks in South Africa may be cited here.

8. Mercantile Colonialism :

In addition, there is mercantile colonialism whereby mother nations seek to establish colonies to produce goods. The mother nation draws materials from its possessions and sell them as finished goods. Mercantile Colonialism focuses on wealth creation through increasing exports and limiting imports.

During 16th to 17th century Britain and France used the policy to import cheaper raw materials from their colonies and export finished products to them in exchange of gold and silver. This is considered as the first stage of colonialism.

9. Industrial Colonialism :

After the industrial revolution colonies were established for the collection of raw materials and resources. They are exported to colonial country and produced goods are sold for profit. Colonial Powers search markets. This is considered the second stage of colonialism.

10. Investment Colonialism :

The motive behind imperialism and colonialism is mainly economic. According to Lenin and Hobson, the prospect of monopoly profits from investments is the driving force of imperialism.

Foreign investment involves flow of capital from one nation to another. Foreign capital is used for the exploitation of the less developed countries. Lack of capital and expertise on behalf of poor nations foreign investment are essential.

At the third stage, the colonial powers compete among themselves. Thus they invest finance in colonial areas.

11. Residual Colonialism in the 21st Century :

The wave of decolonisation in the latter half of the 20th century heralded the great liberating movements in history. But the fact is that colonialism is still with us. Many territories are deemed to be under colonial rule and they are labelled by the UNO as non-self-governing territories in which population has not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

Although the forms of colonialism have been classified into some broad types, but they over-lap each other.

Major Works	
	<i>Book</i>
Chinua Achebe (1930-2013) Idea – Account of Colonialism in Africa	– Things Fall Apart 1958
Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) Idea – Difference between “Civilized People” and “Savages”	– European-dominated World Heart of Darkness (1899)
Idea – Question on Imperialism and Racism	
Frentz Fanon (1925-1961)	– (1) Black Skin White Mask (1952) (2) A Dying Colonialism (1959) (3) The Wretched of the Earth (1961)
Idea – Internal Colonialism	
Edward Said (1935-2003) Idea – a critique of the cultural representations of Eastern culture by “Europe” – Ethno centrism.	– Orientalism – 1978

Modern form of colonialism could be found at the beginning of 15th century when Portugal invaded new trade routes outside Europe. This is known as the “Age of Discovery.

12.4 Conclusion

There are so many types of colonialism. Adding to the complexity of colonial motivations and consequences are the ways different forms of colonialism might co-exist or mix into each other. The many varieties of colonialism and their points of intersection suggest that historian could elaborate on the trend started by settler colonialism and more precisely investigate colonization processes as multifaceted affairs that affected colonizers, the colonized, land holding, labour and migration in myriad ways.

12.5 Summing up

- Different forms of colonialism are – Settler colonialism, Exploitative colonialism, Plantation colonialism, Surrogate colonialism etc.
- Mercantile colonialism is the form whereby the mother nations seek to establish colonies to produce goods.

- Forms of colonialism overlap one another.
- Colonialism still exists in the 21st century which is called residual Colonialism.

12.6 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions:

1. Describe the different forms of colonialism.
2. Explain, how European colonialism took shape from time to time.

Short Questions:

1. What is mercantile colonialism ?
2. Explain the nature of settler colonialism.

Objective Questions:

1. The Dutch East India Co. established an out post in South Africa in 1602 / 1600 / 1600
2. Major work of Edward Said was Orientalism / European colonialism / Imperialism
3. Britain and France pursued the Policy of mercantile colonialism during 16th, 17th / 19th / 20th Century

12.7 Further Reading

1. Bustin J. W. – *International Relations-A General Theory*
2. Field house David – Cambridge, England 1965, *The Colonial Empires -* Delacorte Press, New York, 1967.
3. Hans Kohn – *Reflections on Colonialism* – University of Pennsylvania 1956.
4. Lenin, V. I. – *Imperialism - The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Int. Publishers Co. N. Y. 1933.
5. Palmerk & Parkins – *International Relations* (3rd Edition), AITBS Publications, New Delhi - 1997.

6. Schleicher – *International Politics*, Prentice Hall of India (Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi 1963.
7. Shiva, Vandana – *Biopiracy : The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*, Boston, South End, 1999.
8. Wolf Patnick – “Settler colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 no. 4 (2006) P-387-409.

Unit 13 □ Decolonization: Meaning and Context

Structure:

- 13.1 Objective**
- 13.2 Introduction**
- 13.3 Meaning and Context of Decolonization**
- 13.4 Types of Decolonization**
- 13.5 Causes and Effects of Decolonization**
- 13.6 Conclusion**
- 13.7 Summing up**
- 13.8 Probable Questions**
- 13.9 Further Reading**

13.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the meaning and context of decolonization
- be familiarised with type and form of decolonization
- understand the causes and effects of decolonization

13.2 Introduction

Colonization is not a static process. The global colonization generated anti colonial movements among colonized people. Ultimately it led to the process of De-Colonization. It is about socio-cultural and economic freedom for achieving sovereignty of the indigenous community. Undoing of colonialism with the introduction of overall changes is an enduring process.

13.3 Meaning and Context of Decolonization

Meaning of Decolonization

According to Britannica ‘de colonization’ is the process by which colonies become

independent of the colonizing country. It is the undoing of colonialism. It is the process of dismantlement of the colonial empires during the 20th century. It was the result of movements in the colonies for independence. It is the destruction of colonial system and liberation of land, people, economy and culture for local autonomy i.e. self government and indigenous sovereignty. The second World War demonstrated that the colonial powers were no longer invulnerable.

According to Marxist, perspective ‘Decolonization’ denotes integration of the post colonial states into global capital system as “periphery”. According to Marxism, real decolonization is anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. It talks of decolonization of the conditions of production.

Context of Decolonization

Decolonization is used to refer to the transition from a world of colonial empires to a world of nation states during the period especially following World War II.

Colonialism affected communities far and wide across the globe. Indigenous communities fought to regain access to their land, fought to protect natural resources consistently threatened by outside forces. Decolonization talks for everybody as it questions to think about our relationship with indigenous land that colonisers have claimed unjustifiably, Decolonization is an attempt to create systems which are just and equitable. It questions inequality through education, dialogue, communication and action.

The context of decolonization is most important in the sense that the goal of indigenous sovereignty, self determination, economic, political, and cultural freedom for the indigenous communities could be achieved only through decolonization. If colonization is a historical and ongoing process where settlers and colonial powers continue to occupy land, dictate social, economic and political systems and exploit resources of indigenous people, decolonization is an attempt to push back the colonial narratives. The context of decolonization calls for de-constructing settler-imposed systems that continue to oppress the Black, Brown and indigenous people. The process of decolonization comes in the context of movements in the countries demanding independence.

Decolonization is the ending of colonialism and liberation of the colonized. As colonialism enters through various phases, decolonization also starts with different phases i.e. disengaging from colonial system and relearning one’s history, culture with the rejection of European outlook.

13.4 Types of Decolonization

Broadly, there are four types of decolonization :- (a) formal ending of empire followed by independent rule, for example, in India (2) Self Govt. for white settler colonies, as in Canada and Australia (3) replacement of formal empire by informal neo-colonial empire, in Latin America (4) Change of Imperial rulers only.

Forms of Decolonization

There were various forms of Decolonization

- (1) Constitutional and peaceful means :- Peaceful methods of deolonization did not result blood when the colonial ruler collaborate with national leaders and prepared programs for political independence. Many African countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia may be referred to here.
- (2) Armed struggle :- Countries like Mozambique, Angola, Algeria followed the path of blood shed and armed struggle.
- (3) Peaceful as well as armed struggle :- This type could be found when the colonies adopted peaceful methods but ultimately took up arms to oust the colonialists South Rhodesia, Namibia, south Africa, Kenya pursued this combined method.
- (4) Revolution : Countries like Burundi, Egypt, Libya had over thrown their colonial system through revolution.

History of Decolonization

- 1905 – Liberation of Japan from Russia
- 1946 – Phillipines from U.S.
- 1947 – India, West Africa, East Africa
- 1955 – Bandung conference Fight for Deolonisation on behalf of Afro Asian countries.
- 1961 – Non Aligned Movement and Impetus for Autonomous Political Existence to the newly Independent Countries.

The Process of Decolonization was accelerated after the 2nd World War. However, collapse of Spanish Empire in 19th century, German, Ottoman and Russian empires after 1st World War and British, French, Dutch, Portugese and Japanese empires after IInd

World War are examples of decolonization. Independence of India in 1947 from British colonial rule was the most significant event in the history of Decolonization.

Process of decolonization caused violence and in many cases it took place through negotiation and peaceful means. The process of Decolonization in Africa was through a long battle between the imperial powers and the Africans. The process was filled with violence and left a long term political economic and social devastation.

The British took a different approach in this regard. Britain's power changed from empire to the head of a commonwealth of nations. The British took welfare approach in some decolonized regions.

13.5 Causes and Effects of Decolonization

Causes :

- (1) Weakening of colonial Power :- At the very outset, it may be noted that the European Powers exploited the resources of the colonised third world countries for a longer period. But after the two world wars, the European powers were weakened and the world was divided into two Super Powers – U.S.A. and USSR.
- (2) Nationalist Liberation Movements : The exploitation of resources in the colonised countries gave birth to contradictions and anti – colonial struggle. Nationalism provided a sense of pride to the people of colonies to destabilise the colonial set up.
- (3) Western Education : Western education and ideas of the French revolution inspired the elites of colonised territory. They reflected the values of democracy and freedom among ordinary people. In addition, Marxism also influenced the colonies for progressive movements and consequent decolonization.
- (4) Role of U.N.O. – After the second world war, the United Nations played a vital role against imperial powers. It provided a platform for anti colonial movements. Intervention of U. N. provided succour to the anti colonial struggles.
- (5) Asiatism–Pan-Africanism and Non alignment : Decolonization was the result of the ideology of Asiatism, Pan Africanism, Dutch colonial oppression in Indonesia and British Colonialism in India gave rise to nationalist sentiments and a certain sense of unity among the people.

In addition, non align movement, Buq-dung conference and Indian independence gave voice in support of decolonization.

- (6) New Discourse on Civilization : After the first world war, the model of European 'Civilizing Model' was collapsed. The people of third world countries realised the inherent goal of capitalism and colonialism and gave birth to new discourse of civilization.

Decolonization led to the instability of the post colonial political systems and established the sovereignty of the community, region, tribal nation i.e. self government. Decolonization encompassed the freedom of most of the Indian Sub-continent, South East Asia, Middle East, Africa. Britain's settler colonies became fully independent.

It was the rejection of European culture and returning to one's own family relations, culture, language. It was a struggle for identity and respect for indigenous life, right, and territory, Crimes against humanity such as slavery, apartheid got a strong blow. Environmental degradation, spread of disease, economic instability, ethnic rivalries and violation of human rights faced challenges all over the globe.

Decolonization had greatly affected the economy of the newly formed states. However, the growth of government revenue and economic growth took place in such states.

As a result of collapse of colonial powers and decolonization, the international system assumed more or less international character based on equality, peaceful existence and democracy. Some of the positive effects of decolonization are as follows :

- (1) Restoration of freedom
- (2) Development prospect for colonized regions
- (3) Political development
- (4) Food security
- (5) Extension of literacy, education and health care system in colonized zones.
- (6) Prevention of exploitation of resources.

Despite the above consequences, the goal of full de-colonization remained elusive due to neo-colonialism and cultural domination. The new nation states faced new economic and political problems and foreign policy problems.

Decolonization led to the cold war between the two super powers U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

13.6 Conclusion

Despite such change, the achievement of complete decolonization remained elusive. Even today some non-self governing territories scattered around the globe continue to exist under virtual colonial rule. They remain under the protection and authority of former colonial powers, like, U.K. France and the U.S.A. Colonial authorities defend such control in the name of restoring honest government in such territories.

Moreover, practices of post colonialism and globalisation exist with the promise of financial aid to gain political influence in the less developed countries. Concept of nation building helped perpetuate exploitation in Latin American regions.

Thus, Secretary General of the UNO Ban Ki-Moon has concluded that true eradication of colonialism remained an unfinished task.

13.7 Summing up

- There was decolonization in the 20th century. It is the process of dismantlement of colonial power for self government. There were different types and forms of decolonization. Process of decolonization caused violence and in many cases, it was peaceful transfer of power.
- Decolonization was caused by a number of factors e.g. weakening of colonial power, national liberation movements, western education, activity of U.N.O., ideology of Asiatism and Pan-Africanism etc.
- Decolonization led to instability of colonial systems and established national self-governments. It was the rejection of European culture. New international system was formed as a result of decolonization.

13.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the different types and forms of decolonization.
2. Point out the causes and effects of decolonization.

Short Questions:

1. Discuss the effects of colonization

2. What are the main reasons of decolonization
3. Discuss the process of decolonization during 20th century.
4. Discuss the context of decolonization.

Objective Questions:

1. Point out two types of decolonization
2. Name one country which followed armed struggle for decolonization.
3. Which country followed constitutional means for decolonization ?
4. Which world war provided the special base for decolonization ?
5. In which year was Japan liberated from Russia ?
6. Which empire took welfare approach in decolonized regions ?
7. In which year did Bandung conference take place ?
8. Point out one cause of decolonization.
9. Point out one effect of decolonization.
10. Mention one positive effect of decolonization ?

13.9 Further Reading

1. Cesaire, A. *Discourse on Colonialism*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972.
2. Dunbar Ortiz – *An Indigenous Peoples History of the United States*; Boston, Beacon Press, 2014.
3. Field House, David. *The Colonial Empires – A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*, New York, Delacorte Press, 1967.
4. Gaard Greta. *Ecological Politics*, Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1998.
5. Kiplin Rudyard, *The White Men's Burden*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.
6. Loomba Ania. *Colonialism / Post-Colonialism*, New York, Routledge, 2004.
7. May Katherine. *Mother India*, New York, Blue Ribbon 1927.

8. Ridney Walter, *How Europe Under developed Africa ?* East African Publishers, 2005, ISBN
9. Santre, Jean Paul, *Colonialism, Neo Volonialism* Roultedge, 2006.
10. Veracini, Lorenzo. *Settler Colonialism*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Unit 14 □ Anti-Colonial Struggle

Structure:

- 14.1 Objective**
- 14.2 Introduction**
- 14.3 Anti-Colonial Struggle**
- 14.4 Anti-Colonial Struggle in Africa**
- 14.5 National Liberation Struggle in Vietnam**
- 14.6 Anti-Colonial struggle in Latin America**
- 14.7 Special Features of Anti-Colonial Movement in India**
- 14.8 Conclusion**
- 14.9 Summing up**
- 14.10 Probable Questions**
- 14.11 Further Reading**

14.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the meaning of anti-colonial struggle
- analyse the anti-colonial struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America
- get themselves familiar with the special features of anti-colonial struggle in India.

14.2 Introduction

Due to wide spread pernicious effects of colonisation, the colonised people waged anti colonial struggle. There were independent movements in different parts of the globe for transfer of power. The struggle against imperial rule in colonised countries inspired to rewrite history in the form of post colonial theory. Such anti-colonial struggles were not uniform in nature. It took varied forms based on the nature of imperial power and colonised territory. In India, anti-colonial struggle was unique and unprecedented. It was different from Europe in some ways. Firstly, it did not have an ‘Denemy within’ but rather

encompassed all citizens within its territory. Second it did not have any plans of becoming imperialist in the sense of annexing territories of other countries. Lastly, it did not place 'nation above the people'. The main objective of its anti-colonial struggle was to promote welfare for all citizens irrespective of religion race, caste class etc.

14.3 Anti-Colonial Struggle

According to Emerson (1960), during the 18th and 19th century, the states of Western Europe projected their power mostly in Asian and African countries establishing an era of western domination over the rest of mankind. This global imperialism generated counter revolution and anti-colonial movements among colonized people. Such struggle against imperial rule during the first half of 20th century, is known as anti-colonial struggle. These movements were anti-colonial in the sense that they were opposed to colonial rule of one country by another. They offered resistance to colonial rule.

Colonialism had spread over the world since 16th and 17 century. The colonies waged war against colonial power for independence. Anti-colonial struggle also meant political opposition to the territorial expansion of a country beyond its established border.

Such anti-colonial struggles did not have uniform pattern. Method of struggle and duration of struggle differed from one to another. After the II World War, there were numerous anti colonial movements for self determination.

National Liberation Movement :

Anti-colonial struggle in many colonised countries took the form of independence movements. Independence movements were aimed at replacing foreign rulers for achieving political independence. It was for the transfer of power from imperial rulers to local people. The aim was to fight for establishing national Government. For example, national liberation movements were launched against the colonial rulers in India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya etc.

The British extended its colonial rule through out the Indian - territory and consequently there were a number of violent and non-violent movements against the British rule. Peasants Tribals and the working class got themselves involved in many uprisings against the British rulers.

During 19th and 20th century, the colonial rulers and local feudal lords tried to subjugate such uprisings. Many tribal movements took place [Santal Movement 1855-57; Birsa Munda - 1899 ; Bhagat movement - 1915-1921] However, Indian National Congress

took the leading role in the liberation movement. The aim was transfer of political power and national independence.

14.4 Anti-Colonial Struggle in Africa

Movements in African countries like Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Tanzania and South Africa took place from 1920s to 1960s. Due to II World War and Indian Independence such movements got high inspiration. They also got impetus from support of Black people of the U.S., On the other, anti-colonial resistance in Ethiopia and defeat of Italy's attempt of colonization (in 1935-36) encouraged the African movements. Communist anti-colonialists from Britain and America inspired African anti-colonialists. Some Communist organizations had undertaken welfare programs. Communist anti-colonial thinkers of Africa urged for pan Africanism against colonial rule in Africa.

Kikuyu people made violent movement for independence in Kenya which is known as Mau Mau Revolution [1952-1960]. In South Africa, the anticolonial movement was reflected through Boer War (1899-1902). During 20th century, the movement provided resistance against apartheid (1948-1991) Nelson Mandela and members of African National Congress played key role in this regard.

However, in most of the countries the tribal and economically weaker sections avoided direct military fight. Ultimately, the African Resistance Movement (ARM) provided resistance to apartheid during 1960s.

14.5 National Liberation Struggle in Vietnam

Certain liberation struggles wanted to bring about socio-economic justice through distribution of power to the people. Such movements were guided by communist ideology. They were peoples war for rights, freedom, against alien rule and injustice of the feudal lords and minority wealthy people. The only objective was radical restructuring of socio-economic system. Ho chi Minh emerged as the prominent leader for Vietnamese independence. Under Ho chi-Minh, as leader of the Communist Nationalist Movement, the Viet Minh seized power and declared country's independence in 1945.

Vietnam's uniqueness lies in its struggle for independence – first against the Chinese who had subjugated the Vietnamese people for more than thousand years, second against the French colonial rule, third against the Japanese during World War-II, fourth against the French once again when they tried to reoccupy the country and finally against the Americans

who waged a massive military intervention to defeat the communist led nationalist movement.

14.6 Anti-Colonial Struggle in Latin America

Anti colonial struggles in Latin America took place much earlier. But the 20th century resurgence of anticolonialism was influenced by Marxist ideology and Russian revolution. Formal colonization by the Spanish and Portuguese war ended in the 18th and 19th centuries. Once again, with the formation of some communist parties, the anti-colonial struggle was revived in the form of protests, armed coups etc. It was held that economic and cultural colonialism still continued during 20th century. The leaders were aritical of global capitalism. Hence, instead of national independence, what was essential, was economic and cultural independence.

After a few decades, the vision of “tri-continental” world comprising Latin America, Africa and Colonial Asia was presented by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. It acted as a united force against forces from the economic and military powers of the Global North. “Tri continentalism” laid the edifice of “Global South”.

To conclude, it may be said that anti-colonial struggles did not have uniform pattern. In some countries like India, Kenya, Ghana, Burma, the independence movements were aimed at transferring political power from European rulers to local people. Some held such movements as bourgeois movements as there was no plan for economic change. But in some countries, these movements wanted to achieve political independence as well as radical socio-economic change.

14.7 Special Features of Anti-Colonial Movement in India

Further, it may be said that in many countries leaders of anticolonial struggle were inspired by western education and western philosophy. Such leaders were able to unite people against colonial rule.

The leaders, the organisations and ideas of anti colonial movements were inter related to each other.

The ideology of anticolonial movement was based on three pillons : (i) Socialist Philosophy as against capitalism (ii) New Discourse of civilization (iii) National Movement and self-determination.

In India each movement laid importance to the revival of ancient vedic culture against European colonial domination.

The movements took the form of civil-disobedience and non-cooperation movements. There were violent armed struggles under the leadership of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh.

Mahatma Gandhi, as leader of anticolonial movement in India, pursued the policy of non-violent resistance against the British rule.

According to Geoffrey Barraclough, anti colonial struggle in India may be divided into three stages.

- (i) Proto-Nationalism : (1885-1905) – During initial stage, there were demands for concessions, reforms and representation on behalf of Indian National Congress.
- (ii) Rise of New Leadership and demand for Independence (1905-1920). With the rise of New leaders like Gandhi, Netaji, Nehru, there was demand for independence.
- (iii) Mass Movement (1920-1947) : Active mass movements took place in the form of Civil-disobedience and Quit India movement.

14.8 Conclusion

The colonised countries launched anticolonial struggles against the colonial rulers mainly during 19th & 20th century. Struggles took the form of independence movements for replacing foreign power. In some countries, the struggles and movements aimed at mere change of political ruler. In others, the movements wanted complete socio-economic change. Anti-colonial struggle played an important role in overthrowing colonial slavery as well as establishing national independence in modern World. But new challenges have confronted these countries in the form of poverty unemployment poor health and political powerlessness. These problems have been compounded by globalization policies followed by these countries. This implies colonialism is not there formally but in a subtle form cashed neo-colonialism or post-colonialism.

14.9 Summing up

- Struggle against colonial rule is known as anticolonial struggle.
- Anti colonial struggle took different forms.

- It took the forms of independence movements, political opposition to imperial rule, violent and nonviolent movement, tribal movement, peasant movement working class movement etc.
- After World War II, African countries got support from the Black people of the US and Communist organisations.
- National liberation struggle in Vietnam took radical form guided by Communist ideology.
- Latin American countries were also influenced by Marxist ideology and Russian revolution.
- Anti colonial struggles in India were inspired by western education, socialist philosophy, ancient vedic philosophy, right to self-determination philosophy, etc.

14.10 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Write a note on the anti-colonial struggles in different parts of the world.
2. Discuss the special features of anti-colonial movement in India.

Short Questions :

1. What is national liberation movement ?
2. Point out anti colonialism in Africa.
3. Write a note on anti colonial struggle in Latin America.
4. Point out two features of anti-colonial movement in India.

Objective Questions :

1. Did the anticolonial struggles have uniform pattern ?
2. In which countries anti colonial struggle took the form of national liberation movement ?
3. When did the santal movement take place ?
4. Point out names of two anti-feudal movements in India.
5. Point out the names of two African countries where anti-colonial movements took place during 20th century.

6. Which is known as Man Man Revolution ?
7. Who played vital role against apartheid in Africa ?
8. Who was Nelson Mandela ?
9. Which countries comprise Tri-Continental World ?
10. Who was Che-Guevara ?
11. Who laid the edifice of ‘Global South’?
12. Name two prominent leaders concerning independence movement in India.
13. Who was the leader of Vietnamese Independence ?

14.11 Further Reading

1. Desai, A. R. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1966.
2. Dunbar Ontiz – *An Indigenous Peoples History of the United States*, Bostoni Beacon Press, 2014.
3. Kipling Rudyard – *The White Man’s Burden*, New York, Charles Scribneres Sons, 1903.
4. Loomba Anian – *Colonialism / Post colonialism*, New York, Routledge, 2004.
5. Mayo Katherine – *Mother India*, New York, Blue Ribbon, 1927.
6. McLane J. R. – *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*, Princeton, 1977.
7. Majumdar R. C. – *History of the Freedom Movement India – Vol- I & II*, Calcutta, 1971.

Unit 15 □ Process of Decolonization

Structure:

- 15.1 Objective**
- 15.2 Introduction**
- 15.3 Process of Colonization**
- 15.4 Process of Decolonization**
- 15.5 Decolonization in North America, Asia and Africa**
- 15.6 Conclusion**
- 15.7 Summing up**
- 15.8 Probable Questions**
- 15.9 Further Reading**

15.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the meaning of the process of decolonization.
- understand the various processes of decolonization.
- explain the processes of decolonization.
- understand how decolonization took place in North America, Asia and Africa.

15.2 Introduction

Following 2nd World War gradual emergence of nation states from the clutches of colonial empires changed the global political order. Decolonization is not only a political and economic process, it is also a social process. It is the act of reversing the process of colonization. Colonialism is a process of a nation establishing and maintaining its domination of overseas territories. The process of decolonization, in particular, applies to the processes relating to the dismantling of European colonies in Aprica and Asia in the second half of the 20th century.

15.3 Process of Colonization

Prof. Virgillo Enriques has pointed out some steps in the process of colonization.

Denial and withdrawal : At the very outset it must be noted that the colonial masters looked down upon the native and indigenous people as backward stock having no cultural value. The indigenous people gradually withdraw their own cultural practices. Some even share the outlook of outsiders and ridicule their own native culture.

Destruction and Eradication : The colonists destroy the symbols of indigenous culture-images of God, sacred sites, artifacts etc. All are destructed by the colonial invaders.

Creation of New Institutions and Practices : In order to denigrate the existing practices and institutions of indigenous culture, churches come forward to preach their philosophy. Indigenous knowledge on herbs, medicines, are declared as illegal. Traditional healing practices are labelled as ‘witch craft’.

Surface Accomodation : Of course, some of the practices of indigenous culture, and practices are tolerated and in the name of respect to culture and tradition of folk society.

Transformation and Exploitation : Gradually, indigenous culture is transformed and accomodated to colonial system. Indigenous language, practices, symbols, music get support from the colonial masters. Church creates popularity among indigenous people for continuing the system of exploitation.

It is a process whereby people from other areas disperse and settle in new areas as to exploit its resources.

15.4 Process of Decolonization

Declonization is the act of reversing the process of colonization. It is considered as a conructive process rather than destructive. It proceeds through a number of processes :

(1) **Raising Consciousness** –The first and foremost process required for decolonization is raising consciousness among the indigenous people that they live under oppression of colonial rule. An effective strategy include educating oneself and advocating sovereign indigenous rights, and demanding such rights and territory through different counter-action methods. It will also raise the awareness about the oppressor state that colonised indigenous people.

(2) **Creating a Sense of Nationality :** The process of decolonization is the outcome of the sense of nationality on behalf the people that they belong to common ancestry. The

indigenous people become conscious of their oppressive history and are inclined to unite against colonial oppression. They strengthen family and community bond ; common history, common interests are focused in the process of decolonization.

(3) **Empasis on Indigenous Philosophy and Self Powers** : With their exposure to the truths of hisotry and real education, the native people realizes the myths, prejudices and disinformation that the colonial rulers circulated with regard to history and culture of indigenous people. Truthful accounts of indigenous society accelerate the process of decolonization. It is directed towards creation of indigenous nation. Different indigenous nationalities extend support for the same goal. As against inferiority complex acquired during colonization, indigenous people return to traditional life style as well as modern outlook.

(4) **Occupying Indigenous Territory** : As the inspiration of indigenous people is heightened, they reoccupy indigenous land previously captured by colonialists. Of course, ultimately such land is accomodated within the sovereign state. But initially the abandoned land previously owned by the natives is used for traditional activities such as fishing, hunting and other food gathering activities.

In fact, colonization and decolonization are social processes rather than merely political processes. Governance over a people changes only when the people themselves have changed.

Some have suggested five phases in the process of decolonization, (1) **Rediscovery** (2) **Mourning** (3) **Dreaming** (4) **Commitment** and (5) **Action**.

During rediscovery stage it is held that people who lived under colonization suffer from a sense of inferiority in relation to their historical, cultural and social background. But ultimately they rediscover their own history. For example, pride of Hawailan society for their racial identity since 1960s, the Black and the American Indian struggle for civil rights and for recognition as the original people of the land against the challenges of USA may be referered to here.

The process of rediscovery of Hawailan nationalism was continued through music, literature folk-tales etc.. Social and political activists got new inspiration.

Thus, the phase of rediscovery of one's history and recovery of ones own culture, language, identity is fundamental in the movement for decolonization.

At the next stage of mourning, people lament their victimization. Out of anger, they want to blow the colonial system, take up arms to drive the outside force out of their native land.

However, the mourning phase depends upon extent of tragedies, torture and displacement suffered by the indigenous people.

Dreaming is the most crucial phase for decolonization. Dreams, debates, discussions for the creation of new social order are expressed by the indigenous people. Dreaming is the previous stage of action and commitment. In fact, decolonization is the placement of indigenous people in the positions held by colonisers. There is continuous evaluation and reevaluation by the native leaders on the social, economic, political and judicial structure and development process in the new set up that would fulfil the aspirations of the colonized people.

At the ultimate stage of commitment and action indigenous people and groups weigh their voices through the leaders and cult personalities. On the basis of consensus, the people are ready for commitment. The commitment is for the creation of self rule, freedom, equality and action against colonised life.

During historical periods, the action phase induce people to take up arms. But during the last few decades, the decolonization process has changed. Television, media, newsprint, fax machine, computers are used as media of expressions. In addition, action of the colonised people get recognition from the international organization like UNO.

Violent and Peaceful Process :

However, the process of decolonization may be through peaceful as well as violent methods. Constitutional or peaceful process does not result in blood shed. Here, the colonial leaders collaborate with the national leaders. Such decolonization process took place in many African countries. But in many countries the colonised people ultimately take up arms. In some countries, decolonization process acts involved in armed revolution. However, we find a mixed form in most of the countries.

15.5 Decolonization in North America, Asia and Africa

Colonial exploitation, poverty, displacement and economic crisis drive the native people to organised revolt. Decolonization means the liberation of the oppressed and colonized people, their land and territory. Decolonization process is, to some extent, different from anti-colonial liberal struggles. There are so many instances in history on decolonization and collapse of imperial systems.

Decline of the Roman empire may be referred to here. It was due to extension of military forces, political corruption, instability and rebellion, revolts by slaves, peasants,

colonies etc. The internal and external threats created a systemic breakdown. Decline of the U.S. imperial system and its military forces in Europe, South America, Africa, Iraq, Afganistan, Vietman was due to the internal and external threats on a greater scale. Similarly, poverty and exploitation have driven millions of Mexicans to immigrate into the U.S. creating insurgent movements within the Mexico itself. Internally, the U.S. was divided and polarized. Growing number of citizens became disillusioned on the invasion by U.S. in the name of 'War on Terror' by Bush.

During twentieth century the decolonization process became a global phenomenon. It led to freedom of most of the Indian Sub-Continent, South-East Asia, Australia, Middle-East Africa etc. Between the first and second world wars, some of the British colonies became independent. Asian colonies like India, Indonesia, Indochina got independence after the II World War. Decolonization process spread up throughout the African countries during 1960s. Consequently, Western colonies of the world became independent during 1980s.

However, early North American revolutionary decolonization sood for political independence. The offsprings of European settlers wanted political independence from mother country. But the 20th century decolonization was rooted in aboriginal autonomy from racial foreign rule. It was not merely for political independence. Such decolonization process was more social in the sense that it brought to the end the social, economic and political bondage.

Moreover, early decolonization process in North America was achieved through military battle between settlers and imperial forces. But decolonization process during 20th century in most of the colonies, took place without oranized violence between the imperial power and colonial nationalists. Imperial powers in many African countries abandoned colonies at the initial stage. During 1960s and 1970s, decolonization was attained through institutional expression of popular will. It became a routine activity for many imperial powers.

15.6 Conclusion

Thus, we may conclude that decolonization proceeds through a number of phases. The most important among them is the rediscovery of one's, own identity and creation of nationhood. The process ultimately leads to socio-economic and political freedom with the creation of 'Sovereign Independent State'. But even during 21st century, dependence on foreign aid, activities of the multinational coporations, poor nation building process and fragile national government still provide fertile ground for re-colonization in some third world countries of the world.

15.7 Summing up

- Process of colonization started with the invasion of imperial rulers and destruction of indigenous culture as well as exploitation of its resources.
- Decolonization is the reversing process. Raising consciousness among the indigenous people, creating sense of nationality, emphasis on self-power, and re-occupation of indigenous land are different steps of decolonization.
- In addition, rediscovery, mourning, dreaming, commitment and action on behalf of colonized people, are suggested as different phases of decolonization. Redecovering of one's history, culture, language, identity is fundamental in the process of decolonization.
- The process of decolonization may be peaceful as well as violent.
- Decolonization in North America, Asia and Africa was the result of exploitation, poverty, displacement, and social crisis.
- Ultimately, decolonization process brought to an end of social, economic and political bondage. The process depends upon the nature of suffering as well as commitment on behalf of the colonized people.

15.8 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions :

1. Discuss the processes of decolonization.
2. Describe the history of decolonization in North America, Asia and Africa.

Short Questions :

1. Point out the importance of nationality in the process of decolonization.
2. Point out the role of re-occupation of indigenous territory in the process of decolonization.
3. How does decolonization take place through violent and peaceful means ?
4. What are the steps in the process of colonization ?

Objective Questions :

1. Point out one step of decolonization
2. Does nationality mean belonging to common ancestry ?
3. Among whom the rediscovery phase took place through music ?
4. Who declared 'War on Terror' ?
5. Which colonial country did Vietnam fight against ?
6. Name one African leader playing leading role for decolonization.

15.9 Further Reading

1. David H rowitz – *From Yalta to Vietnam*, Penguin - 1967.
2. Spivak Gayatri Chakraborty - Can the sub-altern speak' ? in *Colonial Discourse* ed. by Patrick New York Columbia University Press 1994.
3. Stephen D Krasner – *Sovereignty, Organized Hypocnisy*, Princeton 1999.
4. Samuel Huntington – *The Clash of Civilizations*, Touchstone, New York, 1996.

Module - IV

Unit 16 □ Political and Constitutional Development of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China

Structure:

- 16.1 Objective**
- 16.2 Introduction**
- 16.3 Political and Constitutional Development of Britain**
- 16.4 Political and Constitutional Development of Brazil**
- 16.5 Political and Constitutional Development of Nigeria**
- 16.6 Political and Constitutional Development of China**
- 16.7 Conclusion**
- 16.8 Summing up**
- 16.9 Probable Questions**
- 16.10 Further Reading**

16.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- understand the historical processes relating to political and constitutional development of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China.
- know what type of political systems are there in the four countries and the differences these political systems have among them.
- know the role played by the military in framing the Constitutions of Nigeria.
- grasp the role played by the Communist party in China in making the philosophy of Marxism and Leninism and Mao-Tse-Tung Thought the basis of the Chinese Constitution.

16.2 Introduction

Constitution is the basic principles and laws of a nation, state, or social group that determine the powers and duties of the government and guarantee certain rights to the

people in it. It is a written instrument embodying the rules of a political or social organization. It is a method in which a state or society is organized and sovereign power is distributed. A Constitution is a set of fundamental principles according to which a state is constituted or governed. The Constitution specifies the basic allocation of power in a State and decides who gets to decide what the laws will be. The Constitution first defines how the government will be organized and how it will decide the laws and policies. The Constitution sets some limitations on the Government as to what extent a Government can impose rules and policies on its citizen. These limits are fundamental in the sense that the Government may never trespass them. The Constitution enables the Government to fulfill the aspirations of a society and create conditions for a just society.

16.3 Political and Constitutional Development: Britain

The British Constitution is the product of evolution and has been continuously in the process of development, gradual and almost unconscious. Here we propose to briefly analyze the process of the growth of the UK Constitution, how the different political institutions came into being and how they assumed the present form. For this purpose, the following periods will be analyzed.

- (1) Anglo-Saxon period
- (2) Norman period
- (3) Angevin or Plantagenet period
- (4) Tudor period
- (5) Stuart period and
- (6) Hanover period

Anglo-Saxon period:

The first period to which the growth of political institutions can be traced is that of Saxon settlement. The period contributed to the development of the institution of kingship. Besides kingship, another important contribution of the Anglo-Saxon period is the institution of Local Government. Thus, two main institutions of the British Government developed during the Anglo-Saxon period- (a) the kingship and (b) Local Government.

Norman period

The first significant development of the Norman period was the growth of a strong royal power. Magnum Concilium came into existence to help the king.

Another institution known as ‘Curia Regis’ emerged to help the king when Magnum Concilium was not in session. The Norman kings used to call the leaders of the people and seek their advice on State matters. The Parliament of UK emerged out of the Great Council and the Privy Council the Cabinet, the Exchequer and the High Court of justice emerged out of Curia Regis.

Angevin or Plantagenet Period

During this period, the powerful section of the country presented to King John – the Great Charter – the Magna Carta on June, 15, 1215. The charter provided that the king must not act in certain matters without the consent of the general council. It also provided that all the great barons should be summoned individually, and the knights of the shire by writs addressed to the Sheriffs. The Magna Carta has been regarded as a charter of civil rights of the British people. The Magna Carta marked a milestone in the growth of limited monarchy in England.

During this period, the powers of the Parliament increased. The Parliament also acquired the power to dethrone a king.

Tudor Period

This period saw the development of Parliamentary supremacy. There also took place a change in the Privy Council, the successor of Curia Regis. Its functions no longer were limited to advisory functions. It was given the power to regulate trade, supervise the administration of justice, control finance and there was hardly any department outside its vigilant supervision. Due to its large size, the king adopted the plan of having an inner circle of the privy councilors which later on became the forerunner of the Cabinet system.

Hanover Period

To prevent any friction with the king, the Parliament went to the extent of making the terms of acceptance of the Hanover dynasty, by writing. The Parliament in February, 1689, incorporated a declaration of rights in a statute and adopted it as a law. This declaration has been called the “Bill of Rights”, which is one of the most important documents in English constitutional history. It proclaimed the supremacy of the Parliament, retreated a denial of the Crown’s right to levy any tax or import without parliamentary consent, insisted that Parliament should be regularly called and set forth a list of individual liberties which were not to be infringed. In short, the Bill of Rights firmly established the supremacy of the Parliament and marked the culmination of all constitutional development that had gone before.

With the events of 1688-89, the outlines of the British constitution were practically complete. The cardinal principles of the political system as it is today were put beyond danger of successful challenge. Britain had become a limited monarchy. Parliament had established its supremacy over the royal prerogative. The changes that have taken place since 1689 have not changed these general outlines of the British Government. However, some significant changes have taken place which are

- (a) the decline of actual powers of the king.
- (b) the growth of the Cabinet system.
- (c) the democratization of the House of Lords.
- (d) The rise of the House of Commons to a position of superiority over the House of Lords.
- (e) The growth of the party system.

Decline of the Powers of the King

Though the Bill of Rights (1689) had established the supremacy of the Parliament, the king was not shorn of all powers. It was after the accession of George I in 1714, that there was a change in situation. George II had little interest in English affairs only. George III tried to revive the old royal influence but in vain. His successors had become accustomed to the new role of the monarch and did not assert their supremacy.

Growth of the Cabinet System

A rudimentary form of the Cabinet had existed under Charles II, known as ‘Cabal’. The events in the year 1688 and the succeeding years made the development of the cabinet system inevitable. William III in the beginning of his rule formed a ministry of both wings and Tories, but failing to govern with both the wings and Tories, he set the precedent of selecting his advisers only from the wings. In 1742, Walpole established the principle of ministerial responsibility. Thus by the end of the 18th century all principles of the cabinet system had clearly emerged in UK. In the 19th century the cabinet began to have wide authority and gradually become the steering wheel of ship of the State.

Democratization of the House of Commons

Reform Act 1832 started the process of democratization of the House of Commons. The Act liberalized suffrage and to a certain degree adjusted representation to population. The successive Reform Acts further extended the suffrage. These reforms cultivated in the

passage of Representation of the people Act, 1918 which gave voting rights to millions of people. Both these Acts brought the House of Commons, “to a point where it can easily be numbered among the most democratic parliamentary bodies in the world”.

The Rise of the Party System

The last notable development in this period is the rise of the party system. Long before 1688, there were many groups called Lancastrians and Yorists Cavaliers and Roundheads but these were political factions rather than political parties in the modern sense. Only the Whigs and the Tories of the Stuart period could claim to be political parties. Through the 18th and 19th centuries, the party system gradually ripened and the country accepted the party system with all its implications.

The Rise of the House of Commons to a Position of Superiority over the House of Lords

Before the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the House of Lords exercised unquestioned supremacy. But within the thirty years of this revolution, the House of Lords began to lose its powers. People like Walpole helped the House of Commons to gain superiority over the House of Lords. The Septennial Act, 1716, also contributed to the strengthening the House of Commons. It was, however, the Act of 1911 which dramatically curtailed the powers of the Lords and eventually established the ultimate supremacy of the House of the Commons.

16.4 Political and Constitutional Development of Brazil

Before independence in 1822, Brazil had no formal Constitution. In 1823, Emperor Pedro I initiated the political process of writing a Constitution. The writing of the first Constitution of Brazil was very difficult and the power struggle at that time led to unrest which lasted for a long time. As the draft Constitution progressed, it became clear that Brazil could establish a Constitution that would.

- (a) curtail the powers of the monarchy
- (b) limit political rights to the land owners and Portuguese would be denied these rights.
- (c) set up an authoritarian but constitutional monarchy.

Based on the French Constitution of 1791 and the Spanish Constitution of 1812, the Constitution gave the Assembly both status and authority. It created Executive, Legislature,

Judicial and other moderating branches. This Constitution of 1824 was less parliamentary. In fact, it was a peculiar and unique regime – a Presidential monarchy.

The Constitution of 1824 instituted Catholicism as State religion. Slaves were excluded from Brazilian citizenship.

1891 Constitution

This Constitution created a federal state following the principles of the Constitution of the United States of America. Federalism, separation of the State and Church, male universal suffrage, separation of powers were some of the important features of this constitution.

1934 Constitution

In 1930, The Brazilian President was overthrown by a coup d'état. The last Constitution was annulled and a constitutional Assembly was elected to enact a new Constitution.

This Constitution was the shortest lived constitution of Brazil lasting only for three years. Despite its short life, this Constitution was able to incorporate a number of improvements with regard to Brazilian political, economic and social life. It granted autonomy to Supreme Court, extended political rights to all citizens, introduced proportional voting for elections, created a specific electoral court to supervise elections, created a labour court to supervise working conditions of the workers and included four basic freedom – freedom of speech, religion, movement and assembly along with the right to life, freedom and property.

1937 Constitution

In November, 1937 the Brazilian President Vargas seized emergency powers under the pretext of dealing with a communist backed coup and promulgated a new Constitution that effectively transformed his presidency into a legal dictatorship. The new Constitution was influenced by the Polish Constitution of 1935. This Constitution consolidated the powers of the President. Political parties were dissolved, State Presidents, Mayors would be appointed by President's men. Capital punishment was introduced, censorship, purges, militarism, state propaganda, personality cult were encouraged.

1946 Constitution

President Vargas was compelled to resign in 1945 and a new Constitution was written by a directly elected constitutional Congress. This was the first Brazilian Constitution to

provide full political freedom. This Constitution resolved restored all rights and freedoms reduced the powers of the presidency, established equality before law, and mentioned the right to postal privacy and the inviolability of homes, improved federalism by extending powers of the member states. Under this Constitution, free and fair elections were held for the first time. Voters were given the opportunity to choose candidates of any party, including for the post of Vice-President and Vice-Governor

1967 Constitution

In 1964, a military coup was organized on 1st April and the new military regime decided to go with the 1946 constitution and declared that democracy would be restored at the earliest. But the rulers did not keep their words. By the so-called Institutional Acts, the military rulers could subordinate the Constitution to these Acts. Even under these circumstances, the rulers committed themselves to restoring civilian rule by 1965. The events moved fast and the political situation reached a point when opposition could win the post of Governorship in two states. The military rulers agreed to support the military's reforms programme. At the same time, the military establishment of Brazil felt the need to unmask all pretense of democracy and to write a new Constitution.

The new Constitution put restrictions on political rights, civil rights, removed all privileges for the Judges allowing the President to compel them to retire or to remove them, recognized the Military State Police Corps as reserve corps of the Federal Army with the task of outdoor patrolling to provide public security thereby reducing the autonomy of the existing civilian police to an investigative role.

The new Constitution wrote new rules for party formation which were so restrictive that only two parties were allowed to be formed – The National Renewal Alliance party (Arena) and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). It put limitations on states' autonomy and imposed controls, established commissions and institutions to regulate and report a number of aspects of civil, social and economic life of the people, thus intensifying an already present trend towards bureaucracy, top heavy management of economy by the federal government.

In 1969, this Constitution was amended by Military Junta and made it more repressive. The 1969 amendment almost rewrote the 1967 constitutional document.

The Citizen Constitution of 1988

The seventh and current Constitution of Brazil was promulgated on October 5, 1988 and it was written by a constitutional Congress elected in 1996.

This Constitution was a reaction to the military rule and as such emphasized on the guarantee of all rights and restricted the State's ability to limit freedom. On the other hand, it was ambivalent on the state reforms and kept the economic regulation as it was. It introduced Consumer's Defense Code, Children and Youth Code and Civil Code.

The Constitution suggests severe punishment for violation of civil liberties and rights. Equal treatment of all citizens was emphasized upon and hate speech was prohibited. Job reservation for the handicapped and seeking of reparation by the black people for prejudice in the courts have been included in the Constitution. Referring the authoritarian logic of the Constitution of 1967, it made crimes like torture, anti-state and unconstitutional activities unbailable thus making coup d'état illegal.

This Constitution, to make Brazil a truly democratic state, has made provision for direct popular participation besides regular voting such as referendum, plebiscite etc. Example of these direct popular participation was the 1993 plebiscite regarding the form of government when the Brazilian people voted for the presidential system and 2005 referendum on the prohibition of sale of firearms and ammunition. The 1988 Constitution has a preamble but it is not a part of the Constitution. With time, this Constitution was found to be creating difficulties relating to the efficiency of the Government and some impractical, contradictory and ambiguous provisions were noticed which needed amendment. Amendments of the Constitution were also needed to accommodate the economic reforms programmes adopted by the Government.

Under the 1988 Constitution, Brazil is a presidential, federal republic. Through an amendment in 1996, municipalities were incorporated with the states as part of the federation. Consequently, Brazil is composed of 26 states, municipalities and the federal district. The federal, state and municipal governments have their own legislative, executive and judicial institutions. The main objective of the 1988 Constitution was to confer administrative autonomy on the state and municipal governments and responsibility for policy implementation, decentralizing the federal power.

16.5 Political and Constitutional Development of Nigeria

The geo-political entity called Nigeria began as a British colony immediately after the annexation of Lagos in 1861. 1906 marked the time of history in Nigerian politics when the Lagos colonies were merged with the Niger coast protectorates of southern Nigeria. Followed by the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates in 1914, a council of 36 was established including six unofficial Nigerians

Prior to the period of this amalgamation, Nigeria composed autonomous societies and each had their own peculiar system of judicial and political practices. At least, the people had say in their collective aspirations and destinations. The advent of the colonial rule with its hegemonic vestiges tired the people with the common constitutional provisions. Ever since then Nigerians lost the fundamental right to actively participate in making laws governing their lives. The primary motive of colonizing Africa was purely economic which led to an undue persuasion for signing treaties and even the usage of physical assault. This was the mode and manner in which the Constitution has emerged.

Colonial Phase (1914-1959)

Series of Constitutions were experimented under this phase. These Constitutions varied only in terms of the composition of the representatives in the legislative council. The constitutional development under colonial rule was the outcome of the agitation of Nationalists for indigenous representation, significant power at all central levels and imposition of limited franchise under the Clifford Constitution, coupled with intense pressure for having a self and independent government. Additionally, nationalists were the driving force for constitutional reform in colonial Nigeria.

The 1914 Constitution was a mere legislation for Lagos colony with a council of 36 members that did not have the real autonomy for real legislation, it was just an advisory council. The Governor was not bound to comply with the advices. Therefore, the first constitution for the amalgamated Nigeria was Clifford Constitution of 1922. This Constitution was a brainchild of Sir Hugh Clifford. In a bid to bring uniformity in the territories of colonial Nigeria, the Constitution amalgamated the Legislative Council meant for the Colony of Lagos with the Nigerian Council, and membership of the council rose to 46. However, this was a curtailed effort as Northern Nigeria was still not represented in the council. The Legislative Council was given law making responsibilities for the Colony of Lagos and the southern provinces. The Constitution introduced elective principle and four members were to be elected (three from Lagos, the administrative and commercial capital and one from Calabar, a big commercial center). Members of the Legislative Council possessed the power to propose any ordinance bill except such Ordinance on finance which was the prerogative of the Governor. Nevertheless, the Governor had veto power and was empowered to disapprove of any law passed by the Legislative Council. He could execute whatever he wished without the consent of the council. There was also absence of independent judiciary, separation of powers and rule of law. To justify this, Governor Richard claimed that there was an absence of any group from which he could obtain African views. As a result of the nationalist dissatisfaction with the Clifford Constitution, Arthur Richards presented

to the legislative council his proposal on March, 1945 for an amended Constitution which was realized in 1946.

The Richard Constitution defined Nigeria, for the first time, in terms of regions: Northern, Western and Eastern regions. Under this Constitution, there was a legislative council for the whole country. Governor served as a president, and the council consisted of 16 official and 28 unofficial members, 4 of them elected and 24 nominated and created regional councils for the west and east. It was unicameral while the north had a bicameral system of House of Chiefs and House of Assembly. Nonetheless, before enacting the Constitution, the Governor didn't consult Nigerians and this also made it half-baked.

The next was the Macpherson Constitution. On 9th January, 1950, the Constitution was drafted and became operative after one year. A national conference was held to discuss the draft of the 1951 Macpherson Constitution which came into being after an unprecedented process of consultation with the peoples of Nigeria. It is obvious that no other Constitution so widely reached out to the people than the Macpherson Constitution of 1951. Instructively, meetings and consultations leading down to its making were held at 5 levels – Village, District, Divisional, and Provincial and Regional levels – before the national conference. The regional conferences were held at Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna, respectively and produced a general consensus in favour of a federal system of government with a few differences as to its format. The constitution provided a Central Legislature, and a Central Executive Council (House of Representatives) consisting of a President and six ex-officio members, 136 representatives elected from the regional houses and six special members appointed by the Governor for representing communities less or inadequately represented. Also regional executive and regional legislature were provided. Also, West became a bicameral like North but central legislation could override the regional legislatures at any rate. On the same vein, Governor Macpherson's Constitution vested the central legislature with unlimited power, as it could legislate on any matter including those on which the regions had power to legislate. The central legislative members (ministers) being selected from among the regional legislatures made them too loyal to their regions and the politics of regionalism erupted in the House that instigated inter-regional conflict that led to conference for the leaders of various parties in London 1953 and Lagos in 1954. Consequently another Constitution was initiated by Oliver Lyttleton.

The Lyttleton Constitution of 1954, among others, made regional governments independent of the central government in respect of subjects and legislative powers allocated to them. It also established a unicameral legislature for the federal government and each

of the 3 regional governments. In addition, Lagos was taken out of the control of any regional government and made the Federal Capital Territory, regional public services were established for each of the 3 regions, the judiciary was reorganized so as to establish regional judiciaries while autonomy was granted to the Southern Cameroons which was up till that time part of a larger Nigeria and Northern Cameroons. Specifically, for the first time, Ministers were given specific portfolios. Thus, the Lyttleton Constitution could best be described as the transition instrument towards Nigeria's independence in 1960 under a federal structure with democratically elected federal and regional legislature.

Post Colonial Era (1960-1999)

In the process of granting independence, colonialists were seriously interested in leaving certain legacies which would help them in maintaining the status quo. Consequently, the independence Constitution of 1959 retained most of the provisions of the Lyttleton Constitution which propelled the Nigerians to engage themselves in serious agitation for change. The Constitution (independence constitution) which provided for a parliamentary system of government, with the three regional governments (Northern, Eastern and Western Regions), a bicameral legislative framework at the federal (Senate and House of Representatives) and regional levels (House of Assembly and House of Chiefs) with the legislative powers of government delineated into three lists; exclusive, concurrent and residual. The parliamentary system premeditated under the Constitution recognized the British monarch as the Head of State with powers to appoint a resident agent (the Governor-General) to exercise executive powers on her behalf while a Prime Minister elected by the Federal parliament acted as the Head of the Federal Executive Council. This culminated to a constitutional conference held in Lagos from 25th to 26th, July 1963 where Nigerian political leaders resolved that, Nigeria should become a Federal Republic, which was passed on 19th September 1963. Thus, the key features of the 1963 Constitution were the establishment of Nigeria's First republic under a parliamentary system of government by replacing the Governor-General appointed by the British monarch with a President elected directly by members of the Nigerian federal legislature. In addition, in place of the Privy Council, the Federal Supreme Court became designated as the final appellate judicial authority over any person or matter in Nigeria.

Looking at the extent of constitutionalism, it can be said that the Westminster model of government failed to accommodate the grievances of Nigerians due to the abdication of responsibility by the executive and its inability to abide by the rules of the game. As a result, there was no rule of law and constitutionalism got jeopardized.

Military and Constitution Making in Nigeria (1979-1999)

It is unfortunate that despite the military arbitrariness to Constitution, the Nigerian Constitution could not be disengaged from the military. With the collapse of the first republic, Nigeria witnessed thirteen years of military rule. In 1979 a new constitution was promulgated which led to the inception of the second republic.

The 1979 Constitution of the second republic was quite different from the one of first republic. Some of the essential contents were: it opted for presidential rather than parliamentary system of government, under which the President and state governors will be elected together with their deputies. Constitution was made to be supreme, in which powers were delineated and spitted between and among various tiers of government so as to strengthen the federal structure of the federation. The Constitution was drafted by 49 members out of 50 and finally the draft was reviewed and amended by the Armed Forces Military Council that issued a decree enacting the 1979 Constitution.

In analyzing the extent of constitutionalism under the second republic, it is evident that the Constitution was subjected to debate by Supreme Military Council for first scrutiny. The second republic was affected by the left legacies of authoritarian and arbitrary practices of 13 year military legacies which manifested in the form of political repression, abuse of executive power and non-compliance to the rule of law. In Kaduna state assembly, National Party of Nigeria (NPN) members with the majority in the house ended up impeaching the executive governor in June 1981 without conforming to section 174 (2) of the Constitution. Even though during Babangida's 1989 and Abacha's 1994 military regimes there were some impotent attempts for constitutional reconstructions, they ended up as mere stage shows. The conclusive one is the 1999 Constitution of Abdussalam Abubakar.

The Supreme Military Council of 26 officers promulgated another Constitution into law under General Abdulsalam Abubakars' military administration which successfully ushered in the Fourth Republic on the 29th of May, 1999. Nevertheless, the Constitution lacks the necessary prerequisite of consultation and popular representation, being enacted by only 26 Nigerians and imposed on Nigerians just like its predecessors. As a result, constitutionalism is cast off. Further, the language of the Constitution also is criticized as a masculine one if not militaristic and the composition is highly ambiguous with legal jargons. Thus, many pundits see it as just a legal document that inflicts a unitary system of rule.

The process of Constitution making in Nigerian history has been far from popular. It has always been dominated and dictated by foreigners, military officers and political elites.

Characteristically, the final outcome is subject to the final amendments by the highest governing authority of a given time in question. This made the Constitution less relevant to the people and failed to serve the interests of democracy. As a liberal democratic state, Nigeria still needs to have a Constitution that will dispose of the stains of colonialism and symbolize the real features of Nigerians and reflect their wishes as independent citizens.

16.6 Political and Constitutional Development of China

Even though the current Chinese Constitution dates back to the 80s of the 20th century, the early efforts to establish constitutionalism started in the 1800s after the Qing Dynasty repeatedly suffered humiliating defeat in wars with foreign powers. In 1908, the Qing government issued the constitutional outline made by the Imperial order which was the first constitutional document in Chinese history.

After the fall of the Qing government, Sun Yat Sen formed the provisional government in Nanjing which promulgated the provisional constitution of the Republic of China; the first Western style constitution. The Constitution, however, did not take effect due to Sun Yat Sen's ouster from the government by Yuan Shikai. During Shikai's rule, the government put out several drafts of the Constitution, none of which became binding legal documents. Yuan Shikai abolished his government and established his eighty-three day long dynasty. After Chiang Kai-Shek took over the power, his government enacted the Constitution of the Republic of China and it was in force till Chiang Kai-Shek was defeated by the communist party in 1949.

Since the establishment of People's Republic of China (PRC), there have been four Constitutions – the 1954 constitution, the 1975 Constitution, the 1978 Constitution and 1982 Constitution.

After the revolution in 1949, the communists did not follow any country to make their Constitution and decided to rely upon Mao's leadership and People's Democratic Dictatorship as explained by Mao. It was in 1953 that the People's Republic of China decided to have a written constitution. A committee under Mao's Chairmanship proposed a draft Constitution which included the views of the people and was presented to the National People's Political Conference in September, 1954 which adopted the final constitution. The 1954 Constitution affirmed the resolve of the Chinese people to overthrow feudalism, colonialism and capitalism.

A very interesting feature of this Constitution was that it unlike other socialist Constitutions did not give a constitutional recognition to the status and role of the communist party of

China. This Constitution enshrined fundamental rights and duties for the Citizens. The Constitution declared that PRC was a single multinational state consisting of several nationalities that stood integrated into a family. Despite its multinational character, China continued to be a unitary state.

The theory of constitutionalism written in the 1954 Constitution was never followed in actual practice. It was used as a smokescreen for maintaining and strengthening the all-powerful communist party under Mao.

The Constitution of 1975

Constitutionalism in China registered a change in 1975 under the impact of the Cultural Revolution. Further, this change was necessitated because the 1954 Constitution was formulated for a transitional period of 20 years. The Constitution of 1975, in several ways, was a natural result of the evolution of the 1954 Constitution. The Constitution praised the Communist Party for successfully guiding the People's Republic of China in its march towards the achievement of the socialist goals and meeting the threat of imperialism. This Constitution recognized the leading and direct role of the communist party in exercising state power for securing socialist goals. The National People's Congress was described as the highest organ of State power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It abolished the office of the Chairman of the Republic and vested the powers of the head of the state in the standing committee of the NPC. The 1975 Constitution gave the right to freedom of procession and freedom of strike to the people.

The Constitution of 1978

The death of Mao-Tse-Tung in 1976 and the ensuing power struggle within the hierarchy of the Communist Party gave rise to the need for a new Constitution. The new Constitution of 1978 advocated the need for liberalization in policies.

The stated objective of the 1978 Constitution was “the consolidation of the socialist economic base” and development of the production forces at high speed. It accepted “Socialist Democracy as the goal which was to be achieved by arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the people of all our nationalities to strive for the fulfillment of the central task for the new period”.

This Constitution further extended the list of fundamental rights and now it came to include the right to “speak out freely, air the views fully and hold great debates. It accepted the paramount role of the Communist Party and its leadership of the whole Chinese people and the working class exercised leadership over the state through its vanguard, the communist

party”. The Central committee was given a key role in determining the choice of high ranking officers of the state including the premier. Chairman of the central committee of the party was to command the armed forces. Hence, the communist party continued to be the bedrock of Chinese political system.

The Constitution of 1982

The power struggle within the communist party that had emerged after the death of Mao-Tse-Tung, brought into being another big change in the Chinese leadership and consequently in Chinese constitutionalism. By 1981, Hua- Guo- Feng lost power and Deng Xiaoping emerged as the strong man. The new leadership then decided to phase out Hua and provide a new Constitution to China with several liberalizing changes.

The separation of the government and party was affected, concentration of powers in individual hands was ‘curtailed’, the concept of collective leadership was accepted and the need to give due share to younger generation leadership was recognized. A new emphasis on decentralization and liberalization of the economy also became evident. The private sector was assigned a role in China’s socialist economy. The new Constitution accepted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism but along with it a new need for liberalization, decentralization, modernization and market socialism was accepted. It attempted to give a new orientation to the Chinese political culture. Liberalization of economy involving a multi-faceted economic system (Socialist market economy) and more openness in Chinese politics. The Constitution of 1982 and the features it incorporated in it still continue to guide the activities and policies of the People’s Republic of China in the first decade of the 21st century.

16.7 Conclusion

The countries under study have a long history of evolution of both their Constitution and politics. Britain was initially a monarchy but it ultimately evolved to be a parliamentary democracy with constitutional monarchy and its system of government being unitary in nature. Brazil’s Constitution is a result of its struggle against both colonial and military rule ultimately establishing a federal republic the executive President with immense power. The same is the case with Nigeria which was also subjected to foreign rule and post-independence military rule. Not only this, the present Constitution of Nigeria bears the imprint of military hegemony. So far as China is concerned, it evolved as a unitary socialist state and its Constitution calls on the Chinese people to “concentrate on socialist modernization by following the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics”

while adhering to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

16.8 Summing up

- The Constitution of the United Kingdom is a product of long historical evolution covering a number of periods starting from the Anglo-Saxon to Hanover period.
- As the Constitution evolved, the powers of the King declined, the Cabinet emerged, democratization of House of Commons took place, Party system emerged and the House of Commons achieved superiority over the House of Lords.
- Brazil had the first Constitution in 1824 which established Presidential monarchism. It was followed by the Constitutions of 1891, 1934, 1937, 1946 and 1967 respectively.
- The present Constitution was enacted in 1988 which declared Brazil to be a presidential, federal republic. Through an amendment in 1996, municipalities were incorporated with the states as part of the federation. The main objective of the 1988 Constitution, which is called the citizen constitution, was to confer administrative autonomy on the state and municipal governments and responsibility for policy implementation, decentralizing the federal power.
- A series of constitutions were enacted in the colonial period of Nigeria from 1914 to 1959. After independence in 1960, four Constitutions were in place in 1960, 1963, 1979 and 1993 respectively before the current constitution was enacted.
- The present Constitution was introduced in 1999 restoring democratic rule to Nigeria and making it a federal republic.
- Since the establishment of People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, there have been four constitutions – the 1954 Constitution, the 1975 Constitution, the 1978 Constitution and 1982 Constitution.
- The 1954 Constitution affirmed the resolve of the Chinese people to overthrow feudalism, colonialism and capitalism.
- The Constitution of 1975, in several ways, was a natural result of the evolution of the 1954 Constitution. The Constitution praised the communist party for

successfully guiding the People's Republic of China in its march towards the achievement of the socialist goals and meeting the threat of imperialism.

- The stated objective of the 1978 Constitution was “the consolidation of the socialist economic base” and development of the production forces at high speed. It accepted “Socialist Democracy as the goal which was to be achieved by arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the people of all our nationalities to strive for the fulfillment of the central task for the new period”.
- The present Constitution of 1982 accepted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism but along with it a new need for liberalization, decentralization, modernization and market socialism was accepted. It attempted to give a new orientation to the Chinese political culture. Liberalization of economy involving a multi-faceted economic system (Socialist market economy) and more openness in Chinese politics. The Constitution of 1982 and the features it incorporated still continue to guide the activities and policies of the People's Republic of China in the first decade of the 21st century.

16.9 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Write a note on the constitutional and political development of UK.
2. Discuss the constitutional and political development of Brazil.
3. Analyse the constitutional and political development of China.
4. Elaborate the constitutional and political development of Nigeria.

Short Questions

1. Make an assessment of the Hanover period of UK.
2. Write a note on the growth of cabinet in UK.
3. Discuss the important features of the 1967 Constitution of Brazil.
4. Write a note on the 1988 Constitution of Brazil.
5. Discuss briefly the Constitution making in Nigeria during the colonial period.
6. Discuss the role played by the military in the making of Constitutions in Nigeria.
7. What do you know about the Chinese Constitution of 1978?

8. Write a note on the 1982 Constitution of China.

Objective Questions

1. In which country is constitutional monarchy found ?
2. What is the name of the upper house of parliament in UK ?
3. Which Act established the ultimate superiority of the House of Commons ?
4. Which Constitution of Brazil is called a citizen Constitution ?
5. Name a country where the Military played an important role in the making of Constitution.

16.10 Further Reading

1. Vishnoo Bhagwan, Vidya Bhushan and Vandana Mohla, "*World Constitutions- A Comparative Study*", Sterling, 2017.
2. B.O. Nwabueze, "*A Constitutional History of Nigeria*", C, Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, UK, 1982.
3. Gary W. Wynia, "*The Politics of Latin American Development*", Cambridge University Press, US, 1990.
4. Flemming Christiansen and Shirin Rai, "*Chinese Politics and Society- An Introduction*", Routledge, 1996.

Unit 17 □ Major Changes in the Economy of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China

Structure:

- 17.1 Objective**
- 17.2 Introduction**
- 17.3 Major changes in the economy of Britain**
- 17.4 Major changes in the economy of Brazil**
- 17.5 Major changes in the economy of Nigeria**
- 17.6 Major changes in the economy of China**
- 17.7 Conclusion**
- 17.8 Summing up**
- 17.9 Probable Questions**
- 17.10 Further Reading**

17.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- have an understanding of the economy of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China.
- know the changes which have taken place in the economies of the four countries as a result of adoption of neo-liberal economic policies.
- familiarize themselves with the challenges faced by these economies.
- know the economic status of each of the four countries in terms of economic growth.

17.2 Introduction

Economic activity of a state is very critical for the economic stability of a country on which depends its political and military standing in the comity of nations. It is on the basis of the level of economic development that one country is called a developed state

and another country as developing or underdeveloped one. There was a time when the state had the monopoly of economic activity but times have changed now as a result of the neo-liberal policy of liberalization, privatization and globalization when the activity of the state has shrunk, privatization of public enterprises is taking place and everything has been left to the market forces. These tendencies are a far cry from the state interventionism, economic nationalism, state socialist experimentation found in much of the developing world during the 1960s and 1970s. The four countries under study, namely, the UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China fall into two ideological categories. The first three are capitalist and liberal democratic countries with some variations while China is a socialist country. As such, it is natural that the economic activities performed by these states will vary. The economy of the UK is a highly developed and market-oriented economy. The economy of Brazil and Nigeria have opened up in recent times but the State has still much stake in the country's economy. China's economy is mostly controlled by the State but it has also opened its economy to external forces.

17.3 Major Changes in the Economy of Britain

The economy of the United Kingdom is a highly developed, market-oriented economy. It is the fifth largest national economy in the world in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), tenth largest by purchasing power parity (PPP). The UK is one of the most globalized economy. In 2019, the UK was the fifth largest exporter and the fifth largest importer. In 2020, the UK's trade with the 27 member States of the European Union accounted for 49 percent of the country's exports and 52 percent of its imports.

In the 18th century, UK was the first nation to industrialize. During the 19th century, it had preeminent role in the global economy through its expansive colonial empire and technological superiority. The second industrial revolution presented an increasingly economic challenge for the UK leading into the 20th century. UK's participation in the First and Second World War further weakened the UK's relative position. Despite its relative decline in its global dominance, in the 21st century, the UK still retains its ability to be a country with significant power and influence around the world.

After the Second World War, the Labour party government fully nationalized the Bank of England, Civil Aviation, Telephone Networking, Railways, Gas, Electricity and the Coal, Iron and Steel Industries. Post Second World War, the United Kingdom enjoyed a long period of economic stability, prosperity was there in the 1950s and 1960s. But crisis hit the UK economy in the 1970s against the backdrop of energy crisis worldwide, high

inflation and a dramatic influx of low-cost manufactured goods from Asia. In 1973, UK became member of the European Economic Community later succeeded by European Union (EU) with the objective of making the British economy competitive.

In 1976, UK was found to apply for a loan from the IMF and the Government was required to impose cuts on public spending and other economic reforms and the British economy improved somewhat. A new period of neo-liberal economic policy started with the election of a Government headed by Margaret Thatcher in 1979. Neo-liberal economy is generally associated with policies of economic liberalization including privatization, deregulation, globalization, free trade, austerity and reductions in government spending in order to give an important place to private sector in the economy and society. Widespread labour unrest resulted in the loss of thousands of jobs in the coal mining and heavy industrial sectors. During the 1980s and 1990s, income disparity also increased. Unemployment and inflation rates were gradually reduced but remained high until the late 1990s.

The great recession of 2008 hit the British economy hard. Unemployment rose by leaps and bounds. The IMF advised the British Government to broaden the scope of fiscal policy to promote external balance. As a result of recession, the Labour party lost the election of 2010 and a coalition Government was formed by the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats.

In 2011, UK became the most-indebted country and doubts were raised with regard to the Bank of England's assurance on economic recovery. Since the great recession, the Government was unable to make any profit on its foreign investments. In March, 2020, in response to the outbreak of covid-19, a temporary ban was imposed on non-essential business and travel in UK. In the first half of 2020, GDP shrank by 22.6 percent, the deepest recession in UK history and worse than any other G7 or European country. In 2021, GDP rose but inflation was the highest since 1952 due to rising energy and transport costs. Workers were the worst hit as they were asked to bear with a pay cut to avoid high inflation becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Brexit and the Economy of Britain

In the 1990s the movement known as Euroscepticism, which advocated political and economic disengagement from EU, began gaining momentum in the UK. By the second decade of the 21st century, support for this viewpoint had become so widespread that a referendum had to be placed before the electorate. Almost 52 percent of the electorate were found to be in favour of British exit from the EU, popularly known as 'Brexit', setting in motion a protracted process that eventually culminated in the UK's withdrawal from the

EU on January 31, 2020, heralding a period of economic transition and uncertainty. As a result of Brexit, UK economy faces many challenges and uncertainties especially as the UK trading arrangements after Brexit are still to be agreed. Opportunities exist as potentially new markets will be opened up. The UK does have a comparative advantage in business and financial services. Growth prospects in these areas may also be higher in many emerging markets which are forecast to grow quicker than many advanced countries. However, when it comes to trade, the EU will still be UK's major trading destinations as it currently accounts for just under half of exports and just half of imports. So Brexit will be critically important so far as getting the best possible trade deal in terms of access to the single market is concerned. The implications of a no deal could be very damaging for the UK economy, complex international supply chains and just in-time production methods could be badly damaged and multi-national companies could cut back on FDI, with important implications for growth, job and living standards. Negotiating new trade agreements would be time-consuming. Deals may also have to renegotiate with countries where EU trade deals currently exist. Trying to negotiate many deals simultaneously will put pressures on UK trade negotiators, where success will be critical if the worst predictions for the economy after the Brexit are not to come true.

17.4 Major Economic Changes in Brazil

The Brazilian economy was based on the export of timbers, gold and silver and coffee until the start of the 20th century. The first surge of industrialization came during the period of First World War. But it was only from the 1930s onward that Brazil's economic performance came to a level of modernity. The 1970s saw a general rise in the export of agricultural products. In the 1980s, agriculture started playing a significant role in the country's economy.

The industrialization process which started in the 1950s and continued up to the 1970s resulted in the expansion of important sectors of the economy such as automobile industry, petrochemicals and steel. In the decades after the Second World War, Brazil's gross national product (GNP) was among the highest in the countries in Latin America.

In the second half of the 1980s, a series of hard measures were adopted by the Brazilian Government although they failed to bring about the expected results. This signaled the exhaustion of Brazil's "import substitution" model and the need for opening up of the country's economy was felt by the country's rulers. In the early 1990s, Brazil was engaged in a series of far-reaching economic reforms which included trade liberalization, deregulation, privatization and the establishment of a legal and structural framework to promote foreign

investment. Economic reforms continued through the 1990s and included measures like the abolition of state monopoly, elimination or reduction of trade barriers in goods and services as well as of subsidies in line with Brazil's obligations as a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). In 1994, the Brazilian Government introduced the "Real Plan" which combined a domestic monetary anchor with an external one. The plan successfully led to a rapid and sustained decrease of the inflation rate. The restoration of the value of the currency and the return to economic growth brought about an increase in the purchasing power of lower layers of population and a significant reduction in poverty. Market liberalization and economic stabilization have significantly raised Brazil's growth prospects.

During the three centuries of colonial rule (1500-1821), Brazil adopted an export-oriented development strategy. However, the beginning of the Great Depression gave birth to a movement of transition from "dependence" to "dependent development" in Brazil. The State's intervention in the economy and the policy of import substitution strengthened Brazil's internal market. The State emerged as a major investor in high risk and low profit key sectors like steel, aviation industry, telephony, natural gas, oil, petrochemicals, mining etc. State-led investment in these sectors significantly changed the export basket of Brazil. It helped break the dependency cycle in which Brazil was functioning as an exporter of natural resources and importer of manufactured goods.

Since the time Brazil adopted neo-liberal development model in the late 1980s, the Brazilian Government has been reducing its share in State-owned enterprises. The defining features of development under neo-liberal development strategy is that the Government owned majority and minority stakes in selected State-owned enterprises but minus management obligations. The Brazilian State is also an important source of lending.

17.5 Major Economic Changes in Nigeria

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with a GDP second only to South Africa. Yet, following several years of military rule and poor economic management, Nigeria witnessed a prolonged period of economic stagnation, rising poverty levels and the decline of its public institutions. Human development indicators of Nigeria were comparable to that of the least developed countries while widespread corruption undermined the effectiveness of various public expenditure programmes. Infrastructural bottlenecks hindered private sector activities. The poor condition of the power sector prior to economic reforms illustrated the severity of Nigeria's infrastructural deficit.

Macroeconomic Reforms:

Nigeria's economic performance prior to economic reforms was poor. A major challenge to Nigerian economy was its macroeconomic volatility- driven largely by the external terms of trade shocks and the country's reliance on oil export earnings. The effects of such volatility manifested in poor growth of the economy.

The central objective of the macroeconomic reforms was to stabilize the Nigerian economy, to improve budgetary planning and execution and to provide a platform for sustained economic diversification and non-oil growth. Overall, the attainment of macroeconomic stability has provided a platform for improved growth performance in recent years. Progress in oil revenue management by improvements in debt management and the budget preparation process. Public debt decreased substantially.

Strengthening the budget preparation and execution process was urgently needed in order to improve the efficiency of the Government spending and improve service delivery to the Nigerian people. Special attention was given to pro- poor expenditures within the budget that were needed to improve Nigeria's Millennium Development Goal indicators.

Structural Reforms

A broad range of structural reforms were also needed to improve the domestic climate and enhance competitiveness, to deregulate and reduce Government activity in various economic spheres and to address various structural constraints to growth. Privatization of state-owned enterprises as well as deregulation of government activities in some sectors was needed to improve the efficiency of these enterprises, to curb corruption and to reduce the financial costs to the federal government. Between 1999 and 2006 about 116 enterprises were privatized. Privatization was accompanied by deregulation of various economic sectors. Liberalization of Telecom sector yielded good results.

Along with privatization, liberalization and deregulation, reform measures were also undertaken to reform the oversized and poorly paid civil service of the country. To strengthen the financial sector, bank consolidation exercise was launched in mid-2004. Reform measures were also taken to reform the insurance sector.

Nigeria's trade regime was viewed as complex, restrictive and opaque and the country went to the extent of liberalizing its import tariff regime by adopting Common External Tariff (CET) in keeping with its commitment to simplify the tariff structure and improve the transparency and predictability of Nigeria's trade policies. Nigeria undertook institutional and governance reforms to ensure transparency and to do away with corruption in spheres

like public procurement, public expenditure management, and the oil and gas sector.

Nigeria faces many challenges in sustaining economic growth and improving its broad development indicators. An historic opportunity exists for the Nigerian policy makers to consolidate recent gains from reforms and to address outstanding areas of reform in future.

Viewed against the backdrop of its economic performance since the 1980s, Nigeria has clearly turned a corner. Nigeria's reform programme would be the basis of a new non-borrowing instrument at the IMF. Future governments in Nigeria will have to choose between economic stagnation and further reforms that will help accelerate economic growth.

17.6 Major Economic Changes in China

The Chinese model of economic development needs to be looked at against the background of its revolution in 1949. It embarked on a strategy of radical land reforms followed by a regrouping of peasants into cooperatives and collectives. The first five-year plan was aimed at creating a comprehensive industrial structure at a rapid speed and China was able to achieve a considerable momentum in economic development.

But as a result of the Great Leap Forward of 1958, the Chinese economic growth slowed down considerably. Consequently, a new economic programme was adopted and announced by the Chinese leadership which was levelled as, "Market Socialism". The Second five-year plan was marked by a serious economic depression and a policy of readjustment was undertaken followed by further readjustment and as a result, China had successfully corrected the fault lines of its economy. The third five-year plan was undertaken at a time when "cultural revolution" was resorted to by the Chinese leadership. Many leaders of the Chinese Communist party criticized the "cultural revolution". Deng Xiaoping called it an internal disorder that caused immense harm to Chinese economy. The new leadership led by Deng favoured large-scale economic reforms, described as, "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics". It pushed China in the direction of neo-liberal reforms.

In the years ahead, China achieved great progress in economic reforms and the opening of the economy to the outside world. The annual average growth rate of the GNP reached to 10 to 11 percent between 1990 and 1999. During this period, China's economy was liberalized and privatized at a rapid pace. China also encouraged investment of foreign capital and gave favourable terms to all foreign investors.

Consequently, China marched rapidly towards a system which some critics described as "capitalism with Chinese characteristics". The share of the public sector in Chinese economy decreased from 96 percent in 1976 to just 26 percent in 2001. Post-Mao,

development strategy largely succeeded in making China an industrial giant and also achieving self-sufficiency in agriculture. The development strategy of the present-day China was once beautifully summarized by Deng Xiaoping, “the cat could be white or black, what is important is that it should be able to catch mice”.

Napoleon once said about China, “It is a sleeping giant, let it sleep for if it wakes it would shake the world”. Whether Napoleon’s prophecy comes true or not there is no doubt that today China’s presence is felt all over the world.

17.7 Conclusion

Economy of a country indicates many things. Economy tells us whether a country is rich or poor. It also lets us know the political and military capability of a country and its standing in international economic and political power relations. From what has been discussed above, it can be said that the economies of the UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China have undergone major changes. In the 1980s, a new period of neo-liberal economic policy started with the election of a Government headed by Margaret Thatcher in 1979, which was generally associated with policies of economic liberalization including privatization, deregulation, globalization, free trade, austerity and reductions in government spending in order to give an important place to private sector in the economy and society. In the second half of the 1980s, a series of hard measures were adopted by the Brazilian Government although they failed to bring about the expected results. This signaled the exhaustion of Brazil’s “import substitution” model and the need for opening up of the country’s economy was felt by the country’s rulers. In the early 1990s, Brazil was engaged in a series of far-reaching economic reforms which included trade liberalization, deregulation, privatization and the establishment of a legal and structural framework to promote foreign investment. Nigeria’s economic performance prior to economic reforms was poor. A major challenge to Nigerian economy was its macroeconomic volatility- driven largely by the external terms of trade shocks and the country’s reliance on oil export earnings. The effects of such volatility manifested in poor growth of the economy. A broad range of structural reforms were also needed to improve the domestic climate and enhance competitiveness, to deregulate and reduce Government activity in various economic spheres and to address various structural constraints to growth. Privatization of state-owned enterprises as well as deregulation of government activities in some sectors was needed to improve the efficiency of these enterprises, to curb corruption and to reduce the financial costs to the federal government. Between 1999 and 2006 about 116 enterprises were privatized. Privatization was accompanied by deregulation of various economic sectors. Liberalization of Telecom

sector yielded good results. China achieved great progress in economic reforms and the opening of the economy to the outside world. The annual average growth rate of the GNP reached to 10 to 11 percent between 1990 and 1999. During this period, China's economy was liberalized and privatized at a rapid pace. China also encouraged investment of foreign capital and provided favourable terms to all foreign investors.

17.8 Summing up

- Britain's economy is the fifth largest national economy in the world in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), tenth largest by purchasing power parity (PPP). The UK is one of the most globalized economy.
- A new period of neo-liberal economic policy started with the election of a Government headed by Margaret Thatcher in 1979. Neo-liberal economy is generally associated with policies of economic liberalization including privatization, deregulation, globalization, free trade, austerity and reductions in government spending in order to give an important place to private sector in the economy and society.
- The great recession of 2008 hit the British economy hard. Unemployment rose by leaps and bounds. The IMF advised the British Government to broaden the scope of fiscal policy to promote external balance. As a result of recession, the Labour party lost the election of 2010 and a coalition Government was formed by the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats.
- In the 1990s the movement known as Euroscepticism, which advocated political and economic disengagement from EU, began gaining momentum in the UK. By the second decade of the 21st century, support for this viewpoint had become so widespread that a referendum had to be organized. Almost 52 percent of the electorate were found to be in favour of British exit from the EU, popularly known as 'Brexit', setting in motion a protracted process that eventually culminated in the UK's withdrawal from the EU on January 31, 2020, heralding a period of economic transition and uncertainty.
- The Brazilian economy was based on the export of timbers, gold and silver and coffee until the start of the 20th century.
- The industrialization process which started in the 1950s and continued up to the 1970s resulted in the expansion of important sectors of the economy such as automobile industry, petrochemicals and steel.

- In the early 1990s, Brazil was engaged in a series of far-reaching economic reforms which included trade liberalization, deregulation, privatization and the establishment of a legal and structural framework to promote foreign investment.
- Market liberalization and economic stabilization have significantly raised Brazil's growth prospects.
- Since the time Brazil adopted neo-liberal development model in the late 1980s, the Brazilian Government has been reducing its share in State-owned enterprises.
- Following several years of military rule and poor economic management, Nigeria witnessed a prolonged period of economic stagnation, rising poverty levels and the decline of its public institutions.
- A major challenge to Nigerian economy was its macroeconomic volatility- driven largely by the external terms of trade shocks and the country's reliance on oil export earnings. The effects of such volatility manifested in poor growth of the economy.
- A broad range of structural reforms were also needed to improve the domestic climate and enhance competitiveness, to deregulate and reduce Government activity in various economic spheres and to address various structural constraints to growth.
- Nigeria faces many challenges in sustaining economic growth and improving its broad development indicators. An historic opportunity exists for the Nigerian policy makers to consolidate recent gains from reforms and to address outstanding areas of reform in future.
- The first five-year plan was aimed at creating a comprehensive industrial structure at a rapid speed and China was able to achieve a considerable momentum in economic development.
- But as a result of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, the Chinese economic growth slowed down considerably.
- China achieved great progress in economic reforms and the opening of the economy to the outside world.
- China marched rapidly towards a system which some critics described as "capitalism with Chinese characteristics".
- The share of the public sector in Chinese economy has decreased from 96 percent in 1976 to just 26 percent in 2001.

17.9 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Write a note on the major economic changes in the UK.
2. Discuss how Brazil adapted its economy to the changing international situations.
3. Point out the major changes in Nigerian economy.
4. Write a note on the evolution of the Chinese economy since 1949.

Short Questions

1. Discuss the impact of Brexit on the British economy.
2. Discuss the reasons for undertaking macro-economic reforms in Nigeria.
3. Write a note on the opening up of the Brazilian economy.
4. Discuss the processes of economic reforms in China.

Objective Questions

1. With which country is Brexit associated?
2. What is the full form of WTO ?
3. Which country is associated with 'market socialism' ?

17.10 Further Reading

1. Malcolm Sanlyer, "*The UK Economy*", OUP, 2005.
2. Barry Naughton, "*The Chinese Economy*", MIT, Press, 2006.
3. Tom Forrest, "*Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*", Routledge, 2020.
4. Werner Baer, "*The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*", Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007.

Unit 18 □ Major Political Institutions in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China

Structure:

- 18.1 Objective**
- 18.2 Introduction**
- 18.3 Major Political Institutions of Britain**
- 18.4 Major Political Institutions of Brazil**
- 18.5 Major Political Institutions of Nigeria**
- 18.6 Major Political Institutions of China**
- 18.7 Conclusion**
- 18.8 Summing up**
- 18.9 Probable Questions**
- 18.10 Further Reading**

18.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- grasp the major political institutions in UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China
- make a comparative analysis of the political institutions of the four countries.
- understand the important aspects of the political institutions of the countries stated above.

18.2 Introduction

Political institutions are the organizations in a government that create, enforce and apply laws. They often mediate conflict, make decisions or policies on the economy and social systems and otherwise provide representation for the people. In general, democratic political regimes are divided into two types – (a) Presidential and (b) Parliamentary. Legislatures built up to support the democratic regimes may be unicameral (one house) or bicameral (two houses) .Party-system can be one-party, two-party or multi-party and the

parties can be strong or weak depending on the level of their internal cohesion. The political institutions are those bodies- parties, legislatures, executive, judiciary, local-self-governments – which make up the whole mechanism of modern governments. We will limit our study of political institutions to the legislature, executive, judiciary, local self-government and the party systems as they exist in UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China.

18.3 Major Political Institutions of Britain

The Crown

“The crown is a bundle of sovereign powers, prerogatives and rights – a legal idea”, so said by Sir Maurice Amos. As Britain is a democratic country, the King or Queen is considered to be a constitutional Head and enjoys no real power although British constitution has given some powers to the King or Queen, these powers are to be exercised by the crown on the advice of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister. Still, monarchy has withstood the test of time and the British people realize and appreciate its dignifying, unifying and stabilizing influence. Neumann rightly remarks that “the Monarchy is a symbol of the enduring qualities of their race and living proof that whatever the future may bring it will not break too radically with the tried and proven concept of the past.”

The institution of monarchy has thus become a part of the heritage and culture of the British people. It is based on public sentiments. The British people want the King or Queen should continue to head Britain and Britain should continue to be a “crowned republic”.

The British Parliament

The British Parliament consists of two houses – House of Commons (Lower house) and the House of Lords (Upper house). The members of the House of Commons are directly elected by the citizens for five years. Its main functions are to enact laws, control the government and politically educate the public. As the lower house of the directly elected public representatives, it has an edge over the House of Lords on legislative matters and the budget. The committee system of the House of Commons is a notable one with five committees helping the lower house in legislative matters. (a) The Committee of the Whole House (b) Select Committees on Public Bills (c) Sessional Committees on Public Bills (d) Standing Committees (e) Committees on Private Bills.

The House of Lords

The House of Lords is the oldest second chamber in the world. Its members are not elected by the people. They are nominated ones. The Lord Chancellor is the presiding

officer of the House of Lords. He is a member of the Cabinet. He does not enjoy powers even enjoyed by the Chairman of the Standing Committees. Since July, 2006, the office of the Lord Chancellor has been abolished through an ordinance and he has been replaced by Lord Chief Justice.’ Before the passage of Act of 1911, the House of Lords had co-equal and coordinate powers with the House of Commons. But after the passage of the said Act, the position of the House of Lords underwent a change and it was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. The House of Lords has been criticized for being a political anachronism of fortress of wealth, a bipartisan house with irregular attendance and being obstructionist. Many even want it to be abolished altogether. Governments from time to time have come up with reform proposals. Laski apply remarked, “The House of Lords is quite safe from rough destruction but it is not safe against inward decay. Its danger is not in assassination but atrophy, not abolition, but decline”.

The Cabinet

The Cabinet is the real executive in England. The British Cabinet is a product of long historical growth. The Prime Minister is the head of the Cabinet.

Functions of the Cabinet

- 1) The final determination of the policy to be submitted to Parliament.
- 2) The supreme control of the national executive in accordance with the policy prescribed by Parliament.
- 3) The continuous coordination and delimitation of the authorities of the several departments of the State.

The Cabinet is primarily a deliberative and policy formulating body. The Prime Minister is the pivot of the cabinet system. He is described as “a sun around which planets revolve”. Laski described him as “The point around which the entire governmental machinery revolves”. Without the PM, the ministers have no existence. He is the most important person in the government of the country. Nothing can take place in the government against his will. Ogg writes, “Few, if any, positions in the world carry with them greater powers than the British Prime Ministership”.

The Judiciary

The Judiciary occupies an important place in the actual administration of England. The Jury system is a unique feature of the British Judicial system. Another important feature is the absence of single form of the judicial organization. There is one type of courts for

England, another for Scotland and still another for Northern Ireland. There is no separate Administrative Courts in England as there are in France and other continental countries. Absence of Judicial review makes the judicial system in England different from the Judicial system of USA or India. It is the Parliament which is supreme in UK. No Act of the Parliament can be declared null and void by any Court of law. In short, unlike the USA, there is no court in UK which can sit upon the Parliament and examine the validity of its laws.

Political Parties in England

Political parties are said to be indispensable for the successful working of democracy. A salient feature of the English party system is the existence of two well-organized parties. The cavaliers and the Roundheads of the early 17th century became Tories and Whigs which ultimately came to be known as the Liberals and the Conservatives.

The party system in England is highly centralized, remains active round the year whether it is election time or not. Moderation and compromise is an important feature of the English party system. Ideological distinctiveness characterizes the British party system. That is why the party system in England is called a distinct two-party system unlike in the USA where it is a non-distinct two-party system which is in existence. In Britain besides two main political parties, the Conservative and the Labour, other political parties like the Liberal party, the Communist party, the Social Democratic party and some other smaller parties are also part the British party system. But the fact remains that these parties do not have as large support best as the Conservative party or the Labour party to help them come to power. Political powers vacillates between the Conservative party and the Labour party.

Local Government

The United Kingdom does not have a written constitution and the devolved governments of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and local government in England are provided for by a number of pieces of legislation British Parliament. Local government in the other three countries is provided for by legislation of the relevant National Parliament. The Department for Communities and Local Government is responsible for local government in England, the Director-General for Governance and Communities in the Scottish Government in Scotland, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in the Welsh Assembly Government in Wales; and the Department of the Environment of the Northern Ireland Executive in Northern Ireland.

Local government in the UK comprises 160 Unitary Councils (occurring in all four countries, including the 33 London Boroughs) and 33 two-tier authorities, County Councils

with a second tier of 236 District or Borough councils. Below the Unitary, County and District/Borough Councils in England, Scotland and Wales (but not in Northern Ireland) is a further tier comprising more than 11,400 Parish or Community Councils. Local elections in all four countries are generally held every four years.

The local authorities have revenue-raising powers, and collect property taxes, rents and fees, as well as receiving transfers from the UK government. Throughout the UK they are responsible for a broad range of local public infrastructure and services, notably town planning, economic and business promotion, education, environment and public sanitation, social welfare, housing, local transport, and leisure facilities. Parish and Community Councils are generally responsible for community facilities such as village halls, war memorials, cemeteries, and leisure facilities.

18.4 Major Political Institutions of Brazil

A Portuguese colony from 1500 until its independence in 1822, Brazil is Latin America's largest and most populous country. It is politically organized as a Federative Republic formed by the Union, 26 states, 5570 municipalities and the Federal District (Brasilia). The Brazilian Constitution follows the principle of separation of powers of the Union into legislative, executive and judiciary. The executive power is vested in the President of the Republic. The legislative power is vested in the National Congress and the judicial power is vested in the Judiciary.

Executive

Brazil is a Presidential federated republic, in which the Constitution gives extensive powers to the Government. The President of the Republic is Head of the State as well as the Head of the Government holding executive power and having the power to appoint the Council of Ministers. The President is elected directly by the people together with the Vice President for a term of 4 (four) years. The President must obtain an absolute majority of the votes to win in the first round or a simple majority in a second round and can be reelected only once.

Constitutional powers

As a republic with a Presidential form of government, the Constitution of Brazil confers significant powers on the President who effectively controls the Executive, represents the country abroad, appoints the Cabinet and with the approval of the Senate, appoints the

Judges of the Supreme Federal Court. The President is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The President does not need the support of the Legislature to stay in power but he can be removed from office by parliament. Although the extensive powers given to the President by the Constitution have led some to label the Executive as “imperial presidentialism”, the President’s need for support in Congress and at state level has also contributed to the Executive being called as “coalition presidentiatism”.

Parliament

Brazil’s legislative powers are exercised by the National Congress- a bicameral Parliament comprised of two houses – Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate.

The National Congress is competent to deal with the following matters:

- (a) those related to the functions of the Federal legislative power,
- (b) those exerted by its individual chambers when acting separately, and
- (c) those regarding the functioning of Joint or Mixed Committees, where federal deputies and senators act jointly; although they vote separately.

The National Congress has representative, legislative and security and control functions. In most cases, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate function separately but in a coordinated way. For instance, complementary and ordinary laws are initiated by one Chamber and revised by the other. However, in some cases, they exercise exclusive competences. The Congress can also hold sessions of both the two Chambers and set up joint committees.

The Chamber of Deputies

It is the lower chamber of Brazil’s National Congress and its members are directly elected by people every four years. The plenary is the highest deliberative body of the chamber of Deputies where the deputies discuss and vote the proposals in progress, presided over by the Speaker. There are both permanent and temporary committees. External committees are also set up to deliberate on a specific issue outside the Chamber of Deputies, a good example being the External Covid-19 Committee, established to deliberate on the measures taken by the government to combat the pandemic in Brazil. The chamber of Deputies recently discussed issues relating to environment renewal energy, civil society issues related to public emergency and effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on Brazil’s indigenous people.

The Federal Senate

The Federal Senate represents the interests of 26 federal states and the Federal District. Each federal state sends three senators regardless of population. The Senators are elected by a majority system for an eight year term. The Senate is partially renewed every four years alternating between one and two thirds of the seats.

The Senate has among its exclusive competences the power to impeach and judge the President and Vice-President of the Republic, Ministers and Army Chiefs. As in the chamber of Deputies, the Senate has also permanent, temporary and external committees.

Judiciary

The function of the judiciary is to protect and maintain individual, collective and social rights and to resolve conflicts between citizens' entities and the state. The Constitution of Brazil has given adequate administrative and financial autonomy to the judiciary to carry out these functions. The main organs of the judiciary are the following:

- (a) The Supreme Federal Court (STF) is entrusted with task of protecting the Constitutions. It is the top Court of Brazil.
- (b) The National Justice Council (CNJ) is responsible for improving the work of the Judiciary in particular, regarding monitoring and procedural and administrative transparency.
- (c) The Supreme Court of Justice (STJ) is responsible for ensuring the uniform interpretation of federal law throughout the country.

Besides, Federal Justice System, Labour Courts, Electoral Justice System, the Military Justice System and the State Courts are there to dispense justice to the Brazilian people.

Political Parties

Brazil's political parties are criticized for their lack of discipline and weak ideological commitment. In contrast with European parties, they do not always follow ideological or class line. Besides, the electoral rules favour partisan fragmentation and unstable alliances which has forced some to call Brazil's form of government as "Coalition Presidentialism", last but not the least, poorly controlled private financing of electoral campaigns risks collusion between private business and the public administration.

Following the 2018 legislative election there are 30 different parties in the Chamber of Deputies and 21 in the Senate. The right wing party most represented in the lower house

is Social Liberal party (PSL), the second largest with just 10% of seats followed by over a dozen centre- right parties with 5% or less of the total number of seats each (including the PSDB,DEM,MDB). Among the left parties, the PT (workers' party) has 56 seats and makes up an informal opposition block with other parties of the left including PDT.

The Local Government

Brazil, the largest country in South America and world's fifth largest country was for a long time under military dictatorship and it was after return to civil rule in 1985 that the new civilian government under President Jose enacted the 1988 Constitution. The Constitution which was described as a watershed in the history of Brazil marked the dawn of a new beginning in the sojourn of local government in that country. The Municipalities of Brazil are administrative division of the Brazilian States. Brazil currently has 5570 Municipalities. The 1998 Brazilian Constitution treats the municipalities as parts of the Federation and not simply divisions dependent on the states. Each Municipality has an autonomous local government, comprising a Mayor and a legislative body called Municipal Chamber. Each Municipality has the constitutional power to approve its own laws, as well as collecting taxes and receiving funds from the state and federal governments. However, municipal governments have no judicial powers and courts are only organized at the state or federal level. A subdivision of the state judiciary can either correspond to an individual municipality or encompass several municipalities. Brazil is a federal country in which local governments have recently become the main providers of social services funded by the three tiers of government. Local governments in Brazil enjoy considerable administrative autonomy, responsibility for policy implementation and an unprecedented share of public resources. Local governments, however, are dependent on funding from other levels of government raising concern about the sustainability of the provision and the expansion of universal social services as well as concern about improving their quality.

18.5 Major Political Institutions of Nigeria

The Executive:

Nigeria is a federal republic, with executive power being exercised by the President. The President is elected through universal suffrage. He or She is the Head of the State as well as the Head of the government, presiding over the Executive Council or the Cabinet. The President is the commander-in-chief of the Armed forces and can be in office no more than two four year terms.

The Executive Organ is divided into Federal Ministries, each ministry being headed by a minister who is appointed by the President. As per the Constitution, the President is required to include at least one member from each of the 36 states in the Cabinet. President's appointments must be confirmed by the Senate, the upper house of Nigerian Parliament. Each ministry has a permanent secretary, who is a senior civil servant. The Ministries are responsible for various parastatals (Government- Owned Corporations) such as Universities, the National Broadcasting Corporation and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. However, the office of the Presidency has the responsibility over some Parastatals such as the Independent National Electoral Commission, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Federal Civil Service Commission.

The Legislature

The federal legislature of Nigeria is known as the National Assembly of Nigeria. It has two chambers – the House of Representatives having 390 seats and the Senate. The Speaker presides over the House of Representatives and the Senate which has 109 members is presided over by the President of the Senate. One member is nominated in the single seat constituency of the federal Capital. The legislators are elected to either of the two Houses act as representatives of their constituencies and to enact laws for the benefit of their electors. The National Assembly drafts and passes the bills which become national law with the President giving his or her consent to the bills. The President has the power to veto the bills. Each member of the National Assembly can be elected for not more than two 4 year term. The legislators of the National Assembly have been known to utilize their power not only for making laws, they have also been known to utilize their legal status for political intimidation and to promote personal financial interests.

The Judiciary

The Judiciary of Nigeria consists of Supreme Court of Nigeria, the Court of Appeals, the High Courts and other trial Courts such as Magistrates Customary, Sharia and other specialized Courts. The National Judicial Council acts as an independent executive body insulating the Judiciary from the executive arm of the government. The Supreme Court of Nigeria is presided over by the Chief Justice of Nigeria and thirteen other associate justices are there in the Supreme Court. They are appointed by the President of Nigeria on the recommendation made by the National Judicial Council. The appointment of the Judges of the Supreme Court has to be confirmed by the Senate.

The Judiciary of Nigeria is the only one of the three branches of the government, the members of which hold their offices not on the basis of election, but on the principle of

appointment by the executive. The Supreme Court of Nigeria is duty bound to uphold the Nigerian Constitution of 1999 and its goal is to protect the fundamental rights of the Nigerian Citizens.

Political Parties

There are 18 political parties in Nigeria. A large number of political parties in Nigeria have come up as result of corruption and chaos in Nigeria surrounding the federal government and elections for years. The huge number of political parties in Nigeria has proved to be difficult to monitor. The two major parties in Nigeria are the People's Democratic Party and the All Progressives Congress, both of which have held presidency and seats in the National Assembly for a long period of time. Unlike in other countries where people can align themselves with political parties, in Nigeria political parties act more as an instrument through which prominent personalities can gain power and influence and there are so many because they often switch sides in order to find the one which is to give them the best chance of acquiring political authority.

Political parties in Nigeria have been an important aspect of Nigerian government both before and after independence which was attained in 1960 from the British colonizers. Political parties in Nigeria allow for political competition. The citizens find people of their choice to represent their ideas and interests in government. Political parties introduce new leaders and perspectives into Nigerian political life. One negative aspect of the party system in Nigeria is that many people do not understand the Nigerian party system because so many political parties are there and their platforms are unclear to the Nigerian people. This is an issue which is not good for the Nigerian party system. Rather, it may harm the party system in Nigeria as it keeps those uneducated and uninvolved people aloof from the affairs of the state. Also there seems to be a tendency on the part of the Nigerian people to support political parties based on ethnic or religious divisions. Some of the political parties in Nigeria are (a) Accord (b) Action Alliance (c) African Democratic Congress (d) All Progressives Congress (e) All Progressives Grand Alliance (f) Boot Party (g) Labour Party (h) National Rescue Movement (i) Peoples Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, Young Progressive Party, Zenith Labour Party.

Local Government

Local government is a generic term for the lowest tiers of public administration within a particular sovereign state. Nigeria, as a federal republic operates three tiers of government – federal, state and local government. The country's constitution provides for each local government and its developmental areas and autonomous communities created by individual

state legislation to have democratically elected local government heads. There is a ministry of local government and chieftaincy affairs in each state charged with the responsibility of administration at that level. Nigeria has 774 local government areas (LGAs) with each being administered by a local government council consisting of a chairman who is the chief executive and other elected members, who are known as Councilors. Each LGA is further sub-divided into a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 20 wards. The functions of local government relate to a) Economic recommendations to the state (b) Collection of taxes and fees (c) Establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm. (d) Licensing for bicycles, trucks, canoes, wheel barrows and carts. (e) Establishment and maintenance of and regulation of markets, motor parks and public conveniences. (f) Construction and maintenance of roads, streets, sewerage, parks and open spaces. (g) Naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses. (h) Registration of births, deaths and marriages. (i) Assessment of privately owned houses. (j) Control and regulation of outdoor advertising, movement and keeping of pets, shops and kiosks, restaurants and other places for sale of food for the public and laundries.

18.6 Major Political Institutions of China

The constitutional structure of China is composed of National People's Congress, the Standing Committee, the President, the State Council, the Judicial System.

National People's Congress

The National People's Congress is the unicameral legislature of China. It is elected for a period of five years. Elections are organized and conducted by the Standing Committee. Elections to the new NPC must be completed two months before the expiry of the tenure of the NPC. At least one session is to be convened in a year by the Standing Committee. The members of the NPC enjoy privileges and immunities and they have also duties to perform.

Functions of the NPC

- (a) It is the sole law making body of the country.
- (b) It supervises the enforcement of the Constitution.
- (c) It elects the President, the Vice-President, Prime Minister of China.
- (d) It has the power to amend the Constitution.
- (e) It controls the social and economic planning of the country.

- (f) It examines and approves the budget prepared by the Government.
- (g) It accords approval to the establishment of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities.
- (h) It takes decisions on war and peace.

Though NPC apparently appears to be entrusted with numerous powers yet in actual practice, there is a big gap between theory and practice. It is called one of the weakest legislatures of the world. It only legalizes the orders and commands of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Standing Committee of the NPC

The standing committee of the NPC is the permanently functioning organ of the Government. It consists of a Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary General and the members. Its tenure is the same as the NPC.

Functions of the Standing Committee

The Standing Committee performs multifarious functions – Legislative, Electoral, Executive, Judicial, and Financial and Amendment functions.

Legislature Functions

- (a) It summons the NPC
- (b) It enacts legislation when the NPC is not in session.
- (c) It supervises the work of the State Council.
- (d) The Standing Committee supplements and adopts amendments to the statutes enacted by the NPC when the NPC is not in session.
- (e) The committees created by the NPC work under the supervision of the Standing Committee when the NPC is not in session.

Elective Functions

- (1) It decides on the choice of Ministers, the Auditor General and the Secretary General of the State Council on the recommendation of the Premier when NPC is not in session.
- (2) It decides on the members of the Military Commission.
- (3) It appoints and removes the Vice-Presidents and Judges of the Supreme People's

Court members of the Judicial Committee and the Chairman of the military court at the suggestion of the President of the Supreme People's Court.

- (4) It appoints and removes Deputy Prosecutors General and Prosecutors of the Supreme People's Procuratorate at the suggestion of the Procurator General of the People's Republic of China.

Executive Functions

- (a) It decides on the appointment and recall of the Chinese ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives.
- (b) It decides on the ratification and abrogation of treaties with foreign countries. The President ratifies or abrogates treaties in accordance with the decision of the Standing Committee.
- (c) It institutes titles and ranks for military and diplomatic personnel.
- (d) It institutes state medals and titles of honour and decides on their conferment.
- (e) It decides on the grant of special pardons. The President grants pardon in accordance with the decisions of the Standing Committee.

The Standing Committee performs some military functions when NPC is not in session.

Judicial Functions

The Standing Committee is vested with certain judicial functions.

- (a) It interprets laws.
- (b) It interprets the Constitution.
- (c) It can annul decisions, orders and administrative rules framed by the State Council.

Financial Functions

The Standing Committee's financial functions are not very significant. It can examine and approve partial adjustments to the development plans and state budget.

Amendment Powers

The real powers related to amendments lies with NPC. Standing Committee's role in this respect is limited to proposing the amendment to the NPC.

The President of China

The Constitution of 1982 created the post of President, the highest functionary of the State. But he is not the executive president in the sense the American President is. The Chinese President is elected by the National People's Congress (NPC) for a period of five years. No person can hold the office of President for more than two consecutive terms.

Functions of the President

The President's office is ornamental. He performs only certain ceremonial functions.

- (a) He suggests a person to the NPC for the office of the Prime Minister. After the NPC accords its approval, the President formally appoints the premier.
- (b) All persons appointed by the President can be removed by him on the recommendation of the NPC or its Standing Committee.
- (c) In pursuance of the decisions of the Standing Committee, the President confers state medals and titles of honour.
- (d) He issues orders of special pardons.
- (e) He proclaims martial law and state of war.
- (f) He issues orders of mobilization.
- (g) He receives foreign ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives.
- (h) He appoints and recalls Chinese ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives in foreign countries.
- (i) He ratifies treaties signed by the Government with foreign countries.

The Chinese President is only a glamorous head of the state. He is not entitled to take any decision on his own. He has been reduced to a mere nominal head of the State. However, since Secretary General of the party now holds the office of the President, the office of the President assumes due importance on account of his pivotal place in the Communist party.

The State Council

The State Council is indeed the highest organ of the state administration – a kind of cabinet of the Central Government which is responsible to the NPC. As per Article 85 of the Chinese constitution, the State Council is the people's Central Government.

The State Council is composed of the Premier, the Vice-Premier, the State Councilors, the Ministers, the Auditor General and the Secretary General. The tenure of the State Council is five years.

All members of the State Council can be removed by the President on the recommendation of the NPC.

Functions and powers of the State Council

The State Council may be described as the Central Government of China. It is entrusted with all those functions which a council of Ministers performs.

- a) It formulates policies and looks after their implementation.
- b) It runs the administration of the country.
- c) It adopts administrative measures and frames administrative rules and regulations.
- d) It takes policy decisions as per the Constitution and issues orders to implement them.
- e) It frames various proposals for legislation and submits them to the NPC and to Standing Committee.
- f) It directs all administrative work that does not fall within the purview of individual departments.
- g) It looks after public security and judicial administration.
- h) It ensures proper defense of the country.
- i) It protects the legislative rights of the Chinese living abroad.
- j) It exercises such other functions and powers as the NPC or the Standing Committee may assign it.

The Judicial System

The judiciary plays an entirely different role in the socialist countries. It protects the socialist system and strengthens the socialist legality as an organ of the Government. It is not an independent branch of the Government.

The Judicial Structure

The judicial structure of China is simple and is like a pyramid. The local People's Court constitute the base and the supreme People's Court is at the apex.

Supreme People's Court

It consists of President, some Vice-Presidents and Judges. The number of judges is fixed by law. The Vice-Presidents and Judges are appointed by the Standing Committee on the recommendation of the President of the court. The President and other members are elected by the National People's Congress for a period of five years.

Powers

- a) The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ and it supervises the administration of justice by Local People's courts at different level
- b) It performs such other functions as the NPC assigns it
- c) It possesses original jurisdiction on issues of national importance.
- d) It hears appeals against decisions of the higher People's Courts in the provinces and autonomous regions.
- e) Its most important function is to establish socialist legality under the guidance of the Communist Party.

Judiciary in China is not an independent branch of the Government as is the case in USA. It is just like a Government department meant to implement policies of the party and protect the socialist legality. It is neither the guardian of rights of the people nor the protector of the Constitution. It is the Communist Party which is the vanguard of Chinese people. Evidently, the Judiciary in China acts only as an instrument of the Government to carry out the dictates of the party.

The Party System

In China, the Communist Party is the ultimate political authority and the source of all decision making on the main land China today. It controls and directs the Army, the Government, the Mass Political Organizations and in fact every element in the extra ordinarily extensive political apparatus of the Chinese system.

The Communist Party conceives itself not as an administrative body but as a leadership organ deciding policies to be implemented by the State structure and supervising the execution of these policies.

Beside the Communist Party of China, there are some minor parties that are accorded representation in the coalition Government of China. In 1949, there were 11 such parties, in 1962 the number went down to 8. Although China did not toe the erstwhile Soviet Union

line of allowing only one party to exist in the country, the minor parties in China are nothing but satellites of the Chinese Communist Party.

It is evident that the minor parties in China do not have separate entity in the sense parties have in a democracy. They exist only as appendages of the ruling Communist Party of China. Hence, the coalition government in China is a misnomer. It is only one party totalitarian dictatorship.

Local Government

The constitution of China provides for three level of government. However, in practice, there are five levels of local government – the Provincial (Province, Autonomous Regions, Municipality and Special Administrative Region), Prefecture, County, Township and Village.

The Governors of China's Provinces and Autonomous Regions and Mayors of its centrally controlled municipalities are appointed by the Central Government of China after receiving the consent of the National People's Congress (NPC).

Below the provincial level, in 2004, there were 50 rural prefectures, 283 prefecture level cities, 374 county level cities, 852 county level districts under the jurisdiction of nearby cities and 1636 counties. There were also 662 cities, 808 urban districts and 43258 township level regions.

Countries are divided into townships and villages. While most are run by appointed officials, some lower level jurisdictions have direct popular elections. The organs of self-governing ethnic autonomous areas, the prefectures and counties) – Peoples Congresses and People's Governments exercise same powers as their provincial level counterparts. But they require National People's Congress's approval for regulations they make in the exercise of their autonomy and in light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the ethnic group or groups in the areas.

While operating under the strict control and supervision by the Central Government, China's local governments enjoy relatively high share of fiscal revenue and expenditures.

18.7 Conclusion

Political institutions are indicators of what type of government is there in a country. It is the political institutions which make a country federal or unitary, presidential or parliamentary. Political institutions also inform us whether a country has a two-party system, multi-party system or one-party system. Political institutions also include the judiciary and the local government. From what has been discussed above, it can be said that the four

countries of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China have the same political institutions like the Executive, the Legislature, the Judiciary, the Party System and the Local Governments. But the character and purpose of political institutions are not the same in each of the four countries. Political institutions of UK tell us that UK is a country where the Parliament is sovereign, it has constitutional monarchy, and it has a unitary form of government. The Judiciary cannot declare any law passed by Parliament null and void, UK has a two-party system and a local government without much power and autonomy. Brazil is a federal republic with the President having immense power. It has a Legislature with two houses and the Judiciary has been given adequate administrative and financial autonomy. Multi-party system and local governments with adequate power and autonomy are also found in Brazil. Nigeria has much in common with Brazil. Like Brazil, Nigeria is also a federal state with the federal, state and local governments. It has a Presidential form of government and a multi-party political system. The President is both the head of the State and head of the government. In China, all the political institutions have been made subservient to the decisions and policies of the Chinese Communist Party. So the question of autonomy of political institutions in China has no practical relevance. As a unitary state, the local governments in China have to function under the control of the Central Government although the local governments are provided a lot of funds for expenses relating to local needs.

18.8 Summing up

- Political institutions of Britain suggest that Britain has a parliamentary form of government and its Parliament is supreme.
- Judiciary is weak in UK and it cannot declare any Act passed by Parliament null and void.
- As a unitary system, the central government is all-powerful.
- Brazil is a federal republic and has a presidential form of government.
- The Brazilian President enjoys a lot of power.
- It has a multi-party system, a strong judiciary and local governments.
- Nigeria has a federal form of government with the President enjoying extensive powers.
- The Senate, the upper house of the legislature, has a role in the appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court in the sense that appointment of judges must be ratified by the Senate.

- It has a multi-party system and elected local governments.
- Like Britain, China is also a unitary state. Among the four states, only China has a legislature with one house..
- Judiciary in China is not an independent branch of the Government as is the case in USA. It is just like a Government department meant to implement policies of the party and protect the socialist legality.
- In China, the Communist Party is the ultimate political authority and the source of all decision making on the main land China today.
- While operating under the strict control and supervision by the Central Government, China's local governments enjoy relatively high share of fiscal revenue and expenditures.

18.9 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Make a comparative study of the Executive of the UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China.
2. Write a note on the Legislatures of UK, Brazil or Nigeria and China.
3. Make a comparative study of the party systems of UK, Brazil or Nigeria and China.

Short Questions

1. Write a comparative note on the Judiciary of the UK and Brazil.
2. Discuss the party systems of Nigeria or Brazil.
3. Discuss the important features of the party systems of UK and China.
4. Briefly discuss the local governments of UK and Brazil.
5. Write a comparative note on the local governments of China or Nigeria.

Objective Questions

1. What is the full form of PRC ?
2. Who presides over the House of Lords ?

3. What is the name of the lower house of the Brazilian Parliament ?
4. What type of government is there in Nigeria ?
5. What is the full form of NPC ?

18.10 Further Reading

1. Vishnu Bhagwan, Vidya Bhushan and Vandana Mohla, “*World Constitutions- A Comparative Study*”, Sterling, 1984
2. Shibani Kinkar Chaube, “*Politics and Constitution in China*”, K.P.Bagchi & Co, 1986.
3. Leslie Bethell, “*Brazil: Essays on History and Politics*”, University of London Press, 2018.
4. Carl Levan & Patick Ukata, “*The Oxford Handbook of Nigerian Politics*”, OUP, 2018.
5. Chanchal Kumar, “*Comparative Government and Politics Including Case Studies of Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China*”, New Century Publications, 2015.

Unit 19 □ Party and Party System in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China

Structure:

- 19.1 Objective**
- 19.2 Introduction**
- 19.3 Party system in Britain**
- 19.4 Party system in Brazil**
- 19.5 Party system in Nigeria**
- 19.6 Party system in China**
- 19.7 Conclusion**
- 19.8 Summing up**
- 19.9 Probable Questions**
- 19.10 Further Reading**

19.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- know the history of the emergence of the party system in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China respectively.
- familiarize themselves with the important features of the party systems in each of these countries.
- know the type of party system prevailing in each of the four countries.
- understand the nature of the party system in each of the four countries.
- grasp the challenges faced by the party system of these countries.

19.2 Introduction

Political parties are very essential for the successful working of democracy. None other than Professor Laski said that the only alternative of party government was authoritarianism.

In this unit, an attempt has been made to analyze the party system of UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China.

Political parties are studied as part of the party system. There are essentially three such systems, namely a) Two-party system b) Multi-party system and c) One-party system. In UK there is a two-party system. Some smaller parties are there but political power vacillates between two major political parties- the Conservative party and the Labour party. Smaller parties do not pose any threat to their enjoying power alternately. In the British Parliamentary system which party gets majority of seats in the legislature can have any laws passed and provides stability to the government. So far as Brazil and Nigeria are concerned, multi-party system is the basis of their respective political systems. Both the two countries have presidential system of government. The President is both the head of the State and the head of the government. In Brazil, due to extensive power of the President, presidentialization of the party system has occurred. In Nigeria, with a presidential form of government political parties tend to be organized along ethnic, religious or geographic lines rather than around ideological issues. Democratic governance in both the two countries- Brazil and Nigeria- was interrupted due to periods of military rule. China being a socialist country has only one party- the Communist party of China. In China, there are some smaller parties but they have to work under the leadership of the Communist party. Hence, they have no autonomy or independence. It cannot be denied that China has made rapid economic progress under the leadership of the Communist party but as the Communist party controls everything in China, critics have called the Chinese party system as an undemocratic one.

19.3 The Party System in Britain

Democracy needs political parties for two reasons. First, to educate the citizens on political affairs and Second, to give the citizens an opportunity to get their representatives elected. British government is called the party government.

Two- Party system

Two well-organized political parties existed in UK since the seventeenth century- the Cavaliers and the Roundheads subsequently known as the Tories and the Whigs. The Tories supported the Church of England whereas the Whigs were associated with the Dissenters. After the enactment of the Reforms Act in 1832, the Whigs changed their name to “Liberals” and the Tories to “Conservatives.” Two parties dominated the scene till the time the Labour party rose to power in the second decade of the twentieth century. The

rise of the Labour party seemed to threaten the two-party system but simultaneous decline of the Liberal party helped to maintain the two-party system. The two-party system has become deeply embedded in the political structure of England ensuring a strong and stable parliamentary system of government.

Important features of the party system in UK

- a. The party system in Britain is characterized by high centralization. Each of the major parties has a strong organization both at the central and the local levels. The real power rests with the central organs of the parties.
- b. The party system in Britain is one of continuity of operations. The political parties in Britain remain operational throughout the year. After one election is over, they start preparations for the next election. It is said, “British parties are always present, everywhere present and vocally present”.
- c. Another feature of the British party system is the tradition of moderation and compromise. The conservatives have not always been conservative nor have the Liberals been liberal in their attitude. The conservatives have often championed reforms which the Liberals have opposed. The labour party with its avowed programme of socialism is not wholesale socialist and laborite.
- d. The British party system is called a distinct two-party system as there is clear-cut ideological divide between the Conservative party and the Labour party. The Conservative party generally represents the propertied and the rich while the Labour party represents generally the working class and talks about socialism of its own variety.
- e. The tradition of moderation and compromise is visible not only outside Parliament but also inside it. The government remains quite aware of the value of the role played by the opposition, called Her Majesty’s Opposition and does not dare to suppress it. The opposition too makes constructive criticism of the government and does not obstruct the working of the government,

19.4 The Party System in Brazil

Shortly after independence, the first political groups emerged either with pro-Brazilian or pro-Portuguese factions. During the second Empire period (1831-1889), the Conservative and the Liberal parties alternated in power. During the Old Republic (1889-1930), sections of the Republican Party held political power. During the brief opening of representative

politics between 1934 and 1937, attempts were made to organize national political parties.

The current party system in Brazil began to emerge in the 1940s. Social Democratic party and Labour party were the first to be established. More political parties came to be organized and entered the electoral fray through the 1950s and 1960s but few of them could gain much influence. In 1965, the military government abolished all political parties and one ruling party- the Brazilian Alliance and a lone opposition party- the Brazilian Democratic Movement were allowed to operate. It was in 1985 that the civilian government was restored and Brazil legalized all political parties and a highly fragmented multi- party system emerged anchored by the Liberal Front party, the Social Democratic party, the party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement and the Worker's party.

Brazil is a country with strong Presidential tradition and a weak party history. When the national parties emerged in 1945, the scene had already been set and the parties did not have any expressive participation in defining the general characteristics of the institutional arrangement – from the government system to the electoral system- did not contribute to influencing collective actors and saw before them a state apparatus occupied by the bureaucratic set-up in the period of Estado Novo. While the main parties of the time were able to establish themselves among the electorate, their trajectory was interrupted by the military coup in 1964. With each political regime change since the Imperial period to re-democratization in the 1980s, the country experimented different situations with regard to its parties.

Important Features of the Party System in Brazil

- a) Brazil has long history of frequent party switching.
- b) The large number of political parties makes the Executive dependent on alliances of different political parties with diverse and often ideologically incoherent coalition to pass legislation which is known as “coalition presidentialism”.
- c) In addition to strong internal cleavages, parties in Brazil differ regionally. The Popular Party was totally concentrated in Minas Gerais and Rio. The Worker's Party (PT) remained limited to Sao Paulo but the party has been able to expand to other states in the South and the North. The same applies to Brazilian Socialist Democratic Party (PSDB).
- d) The Brazilian parties lack cohesiveness due to the existence of the Presidential system. The elected members of parties have no compelling reason to toe the party line.

- e) Brazilian parties are loose in nature. This is due to the federal nature of the Brazilian political system.
- f) Federalism in Brazil works against party unity, obliges the major parties to tolerate diversity and autonomy and favours a loose arrangement between individual politicians and parties.
- g) Due to low level of partisan identification and citizen information about politics, unusual individualism is found among Brazilian politicians. Issues are less important for voters in casting votes.
- h) Weak party identification also helps explain why Brazilian politicians can easily move from one party to another without facing sanctions from the electorate.
- i) Party discipline is very low in Brazil. This is because of the fact that the Brazil politicians have to depend on the state apparatus for their survival and success.

As per an estimate of 2020, Brazil has more than 40 active political parties. The largest among them are the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), the Workers' Party (PT) and the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB). Among the political parties, only one is a right-wing party (PSL). There are several left parties in Brazil like the Socialism and Liberal Party (PSOL), Workers' Cause Party (PCO), the Workers' Party (PT) etc. Among the centrist parties are the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), the Liberal Party (PL), the Social Democratic Party (PSD), and Christian Labour Party (PTC) etc.

19.5 Party System in Nigeria

Nigeria's political parties are products of the country's tumultuous political history becoming a very complex system dominated by two main political parties- All Progressives Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PPP). The division of Nigeria into Northern, Western and Eastern regions under the 1945 Constitution gave rise to ethno-regional based party politics. Periods of military rule that interrupted democratic governance in 1966, 1983 and 1993 further restricted the development of political parties to represent and engage the citizens.

Nigeria's political system witnessed four types of party system since independence in 1960. The first type was the competitive multi-party system of the first republic. There were 84 political parties with three parties dominating regionally. The second type of party system was the regulated multi-partyism in the second republic (1979-1983). Three major

parties and two relatively smaller parties engaged themselves in a lively political competition in which the ruling party had no substantial majority. It was regulated in the sense that the party laws made strenuous efforts to limit the number of parties which were to participate in politics. The two-party system of the third republic was the third type of political party system. The two parties were the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). It is very interesting to note that these parties were created by the military. As a result, they lacked autonomy. This greatly hampered the way the party system worked at that time. The fourth system is the current party system in the fourth republic. This system is a weak dominant system which manifests the existence of a major party but not sufficiently dominant to transform the party system into a dominant one.

The combined influence of historical experience and attempts by various governments helped shape the various party system witnessed by Nigeria since independence to the present Republic.

A 2002 Supreme Court ruling liberalized registration of political parties. The number of political parties registered in Nigeria has jumped from three in 1999 to ninety-one in 2019.

Important Features of the Party System in Nigeria

- a) Rather than acting as the platforms for specific ideologies or issues, political parties in Nigeria are primarily used by Nigeria's Elite to gain political power and influence.
- b) Defections are commonplace in Nigeria. This phenomenon has been particularly evident as rival APC leaders with Presidential aspirations have struggled to exert control over national leadership of the party.
- c) In Nigeria, political parties tend to be organized along ethnic, religious or geographic lines rather than around ideological issues creating a lot of confusion in the minds of the Nigerians. This confusion ultimately affects the marginalized populations- the women and youth. It also means that the party leaders can change a party's position on major issues without consulting the party membership and thus the best interests of a party get neglected.
- d) Parties and politics in Nigeria are seen as business ventures due to the influence of money.
- e) As funding to political parties is disbursed with little oversight, the members use the funds as they like. Wealthy Nigerian politicians and social elites known as

“god fathers” use money and influence to wield political power by sponsoring “godsons” who use their political positions to advance their mentors’ interests.

- f) The presence of so many political parties in Nigeria may appear to give citizens more choices at ballot, but in reality too many political parties go to overwhelm the citizens and discourage voter participation.

19.6 Party System in China

The political party system is an important component of democratic government. What kind of party system will be there in a country is determined by the nature of national conditions and social and political development of that given country. The diversity of party systems in different countries reflects the diversity of human civilizations.

China has adopted a multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China enjoys supreme position in the country. It is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people.

The Chinese party system is different from both the two-party and the multi-party competitive systems of Western countries and the one-party system practiced in several other countries. Based on the principle of long-term coexistence, mutual supervision, treating each other with sincerity and sharing each other’s weal and woe. The democratic parties in China are different from the ruling party and opposition party. They are under the leadership of the Communist party and devote themselves to socialist construction.

According to the Chinese Constitution, “The People’s Republic of China is a socialist state under the people’s democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.”

The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is a basic element of China’s political framework. A new model grown out of the soil of China, it also learns from other countries absorbs the fruits of their political achievements. The Constitution of China says, “The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC will continue and develop long into the future.”

Important Features of the Party System in China

- a) One major feature of the party system is the combination of democratic election and democratic consultation, thus showing respect to the reasonable requirements

of the minority and guaranteeing democracy of the widest scope and promoting the harmonious development of society.

- b) China's political party system is a result of adapting Marxist political party theory to the Chinese context. It is a unique political structure created by the CPC, the Chinese people, the non-CPC political parties, and non-affiliates. It sprouted from Chinese soil and evolved over time based on China's historical heritage, cultural traditions, and economic and social development.
- c) Democratic oversight of the CPC exercised by the non-CPC political parties and non-affiliates is an important way to leverage the strengths of China's political party system and is an essential requirement in modernizing China's system and capacity for governance. It plays a unique and irreplaceable role in the oversight system under socialism with Chinese characteristics.
- d) In the exercise of state power, the CPC and the other eight political parties, together with non-affiliates, work together in unity. This is an important institutional element of China's political party system. The CPC upholds equality, democratic consultation, and sincere cooperation to support other participants in jointly building state power at all levels of people's congresses, governments and judicial organs.
- e) The non-CPC political parties and non-affiliates employ their strengths in gathering talent, pooling wisdom, and reaching out to the general public. They actively deliberate on and participate in the administration of state affairs. They are valued advisers on key national programs, and significant contributors to the development of all social undertakings.
- f) The CPPCC is an organization of the Chinese people's patriotic united front, serving as a key mechanism for multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC. The CPPCC plays a major role in promoting socialist democracy in China. It is an important channel and specialized body for socialist consultative democracy, a key component of the state governance system, and a distinctively Chinese political institution.
- g) A few minor parties which are accorded representation in the coalition government also exist in China. In 1949, there were 11 such parties. In 1962, there were only 8 such parties in existence, namely the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee,

the China Democratic League, the Democratic National Constitution Association, the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, the China- Chib Kong Tung, the Chin San Society, the China Association for Promoting Democracy and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. Evidently, China did not follow the erstwhile Soviet model of the existence of only one party.

All said and done, despite the existence of parties other than the CPC, these minor parties don't have separate entity in the sense they have in a democracy. They have to work under the leadership of the Communist party. It clearly reflects that these minor parties exist only as appendages of the Communist party. All the offices of importance are held by the members of the Communist party. Hence, the coalition government of China is nothing but a false pretense of shared authority. It is one-party authoritarian rule.

19.7 Conclusion

Party system is a must for democratic countries. But it may vary from one country to another. One country may have a multi-party system. Another may have a multi-party system and yet another country may have one-party system. Multi-party and two-party system are found in liberal democratic states. Which type of party system will be there in a country depends on the historical and political circumstances of the country concerned. The study of the party system in four countries, namely, UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China shows that the UK has a two-party system while Brazil and Nigeria have multi-party system. On the other hand, China being a communist country, has only one political party, the Communist party of China. In UK, there are some smaller parties but they don't have the social base which can help them to come to power. But definitely, they can sometimes cut into the seats of one or the other major political party to prevent it from coming to power. In UK, there is ideological differences between the two major parties- the Conservative and the Labour party for which the two-part system in UK is called a distinct two-party system. In Brazil and Nigeria, there are many political parties but as both the two countries have Presidential form of government, Party system is not that strong. Defections are commonplace, lack cohesiveness and discipline and in Nigeria particularly, political parties are organized on ethnic and religious lines and wealthy Nigerians influence parties by their money power. The Chinese party system does not follow the one-party communist rule as it was prevalent in the erstwhile Soviet Union. Rather, in

China, there exist some minor parties in addition to the Communist party. But these minor parties don't have any separate entity in the sense they have in a democracy. They have to work under the leadership of the Communist party. It clearly reflects that these minor parties exist only as appendages of the Communist party.

19.8 Summing up

- The two-party system has become deeply embedded in the political structure of England ensuring a strong and stable parliamentary system of government.
- The party system in Britain is characterized by high centralization.
- Brazil has a highly fragmented multi-party system.
- The Brazilian parties lack cohesiveness due to the existence of the Presidential system.
- Weak party identification also helps explain why Brazilian politicians can easily move from one party to another without facing sanctions from the electorate.
- Party discipline is very low in Brazil. This is because of the fact that the Brazil politicians have to depend on the State apparatus for their survival and success.
- Nigeria's political parties are products of the country's tumultuous political history.
- The military in Nigeria played a very important role in establishing the major political parties.
- Political parties in Nigeria are primarily used by Nigeria's elite to gain political power and influence.
- In Nigeria, political parties tend to be organized along ethnic, religious or geographic lines rather than around ideological issues.
- Money power plays a very crucial role in the party system in Nigeria.
- The Chinese party system is different from both the two-party and the multi-party competitive systems of Western countries and the one-party system practiced in several other countries.
- The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the

leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is a basic element of China's political framework.

- Despite the existence of parties other than the CPC, these minor parties don't have any separate entity in the sense they have in a democracy. They have to function under the leadership of the Communist party. It clearly shows that these minor parties are nothing but appendages of the Communist party.

19.9 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Write a note on the party system in UK.
2. Analyse the various aspects of the party system in Brazil.
3. Point out the major features of the Nigerian party system.
4. Make a comparative assessment of the party systems in UK, Brazil, Nigeria and China.

Short Questions

- a. Discuss the important features of the party system in UK.
- b. Point out the important features of the Brazilian party system.
- c. Make a brief assessment of the party system in China.

Objective Questions

1. Which country has a two-party system ?
2. Which country has a single party system ?
3. Name a political party of Brazil ?
4. Name a political party of Nigeria
5. Name a political party of UK.

19.10 Further Reading

1. Scott, P. Mainwaring, *“Rethinking Party System in the Third Wave of Democratization- The Case of Brazil”*, Stanford University Press, 1999.

2. Bolaji Samson Aregbeshola, *“Nigerian Political Parties and Politicians: Winding Road from Country to Nation”*,
3. Richard L.Sklar, *“Nigerian Political Parties- Power in an Emerging African Nation”*, Princeton University Press, 2016.
4. Vishnoo Bhagvan, Vidya Bhushan and Vandana Mohla, *“World Constitutions- A Comparative Study”*, Sterling, 2017.

Unit 20 □ Civil Society in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China

Structure:

- 20.1 Objective**
- 20.2 Introduction**
- 20.3 Civil Society in Britain**
- 20.4 Civil Society in Brazil**
- 20.5 Civil Society in Nigeria**
- 20.6 Civil Society in China**
- 20.7 Conclusion**
- 20.8 Summing up**
- 20.9 Probable Questions**
- 20.10 Further Reading**

20.1 Objective

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to

- understand the meaning of civil society.
- analyze the growth of civil society in Britain, Brazil, Nigeria and China respectively.
- understand the nature of civil society in these four countries.
- perceive the challenges faced by the civil society organizations in these countries.

20.2 Introduction

The term ‘civil society’ is commonly used to denote different voluntary, non-voluntary organizations and the activities they perform aimed at the development of society and polity. According to some, civil society is the sphere of collective action which falls neither in the domain of the State nor in the domain of the market and thus civil society is called “third sector”.

The concept of civil society has a long history. Several philosophers are associated with the concept of civil society. One can find the concept of civil society in the writings

of Locke, Adam Ferguson, Hegel, Kant, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, and De Tocqueville.

In contemporary times, the term, ‘civil society’ is increasingly being used to mean non-governmental or voluntary organizations. The definition provided by the World Bank bears this out. As per this definition, the term, ‘civil society’ refers to the wide array of non-governmental non-profit organizations which have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil society organizations therefore refers to a wide array of organizations, community groups, NGOs, labour unions, faith-based organizations, professional associations etc.

20.3 Civil Society in Britain

In the UK, there is a rich centuries-long tradition of charity, mutual help, volunteering and advocacy that can be traced back well into the middle Ages. The 18th century witnessed the gaining of momentum of the social movements followed in the 19th century by a significant increase in private philanthropy by the wealthy and the educated. The 20th century was marked by shifting relationships between the State and civil society sector, with the State increasingly taking on the role of regulator of charitable activities and the emergence of the socialist welfare state model of state provision.

The late 1990s saw the rise of Compacts- a move from statutory unconditional grants to semi-privatization of welfare through partnership and contracts between the State and voluntary sector organizations. Since the last Government election in 2010, there has been a further realignment of roles and responsibilities with a greater emphasis on self-help and community action. Although the new coalition government actively declared its commitment to civil society values through new policy framework (Big Society), to date there has been limited tangible results. Against a background of decreasing private donations, a reduction in statutory funding together with increased competition for public service delivery have created a decision point for many civil society organizations. With falling numbers of charities being registered and the worst-hit organizations either closing or merging, it is not clear what role civil society would play in the Big Society.

The civil society sector in the UK has grown out of a long process of formalization of voluntary and community activities and over time it has occupied a number of different positions in relation to the UK State. It can be characterized by a number of identifiable

features- traditions of mutual aid and collective action, a strong sense of charitable giving, volunteering and philanthropy and a clear role for voluntary sector organizations in driving social change.

Jeremy Kendell, an acclaimed researcher of the third sector in the UK has argued that last two decades have witnessed three major phases in the relationship between the Sector, the State and the Market.

- A) During the 1970s and 1980s there was a major shift from a general ‘charity sector’ to the incremental legitimation and consolidation of the voluntary sector. Following the Wolfenden Committee’s report on the future of voluntary organizations in 1978, the state came to realize that potential of the sector in delivering public services leading to a gradual move from ‘welfare statism’ to a more ‘mixed economy of welfare’.
- B) In the 90s, the Labour’s commitment to partnership and welfare populism resulted in the promotion of voluntary and community sector alongside state and private provision and the acknowledgement of positive impact of strong and cohesive communities.
- C) The first decade of the 21st century saw the ‘hyperactive mainstreaming’ of the sector under the Labour Government. In 2006, two separate government units- the Social Enterprise unit and the Active Communities unit merged into the new office of the Third Sector.

Since May, 2010, the policy environment for civil society has been dominated by the arrival of “Big Society” agenda aimed at supporting civil society actions and enhancing social inclusion which can arguably be labelled as the next phase in the relationship between the state and civil society. From the early 1990s the Government sought to strengthen its relationship with the third sector through the use of general framework agreement, known as Compacts.

Civil Society Trends in the 21st Century

It is a period of changes in the political complexion of national governments and shifts in public policy context of civil society activity. In this period the UK has had Labour Government, a Conservative –led coalition from 2010 to 2015 and a Conservative government from 2015 to 2017 and from 2017 a minority Conservative government has been in power.

Several studies have focused on the impact of ‘austerity’ period which followed the 2008 global banking crisis. There have been drastic cuts in governmental grants. This has put pressure on small and local organizations to ‘pick up the pieces’. Small and medium-sized charities took the brunt of the financial squeeze. Larger charities are increasingly dominating the market for governmentally-funded contracts while the smaller ones are losing out. The ability of small third sector organizations to adapt to this changed situation has been limited by the fact that the sectoral infrastructural organization to which they might have turned for support in the past, have themselves suffered withdrawal of government funding.

In addition to austerity, a major environmental factor for smaller civil society groups and activities has been the increasing tendency for available governmental funding to be accompanied by tighter regulation and closer external oversight. Those civil society organizations who are not in receipt of governmental grants have been subjected to tight accountability and accounting regulations infringing the autonomy and freedom of civil society organizations. As a result of both financial and regulatory pressures, the third sector organizations are increasingly in competition with public sector organizations like police, hospitals for volunteer’s gift of time. There are also moral and psychological pressures on people to see volunteering as an obligation of citizenship rather than an activity freely entered into.

The main challenges faced by civil society organizations in UK, in the 21st century, can be summarized as

- a. Resource Procurement
- b. Competition
- c. Inter-organizational collaboration
- d. Expertise and
- e. Organizational issues.

20.4 Civil Society in Brazil

The recent political history of Brazil has been shaped by three important events :

- a) The Revolution of 1930s which resulted in a process of conservative modernization. The relations between the State and civil society were structured along corporate lines and the political organization of social sector put under state tutelage and control.

- b) The period of military authoritarian rule followed the 1964 coup. During this period, civil liberties and democratic institutions were restricted and the political expression of opposing social sectors was repressed.
- c) The period of democratic transition which marked the gradual strengthening of civil society, emergence of social movements which, while opposing the military regime, tried to establish new parameters for the relations between the State and civil society and the reestablishment of democracy.

The transition to democracy and the rising role of civil society

The resistance to authoritarian regime and the struggle for democratization in the period covering 1970s and 1980s is very crucial for the analysis of civil society in Brazil. It is exactly during this period that the civil society showed forms of participation which were evidently different from previous years. This period marked the organization of civil society in complete independence from the state. Such a separation and autonomy from the state remarkably contrasts with the characteristics determined by the Populist Pact in force until 1964.

The period covering 70s and 80s was a period of social movements in Brazil, which came onto the scene in a new attire, with new forms of internal organization, new demands and new postures in relation to the State and to the political parties. In addition to the labour movements of this period, there emerged actors that voiced new issues in Brazilian society, politicizing topics that had previously been limited to private spaces, forcefully highlighting the question of authoritarianism present in the social relations: the women's movement, the black movement, the indigenous people's movement, gay movement and ecological movement. It was in the unity of these movements that society's participation started to gain legitimacy. The demands for social participation would gain different forms during the process that preceded the promulgation of the new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly in 1988.

The participation of civil society in the backdrop of democratization

The building of democracy in the 1990s in Brazil is deeply related to the experiences of public spaces. The new type relation between the State and civil society led to the creation and expansion of participatory formats of government particularly at the level of city management. They were characterized by allowing a more effective participation of civil society in the process of drafting and implementing public policies as well as exerting

a more direct social control over public power. In this period, civil society forged new initiatives that aimed at exerting social control over the allocation of public budget.

Another form of the relations between the State and civil society took in the 1990s was the several types of partnership established between the State and civil society with a view to drafting and implementing social policies.

The third type of relations between the State and civil society manifested in the “Camaras Seterias” meaning sectoral chambers. They consisted of spaces of discussion and negotiation among different concerned actors on specific policies. The experience of sectoral chambers was unprecedented in Brazilian history and revealed the possibility of public interests being defined by means of consensus built through a broad discussion in a public space with the inclusion of the workers.

In Brazil, the central axis does not only revolve around the relations between the State and the civil society. It also revolves among themselves endeavoring to strengthen their autonomous development and their capacity for political intervention. These spaces build and reinforce the links of solidarity and commitment between different actors as well as being privileged spaces by means of which the heterogeneity present in this field manifests. The most illustrative experience of articulations within civil society itself are so-called “thematic fora”. These fora are constituted by a host of subjects- NGOs, social movements, intellectual sectors, neighborhood associations, labour unions, professional associations etc. During the 1990s, these fora multiplied and gained social legitimacy. Throughout the 1990s, mobilizations that brought together various actors of civil society also took place.

Opportunities to engage in collective action are more readily available in the current democratic environment, especially in comparison to the extreme difficulties experienced under military dictatorships. New challenges for collective action correspond to the broad diversity of activities CSOs find necessary to achieve their goals. For instance, CSOs must mobilize citizens, engage in incremental policy making, work on campaigns and elections (but not get too close to party officials), and develop broader social and policy networks.

Brazil has one of the robust, active and diverse civil society that has played a critical role in the fight for social justice, to preserve democracy and rule of law. But recently, an UN expert, C.N.Voule has criticized the Brazilian government for human rights violation, discrimination on religious ground, persecution of traditional communities, risks faced by indigenous land and environmental defenders and threats, harassment, physical attacks and killing of human rights defenders.

20.5 Civil Society in Nigeria

Civil society existed in the pre-colonial traditional states in Nigeria. With colonialism, a new platform of consciousness and agitation emerged. The nationalist movement and decolonization provided the stimulants for associational flowering. Thus, the decolonization period is regarded as the initial golden age of civil society in Nigeria.

The 1980s saw the proliferation of NGOs and the emergence of greater activism by CSO sector. Civil society in Nigeria emerged as a platform for the mobilization of mass protests, riots and strikes as part of State repression, mal-governance and structural conditionalities. It also became a formation of dynamic arrangements of safety nets, welfare and survival options for the poor, vulnerable, excluded, and marginalized and the weak.

In Nigeria, civil society has continued to flower since the inception of democratic rule. As in 2009, it was estimated that there were about 46000 registered non-State sectors in Nigeria. The CSOs in Nigeria are quite diverse and numerous and they can be categorized as formal, non-formal, civil and uncivil groups, autonomous and non-autonomous groups, single groups and linkage groups.

Role of Civil Society in Nigeria

Civil society has made great contribution to Nigeria's development. Apart from being the vanguard of the struggle against military rule and democratization, CSOs have made some contributions to the protection of liberty, freedom and rights, socio-economic progress, ethnic accommodation and mediating conflict management and peace-building and humanitarian and relief services.

State- Civil Society Relationship in Nigeria

The nature of relations between civil society and the State is diverse, complex and dynamic. The relations between the two is dependent on the nature of the CSOs, the issues involved, the sector involved and the governments involved. The relations could be adversarial characterized by struggles for domination and control, opposition and competition. The State-civil society level of relations, which was traditionally and still mired in mutual suspicions and distrust, is partially a heritage of the pro-democracy struggle against military dictatorship.

Challenges before the Civil Society in Nigeria

An active, capable, resource-endowed, well-manned and vibrant civil society is critical for addressing societal problems such as governance, environmental management, human

and civil rights and poverty. Such CSOs are in short supply in Nigeria. The challenges faced by the CSOs in Nigeria can be discussed as under

- a) The membership of some CSOs has tended to be exclusive to certain classes. Civil society is still a terrain of the privileged middle class and the elite.
- b) CSOs still reflect the nation's divisiveness, divergent interests and particularistic sentiments.
- c) Some of the CSOs are plagued by internal struggles and squabbles along social tendencies and ideological orientations.
- d) There are management and leadership problems manifested in leadership perpetuation and struggles.
- e) CSOs are handicapped by poor knowledge of the working of the government and the corporate and the business sector.
- f) The CSO sector has suffered from leadership losses to political and civilian administrations since the advent of democratic rule. Some of the influential leaders have joined political parties. The CSO leadership capacity is being weakened in some ways or the other.

20.6 Civil Society in China

China's drive towards economic reform and modernization in the last twenty-five years has created new opportunities for citizen participation. One of the significant development in the Chinese society in the past two decades is the emergence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While this kind of quiet 'revolution' has been going on in China, little of it has been reported to the outside world. Social scientists believe that a country's progression towards a more open, pluralistic and competitive political system is dependent on whether the country allows a civil society to emerge. While the concept of civil society is an abstract notion covering a wide range of social dynamics, the crucial measure of its presence in any nation is the activity of the NGOs to progress and develop. At this point, China is experiencing these sorts of dynamic social changes indicating that civil society is indeed emerging.

NGOs in the PRC Era

The People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 rejecting the old Kuomintang

system. The CCP made drastic shifts in its policy toward citizen's organizations. Under Mao's directives, the Interim Provision on the Registration of Social Organizations was adopted on October 19, 1950. The Interim Provision emphasized people's rights as well as punishment of counter revolutionaries. It also emphasized party leadership and government control. As a result, NGOs in China lost their independent nature and became vehicles for the party to implement its control over the general public.

The Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s led to enormous chaos in China. No new NGOs were organized and most of the existing ones were closed down.

A Changing Society

Since the party and the government introduced reform and opening policy in the 1970s, China has progressed rapidly. Decentralization and market competition have reduced the role of the State and opened up a whole variety of opportunities in the entire society. These changes have made the Chinese society more complex and dynamic and have altered the ways in which society is organized and interacts with the State apparatus.

China is also moving towards establishing a system based on the rule of law. As the Chinese society becomes more open, a middle class with more education and stronger economic base is emerging claiming citizen's rights and trying to assert itself in the policy making process. Politically, democratic institutions are emerging since the 1980s. Village-level elections have become increasingly prevalent.

China's accession to WTO will speed up the process of pluralization of Chinese society, help reshape 'governance' and broaden the role of foreign institutions in China. As a result, the Chinese society will no longer be monopolized by the party-State. Power will be shared among various political, social and economic actors. With the opening up of Chinese society, individuals and new citizen groups will become more active in creating ideas and approaches to tackle social issues and problems, faster and more efficiently than the government.

At the same time, economic opening up has led to the creation of serious social problems. In addition, China faces serious environmental degradation and the rapid spread of AIDS and HIV in its population. To solve these problems, new social institutions need to come up.

China's economic reforms have created an opening in society. In the mid-1980s, cultural salons, a progressive press and alumni associations appeared which began to

appeal for progressive democratic movements in China. Before the 1989 Tiananmen incident, the 'democracy wall' was a hotspot in China after 1979. New institutions emerged in the 1980s which were much livelier than those of the 1950s and 1960s. However, the Chinese laws regarding NGOs have never been eased. Many regulations were clamped restricting the activities of the civil society. Unfortunately, NGO development remains circumscribed by the political climate.

Civil Society Regaining Momentum

Chinese civil society regained some momentum in some respects during the 1990s despite government restrictions. In the early 1990s, the typical NGOs were the mass organizations such as the All China Women's Federation and Youth Federation that had close ties with the government. The larger ones like the China Charity Foundation, the Youth Development Federation, the China Poverty Reduction Foundation and the Song Quinling Foundation were also connected with the government in one way or the other. These were known as 'GONGOs'. These GONGOs have become more independent and other NGOs with fewer government connection have also grown in number and become much more active.

The opening up of China and its integration with international community have led to a rapid development of NGOs sector. These NGOs are trying their best to function in a more independent manner. There is clearly a trend of an emerging civil society in China. As China becomes more diversified and pluralized, the government alone cannot deal with all the issues and concerns facing the Chinese society. New institutions such as NGOs can mobilize large amount of social capital that are required for China's social and economic development.

To facilitate NGO development in China, the government needs to put in place a more constructive legal framework in which the NGOs can function in partnership with the government. In order to have a healthy NGO sector, development of philanthropic culture is very important. Chinese society has yet to develop such a culture of giving to new institutions that can deliver social services and welfare to the needy people on behalf of the Chinese society.

From the above, it can be said that a large number of institutions have come up outside the state and the market. The GONGOs, NGOs and other institutions have together created an emerging civil society in China. While this is very encouraging, China has still a long way to go before a civil society represented by carefully nurtured institutions which

allow the involvement of the greatest number of people in public life, can be established. China, with its tradition and culture, perhaps can develop a new model of civil society in which the State, non-governmental sector and the commercial sector can collaborate and supplement one another's role.

20.7 Conclusion

Civil society organizations engage in advocating the citizens' rights including their right to health and unpolluted environment. They fulfill important duties of checks and balances in democracies. They are able to influence the government and hold it accountable. Therefore, free and active civil societies are an indicator of a healthy participatory democracy. However, they can only effectively function where freedom of speech and right of free assembly are guaranteed. Unfortunately, this is not the case in many countries around the world.

The civil society sector in the UK has grown out of a long process of formalization of voluntary and community activities and over time it has occupied a number of different positions in relation to the UK State. In the twenty-first century, as a result of both financial and regulatory pressures, the third sector organizations are increasingly in competition with public sector organizations like police, hospitals for volunteer's gift of time. In Brazil, the period of democratic transition marked the gradual strengthening of civil society, emergence of social movements which, while opposing the military regime, tried to establish new parameters for the relations between the state and civil society and the reestablishment of democracy. Despite having a robust civil society, in recent times, Brazil has been criticized for violation of the freedom of speech and free assembly thereby for violation of human rights. So far as Nigeria is concerned, civil society had to fight against the military rule and after civilian rule was established it started flourishing and contributed to the development of Nigeria. Apart from being the vanguard of the struggle against military rule and democratization, CSOs have made some contributions to the protection of liberty, freedom and rights, socio-economic progress, ethnic accommodation and mediating conflict management, peace-building and humanitarian and relief services. But the flip side is that the membership of some CSOs has tended to be exclusive to certain classes. Civil society is still a terrain of the privileged middle class and the elite and they still reflect the nation's divisiveness, divergent interests and particularistic sentiments. The opening up of China and its integration with international community have led to a rapid development of NGOs sector. These NGOs are trying their best to function in a

more independent manner. There is clearly a trend of an emerging civil society in China despite not so favorable laws and the overarching domination and control by the Communist Party of China.

20.8 Summing up

- The 18th century witnessed the gaining of momentum of the social movements followed in the 19th century by a significant increase in private philanthropy by the wealthy and the educated.
- The late 1990s saw the rise of Compacts- a move from statutory unconditional grants to semi-privatization of welfare through partnership and contracts between the state and voluntary sector organizations.
- The civil society sector in the UK has grown out of a long process of formalization of voluntary and community activities and over time it has occupied a number of different positions in relation to the UK state.
- The result of ‘austerity’ period which followed the 2008 global banking crisis has led to drastic cuts in governmental grants which has put pressure on small and local organizations.
- As a result of both financial and regulatory pressures, the third sector organizations have been subjected to competition with public sector organizations.
- The main challenges faced by civil society organizations in UK, in the 21st century, can be summarized as
 - a. Resource Procurement
 - b. Competition
 - c. Inter-organizational collaboration
 - d. Expertise and
 - e. Organizational issues.
- The 1980s saw the proliferation of NGOs and the emergence of greater activism by CSO sector in Nigeria.
- As in 2009, it was estimated that there were about 46000 registered non-state sectors in Nigeria.

- Civil society has made great contribution to Nigeria's development.
- The nature of relations between Civil Society and the State is diverse, complex and dynamic.
- The State-civil society level of relations, which was traditionally and still mired in mutual suspicions and distrust, is partially a heritage of the pro-democracy struggle against military dictatorship.
- The resistance to authoritarian regime and the struggle for democratization in the period covering 1970s and 1980s is very crucial for the analysis of civil society in Brazil.
- The period covering 70s and 80s was a period of social movements in Brazil, which came onto the scene in a new attire, with new forms of internal organization, new demands and new postures in relation to the state and to the political parties. It was in the unity of these movements that society's participation started to gain legitimacy
- The building of democracy in the 1990s in Brazil is deeply related to the experiences of public spaces.
- The new type of relation between the State and civil society led to the creation and expansion of participatory formats of government particularly at the level of city management.
- Opportunities to engage in collective action are more readily available in the current democratic environment, especially in comparison to the extreme difficulties experienced under military dictatorships.
- But recently, the Brazilian government has been criticized for human rights violation, discrimination on religious ground, persecution of traditional communities, risks faced by indigenous land and environmental defenders and threats, harassment, physical attacks and killing of human rights defenders.
- China's drive towards economic reform and modernization in the last twenty-five years has created new opportunities for citizen participation.
- The opening up of China and its integration with international community have led to a rapid development of NGOs sector.

- To facilitate NGO development in China, the government needs to put in place a more constructive legal framework in which the NGOs can function in partnership with the government.
- A large number of institutions have come up outside the State and the market. The GONGOs, NGOs and other institutions have together created an emerging civil society in China. While this is very encouraging, China has still a long way to go before a civil society represented by carefully nurtured institutions which allow the involvement of the greatest number of people in public life, can be established.

20.9 Probable Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Write a note on the civil society of UK.
2. Make an assessment of the civil society in Brazil.
3. What are the challenges facing the Nigerian civil society?
4. Write a note on the emerging civil society in China.

Short Questions

1. Discuss the civil society trends in UK in the 21st century.
2. Discuss how the emergence of civil society in Brazil is related to democratization in Brazil?
3. What is the relationship between the State and civil society in Nigeria?
4. Discuss the social changes in China which led to the emergence of civil society in China.

Objective Questions

1. What is the full form of CSO ?
2. Who is the author of the book, 'The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society' ?
3. What is the full form of NGO ?
4. Point out a reason for the emergence of civil society in China.

20.10 Further Reading

1. Michael Edwards, “*The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*”, OUP, 2011.
2. G.Buiocchi, P.Heller and Marcelo Silva, “*Bootstrapping Democracy: Transforming Local Governance and Civil Society in Brazil*”, Stanford University Press, 2011
3. Matthew Hassan Kukah, “*Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*”, Spectrum Books Ltd, Nigeria, 2001.
4. Timothy Brook and B.Michael Frolic, “*Civil Society in China*”, Routledge, 1997.
5. Runya Qiaoan, “*Civil Society in China*”, Routledge, London, 2021.