

Comparative Political Analysis

DEPOL650

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LOVELY
PROFESSIONAL
UNIVERSITY



Comparative Political Analysis

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Content

Unit 1:	Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics	1
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 2:	Nature and Scope of Comparative Politics	10
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 3:	Approaches to the Study of the Comparative Politics: Traditional Approach and Modern Approach	19
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 4:	System Analysis: Structural-Functional Analysis Approach, Input-Output Analysis, Political Economy Approach	28
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 5:	Theories of State: Liberal-Democratic State, Totalitarian Regimes	40
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit6:	The Democratic Steps and Welfare State: its Functions and Role, States in Third World Countries	48
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 7:	Constitutional Structures: Legislature and its Role in Political System, Structure	55
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 8:	Composition of Legislature, Office of Prime Minister and President: Power and Functions of Prime Minister and President	63
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 9:	Judiciary and Its Importance: Challenges and Problems of Judiciary in India, Judicial Activism	72
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 10:	Classification of Governments: Presidential and Prime Ministerial Governments	84
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 11:	Federal System, Features of Federal System and Its Advantages, Characteristics of Unitary Government	92
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 12:	Typology of States: Totalitarian State and Its Features	100
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 13:	Liberal State: Its Role, Welfare State and Its Role on Modern Society	105
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	
Unit 14:	Advantages and Disadvantages: Totalitarian Form of Governments	113
	<i>Dr. Neha Kumar, Lovely Professional University</i>	

Unit 01: Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics

CONTENTS

Objective

Introduction

1.1 Understanding “Comparative Politics”

1.2 Defining Comparative Politics

1.3 The Comparative Method

1.4 Evolution of the Comparative Politics

1.5 Why Compare

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objective

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- To understand the meaning of the Comparative Politics
- To evaluate the reasons for studying comparative politics

Introduction

Have you ever thought how political order is designed in a country? On what basis newly independent countries choose their political order? Why India has borrowed so many concepts from UK? The answers of all these questions can be found in the study of comparative politics. In order to design the political order of the country, we need to evaluate and analyse the existing political orders of the world. Most of the newly independent countries including India decided to borrow the political order from their colonial masters as it was easy for them to evaluate, adapt and understand. In simpler terms we need comparative politics in order to understand working of the political system and to make further improvements in our political system.

‘Comparative Politics’ emerged as a major sub-field in the study of Political Science. However, it is closely related to the study of Political Theory and International Relations (IR). There are scholars of the political theory who have intentionally or un-intentionally used the comparative method in order to understand various concepts of political science. Aristotle who is an important scholar related to political theory is regarded as the father of comparative politics. Harry Eckstein has rightly observed, ‘Comparative Politics has a particular right to claim Aristotle as an ancestor because of the primacy he assigned to politics among the sciences and because the problems he raised and the methods he used are similar to these still current in political studies. He used this method in order to find out the ideal type of government and constitution. In the similar way, Thucydides has used comparative method in order to understand the origin and consequences of Peloponnesian wars between Greek city state. Therefore, comparative politics can be regarded as the interrelated yet independent sub field of political science.

Comparative politics can be regarded the different kind of the study mainly because of the fact that it consists of both the ‘method of the study’ and ‘subject of the study.’ As a method of the study, comparative politics is based on the method of comparisons. As a subject of the study, comparative

politics seeks to understand and explain political phenomena that takes place within a state, society and political system. The scientific process of studying a political phenomenon consist of the description, explanation or sometime prediction. Prediction should be there in order to understand the impact of it on the future or to predict the future. Comparative Politics also set up the conceptual framework in order to understand the general applicability and understanding of the subject. After understanding the subjects, these concepts can be used to identify the relationship between them. For example, a researcher of comparative politics may be wishing to understand the relationship between the democracy and international peace. There can be number of ways in which the association may be understood as the casual relationship.

1.1 Understanding “Comparative Politics”

Before understanding comparative politics, we need to understand the meaning of the term ‘politics.’ Politics is derived from the Greek work ‘polis’ which means ‘city states.’ According to this, everything which is of concern to the ‘city-states’ are included in the activity of politics. In modern days, there are no city-states. As a result, everything which is of concern to the state is included in politics. It may include the process to settle conflicting disputes, allocation of resources properly, formation of the government etc. The different definitions which are given to define the term ‘politics’ is as follows:

- A. Politics is the art of finding peaceful resolutions to conflict, through compromise and the building of consensus (Garner)
- B. Politics means either the activities of political life or the study of these activities. And these activities are generally treated as activities of the various organs of government (George Catlin)
- C. The experience of politics refers to activities concerned with the change and maintenance of the character and existence of human associations called states (R. N. Berki)
- D. Politics is a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues (V.V Dyke)
- E. Politics is the authoritative allocation of values for a society (David Easton)

According to the interpretation of the following terminology, we can say in simple terms that politics is an activity of the political life which is done to reduce conflict in the society and to increase consensus among the conflicting values of the people.

However, the traditional concept of the politics adopts non-comparative and descriptive approaches which is unable to draw distinction between different political system and political processes. These limitations required an approach of political science which is empirical and analytical which is leading to the development of comparative politics in the post second world. Comparative politics emerge as a subfield of the political science which has adopted empirical approach based on the comparative method. The aim of the comparative politics is to explain the differences between the political system. As said by ArendLijphart, comparative politics focusses on ‘the how’ leaving apart the ‘what’ analysis. In other words, comparative politics emphasis on the method it applies to study political phenomenon, it does not define the object of the study. According to Peter Mair and Richard Rose, the comparative politics is defined by the combination of substantive focus on the study of political system of the countries so as to explain the similarities and differences between the countries using common concepts.

The aim of the comparative politics is to find out the patterns of regularities and differences between the political system. It looks for changing patterns and tries to develop the general proposition or hypothesis which can explain the variations among the various changing political systems. Comparative politics may focus on the study of one particular country (for example understanding the political system of the US, UK, China etc), understanding the particular political institution (political parties, militaries, parliamentary and interest groups), study of a particular political process (how decision making is supposed to be carried out), public policy (example labor or welfare policy) by comparing different aspect of particular country.

1.2 Defining Comparative Politics

Some textbooks have defined comparative politics as study of politics of foreign country. It is important to note here that it is not the inclusive definition and many aspects have not been included in this definition. Just like 'politics,' the term 'comparative politics' has been described in the different manner:

- a. The term 'comparative politics' refers to a subject matter, a field of specialty within the academic study of politics (that is political science) and a method of approach to the study of politics. The subject matter of comparative politics is the domestic politics of countries or people (Mark Kesselman, Joel Kireger and WA Joseph).
- b. Within political science, comparative politics is a sub-field that compares this struggle across countries. By studying a wide variety of countries, comparativists hope to shed light on the countries under study as well as on our own political systems (Patrick O'Neil).
- c. Comparative politics is the study of political systems, not as isolated cases but through generalizations and comparisons (G.A Almond, G.B Powell, Jr. Kaare Strom and RJ Dalton)
- d. Comparative government usually refers to the study of the institutions and functions of countries or nation-states in Europe with attention to their executives, legislatures and judiciaries as well as such supplementary organizations as political parties and pressure groups. Comparative politics, in contrast, studies a broader range of political activity organizations, not directly related to the government for example tribes, communities, associations and unions (RH Chilcote).

On the basis of these definitions, we can define comparative politics as the sub field of the political science which take into consideration the study of the political system. It is important to remember here that political system comprises of both formal (legislature, executive, judiciary) or informal (pressure groups, interest groups etc) institutions which has important bearing on the politics of the state as well as environment in which they operate.

Before the development of comparative politics as a separate stream of Political Science, a number of questions remain unanswered or were not fully researched. These question includes: why are some countries are poor and other are wealthier? What enables some countries to make it in the modern world while others remain locked in poverty? Why are the poorer countries being more inclined to be governed autocratically while the richer countries are democratic? What accounts for regional, cultural and geographical differences that exist between them? What is the politics from underdevelopment to development and what help to stimulate and sustain the process? What are the patterns that help account for the emergence of democratic setup as distinguish from the Marxist-Leninist system? These questions are at the heart of the comparative politics. These queries led to the development of comparative politics as a stream of political science.

1.3 The Comparative Method

As the name "comparative politics" shows that it is using "comparative method" in order to carry out particular study or research. There can be variety of the meaning attached to the term 'comparative method.' Some research scholars have referred to it as 'statistical method' August Comte was the first scholar of the political science who has used the concept of the comparative method in order to understand the particular political phenomenon. After this, there has been emergence of the various other comparative method which has particular emerged in the social science or political science. As a result, comparative method began to emerge in studies of qualitative and quantitative research both. The strategies which are used in the comparative methods are illustrative comparison, complete or universal comparisons or sample-based comparisons.

There can be three different comparative methods to be used by the political science. These three methods are: experimental, statistical and case-study. An experimental method tries to establish the causal relationship between the two variables. In social science, variables mean something which can be measured and whose values cannot be constant across the time and space. For example, the concept of 'power' which can be measured in numerical manner by taking into consideration military and economic power of the state. Also, it is important to note that measurement of power is not constant across the states and may vary from one place to other. In recent research, it has been believed that experiment can be the cornerstone of the empirical method to acquire data about the world and to analyses the social world. However, the problem is that the experiment requires

manipulation of the variables which may not be possible sometime. For example, it will be difficult to measure the variable 'war' as researcher cannot say that state should conduct war as we wish to read the effects of the war. Also, experiments are carried out in controlled conditions, so its applications in the comparative politics have very limited scope. As a result, to overcome the limitations of the experiment method, statistical methods have been introduced. Statistical methods can be used to summarize or to describe a collection of data; this is called as descriptive statistics. In addition, patterns in the data may be modelled in a way that account for randomness and uncertainty in the observations, and are often used to draw inferences about process of population being studied, it is called as inferential statistics. The combination of descriptive and inferential statistics combines together to make up applied statistics. Correlation and regression are again the other techniques of statistical methods used to collect data and to analyses things. However, when it comes to the comparative politics; there is problem in collecting data with the help of the statistical method. The reason is it require lot of time and cost to collect data from formal and informal institutions in order to analyse the statistical method. As a result, comparative method is using mostly case study method in order to evaluate political phenomena.

1.4 Evolution of the Comparative Politics

It is important to consider that comparative politics is something not a new or novel scheme. The first comparative study in the field of political science was carried out by Plato and Aristotle in order to identify the different kinds of political orders- such as aristocracy (rule of the best), oligarchy (rule of the few), democracy (rule of the people), and tyranny (rule of the tyrant) and they wrote careful treaties on which form of the government is best. During this period, the main aim of these scholars was to find out which form of the government is best.

In the modern era, Harold D. Lasswell and Almond broadened the area of the comparative politics by integrating it with the other field of the study. Almond transformed the interest in the foreign policy into systematic studies of comparative political development and culture. After 1960s, Behavioral revolution was introduced in the study which has further revolutionize the study of the comparative politics. According to behavioral science, the role of the political science is primarily to gather and analyses facts as rigorously and objectively as possible. The further improvement in the study of comparative politics was made in 1970s when Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell introduced a structural functional approach in order to understand the political system. According to this approach, it is important to understand the functions of the political institutions in order to understand political system. According to this approach, if you have understood the functions of the political system, the same can be applied in understanding the other systems of the world.

1.5 Why Compare

Comparisons of the political phenomena or political systems are done due to various reasons. It can be considered as the methodological core of the humanistic or statistical methods. We need to understand our political system in order to bring further improvements in it. It is through the comparisons of the past and present of one's nation and comparing one's experience with that of other nations that one can have better understanding of the political systems across the globe. By comparisons of the political systems of the globe, we generally get the sense and deeper understanding of one's own institutions as well as shortcomings or virtues of the life of the other political system. For example, Aristotle carried out comparative politics in order to know the ideal form of the government. On the similar lines, Robert Dahl compares the economic characteristics, cultures and historical experiences of many contemporary nations with a view to discover the combinations of conditions and characteristics that are associated with the formation of the government. In order to improve the political systems of the political system, comparisons and examples need to be drawn from the developed countries of the world. We compare so as to suggest reforms and to make political system systems of underdeveloped/developing system better. For example, it was made mandatory by the institutions like IMF and WTO that developing countries need to adopt the democratic systems so as to receive economic help from the international financial institutions.

Comparative method is considered as the good method for evaluating and understanding the world better. It tries to learn that whatever is happening all around the world. In border sense, it is relevant to almost everything in order to understand the border level of problems. Such as, what is the relationship between democracy and peace? How is economic inequality is related to the

capitalist system? How can we explain the increasing mobilizing of the people based on religion, language, culture, region etc? In order to understand all these factors, comparative politics prove to be very useful. The two important and interrelated questions which are analyzed are : (a) Why do we have very similar political systems producing different outcomes? For example, both India and UK have similar kind of Parliamentary system. In fact, India has adopted the UK political system because of its colonial affiliation. However, the quality and result of the democratic government in both the countries is totally different from each other. The other interrelated question asked is (b) Why different political systems are producing same outcomes? Sometime, it may happen that two countries have similar political system, but they have produced a different outcome. Therefore, in order to analyses these both inter – related questions, comparisons are needed.

**Example:**

There are for example two countries following two different types of system.

Country A : Majoritarian Government; representational system

Country B: Proportional representational system

Despite of the differences, both the countries have level of efficiency and consensus in legislative process.

**Example:**

A researcher is carrying out research in which it has to study how well forms of representative government develop consensus and agreement over the policies formed by the government. The observation reflects that there are two representative governments but are having very different outcomes or results.

Country A: Proportional representation has a long and successful track record of producing consensus among law makers over number of policy issues.

Country B: Country B is riddled with partisan disagreement and a lack of consensus over similar kind of policy issues.

Further, there are variety of the comparisons which are made by the comparative politics in order to understand the political phenomena. In the language of the comparative politics, it is referred to as 'ontology.' Ontology means fundamental assumptions which scholars made in order to understand the social world. In the field of politics, it consists of countries, events, actors, institutions and process that is observable and need description or analysis. Peter discussed five types of studies which are classified in comparative politics:

1. The first unit of analysis is the study of the single country such as description of the internal politics, structures and political system in one single country. This is the most general form of the study which is carried out in comparative politics but in recent times has earn the name of empirical study. The weakness is that it cannot be confined to the category of the comparative method but instead it is only describing the small number of instances that appear similar or comparable in number of ways
2. The second unit of analysis is the study of the political process and political institutions. There can be number of ways in which selection of a small number of instances appear similar or comparable in some significant ways and these instances are then used to clarify the nature of either the process or institutions or politics of the country concerned.
3. The third kind of study which can be done in comparative politics is where political comparativists develop classification of the countries on various basis or decide to study the

Comparative Political Analysis

different components of the political party system. For example, classifying states on the basis of the regime as totalitarian government, authoritarian government etc and then comparing their features. The other example is classification of the political party as single or multiparty system and then comparing their systems.

4. The fourth category is to have regional statistical analysis. The purpose of this approach is to test some proposition about politics within specified region. The initial goal is to make generalization only about the region, and if it is successful, then ultimate goal is to extend analysis of politics to some particular propositions.

It is important here to note that such a detailed study in order to understand the political system is carried out by the comparative political analysis only.

The other important reason for studying comparative politics is that we cannot have in depth understanding of the domestic politics, until and unless we understand the external factors which are playing in force. The domestic and international politics are related to each other. In today's globalization period, it is impossible to understand the complexities of the domestic politics without understanding the various external factors which are playing in it.

Comparative politics discuss about the political systems of the world. These political systems of the world are interconnected with each other. The primary responsibility of the political system is the maintainance of order over defined jurisdictions for which they have monopoly over the use of coercive force.

Three purposes of Comparing					
	Comparing Control	to	Comparing Understand	to	Comparing to Explain
Basic Purpose of the strategy	Comparative checking		Interpretation		Analytical induction
Logic or approach to comparative politics	Researcher uses a range of ways to test a specific claim, hypothesis or theory		Researcher is primarily interested in single case and use different theories to study the same case.		Researcher uses cases as a way to build stronger theoretical explanation. Cases are used step-by-step manner contributing to the development of theory

Summary

The term comparative politics and comparative government are often used interchangeably. However, it is important to understand that there is the difference between the two terms and in their methods of study. Further, before beginning the in-depth study of the subject, it is important to understand that why we need 'compare' in Political Science so as to understand the political systems.

Keywords

Comparative Politics, Comparative Government, Comparisons

Self Assessment

1. Comparative Politics mainly consist of both:
 - A. Method of the study
 - B. Subject of the study
 - C. Both a and b are correct
 - D. None of the above

2. Comparative Politics is a better method than the statistical method because:
 - A. Statistical method cannot be applied to social science
 - B. Statistical method cannot compare comparative phenomena
 - C. Statistical method is costly and time consuming
 - D. All of the above

3. Who is the father of the comparative politics?
 - A. Aristotle
 - B. Machiavelli
 - C. Plato
 - D. JS Mill

4. Comparative politics study:
 - A. Political phenomena
 - B. Political System
 - C. Government
 - D. Policies

5. What are the limitations of the experimental method?
 - A. Experimental methods cannot be conducted in social science.
 - B. Experimental method requires manipulation of the variables and sometime it is not possible to manipulate variables particularly in political science.
 - C. Experimental method require lab like conditions, which are not present in social science.
 - D. All of the above

6. Aristotle studied:
 - A. Different forms of the government in order to understand the ideal one
 - B. Different forms of the leadership in order to understand the ideal one
 - C. History of the state in order to understand the problems inherit in it.
 - D. Different types of the constitution in order to understand the ideal one.

7. Comparative politics studies
 - A. One unit of analysis including only one state
 - B. Political process and Political Institutions
 - C. Classification of states on the basis of the regime.

- D. All of the above.
8. We study comparative politics:
- In order to make comparisons and to know the shortcomings of the systems
 - In order to bring further improvements in the political systems
 - In order to understand the impact of the external factor on the domestic politics
 - All of the above
9. Variables are something:
- Which can be measured
 - Whose value change across time and space
 - Both 'a' and 'b'
 - None of the above
10. According to structural functional approach:
- Structure should be studied
 - Structure alone should not be studied and focuses should be on functions of the institutions
 - Structure should be totally ignored
 - All of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. C | 2. C | 3. A | 4. B | 5. B |
| 6. D | 7. D | 8. D | 9. C | 10. B |

Review Questions

- Evaluate the growth and meaning of the term 'Comparative Politics.'
- Discuss the benefits of carrying out comparative politics over the statistical and experimental methods.
- Enumerate the growth of the discipline of the Comparative Politics
- Analyse the reasons and benefits of the 'comparative method.'
- Discuss the meaning and benefit of the behavioral revolution and the progress which was made in this context

**Further Readings**

- Johari, JC (2011), Comparative Politics, Sterling Publication: New Delhi
- Biswal, Tapan (2018), Comparative Politics: Institutions and Processes, Trinity Press: New Delhi



Web Links

- [https://socialsci.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Political_Science_and_Civics/Introduction_to_Comparative_Government_and_Politics_\(Bozonelos_et_al.\)/01%3A_Why_Study_Comparative_Politics/1.01%3A_What_is_Comparative_Politics](https://socialsci.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Political_Science_and_Civics/Introduction_to_Comparative_Government_and_Politics_(Bozonelos_et_al.)/01%3A_Why_Study_Comparative_Politics/1.01%3A_What_is_Comparative_Politics)
- <https://www.shivajicollege.ac.in/sPanel/uploads/econtent/64f62e627be9f3fa4849dbf539388fe0.pdf>

Unit 02: Nature and Scope of Comparative Politics

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

2.1 Nature of the Comparative Politics

2.2 Scope of the Comparative Politics

Keywords

Summary

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- Analyse the nature and scope of comparative politics
- Understand the various trends of the comparative politics
- Compare the terms 'comparative politics' and 'comparative government'

Introduction

The comparative politics, as mentioned, was started with the study of the Aristotle, Machiavelli, de Tocqueville, Bryce, Weber etc. The writers in the second phase of the development of comparative politics include Samuel H. Beer, M. Hass, Bernard Ulam and Roy C. Macridis who made use of the comparative method deliberately and self-consciously to present the more useful study of political institutions. The recent contributors include scholars like David Easton, Gabriel A. Almond, Harold Laswell, Robert Dhal, David Apter, Lucian W. Pye etc. The scholars of this age have used the set of interrelated variables for presenting their contributions on the basis of the comparative analyses. During this stage, the nature and scope of the comparative politics undergone changes. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the nature and scope of the comparative politics in relation to the current developments.

2.1 Nature of the Comparative Politics

The nature of the comparative politics can be categorized into following parts:

Analytical and Empirical Investigation:

Earlier, the aim of the comparative politics was just to describe the infrastructure and other political institutions. Here, 'description' includes 'describing the main features, working and structures of the political institutions under investigation.' Such a method, does not take into consideration the analytical and empirical investigation. Analytical and Empirical investigation can be called as the scientific investigation which is carried out in order to understand the political phenomena. The inclusion of the analytical and empirical investigation has enlarged the field of the inquiry and has cleared up the many doubts and misunderstanding which has been occurring in the framework of the comparative politics. Under analytical and empirical investigation framework, hypothesis is formed, generalization was made and other general predictions are drawn in order to predict future.

Study of the infrastructure

In the begging, the aim of the comparative politics was just to study the formal political structures. Formal political structures here mean study of the legislatures, executive and judiciary. Presently, the informal political structures are also included in the study of the comparative politics. Informal political structures mean study of the pressure groups, interest groups, political parties etc. These institutions are not mentioned clearly in the constitution but still has capability to have an impact on the decision making of the government. The 'study of the infrastructure' also includes 'environment' which can have an impact on the decision-making process. The basic assumption is that political system are getting impacted from the environment in which they operate. As a result, political system cannot be studied in isolation but as a part of the whole. As mentioned by Blondel, 'Structures of government exist, they have to exist because this is the way in which tension is reduced and delayed and thereby tension decreases and the polity is maintained. But structure changes gradually and in a complex fashion. This, if we are to understand how governmental systems operate, we have to note that the 'law' is an indispensable element of the life of governmental systems; it makes political life possible and maintains politics."

Study of Developing Societies

The stress of the comparative politics is on the study of the 'politics of developing societies.' This trend became particularly important after 1990s when there the process of the decolonization was completed. With the emergence of the new nations and governments, the study of these developing societies have become important. As a result, the study of the comparative government is no longer limited to the study of the European and American governments. It has, in short, move away from the European, American and other Western form of the government. It is now including government of the backward and poor countries also such as Afro-African and world of Latin America. Further, as mentioned by Wood, "One could not help being aware of the fact that there existed in the recent political experiences of dozens of countries a veritable laboratory in which to test propositions about the way governmental system behave under stress and the factors which bring about changes in political forms, What was more, there were appearing on the scene or waiting lose in the wings dozens more of the formerly colonial countries of Asia and Africa, for which political institutions were being carved out with or without concern for the well-catalogued experiences of their older brethren." As a result, it became important to study these developing nations also.

Focus on Inter-disciplinary research

Comparative Politics has derived many other things from the other disciplines and therefore has focused on 'inter-disciplinarity' research. Inter-disciplinary here means taking knowledge, developments and research from other subjects of social life like sociology, psychology, economics, anthropology and even from natural science like biology. For example, David Easton approach of 'input-output' and David Apter 'structural functional' approach has its origin from the biology. The theories like political socialization, political development and political psychology, political leadership shows that political science has derived from the theories of 'psychology' and 'sociology.' As a result, we can say that field of the comparative politics has truly become 'inter-disciplinary'

Value-Free Political Theory

With the gradual change in time, the subject matter of comparative politics has truly acquired the realm of the 'value-free' political theory. Earlier, the field of the comparative politics had assumed the 'value-laden' character which consists of norms, values, morality etc. Here, 'values' means sense of 'right and wrong' or 'morality' which truly differ from one person to other. In the present times, there has been little or no place for values, ethics and the entire field is covered by rules of sociology, psychology and economics. However, it does not mean that the terminology of values has been completely discarded in the present scholars. David Easton for example has mentioned that 'values' means 'authoritative allocation of values' or 'value system' when used by scholars like Almond has 'empirical basis'

2.2 Scope of the Comparative Politics

The scope of the comparative politics can be divided into following parts:

- a) **Political Activity:** It is important to remember that the main aim of the politics is to solve the conflicts which arose basically because of the scarcity of the resources in the society. Political activity basically means an activity in which conditions of the conflicts are created and resolved in the society pertaining the interests of the people. All the actions of the people which are taken in order to solve the conflicts of the society, are considered as the part of the political activity. It is the government basically which takes all the efforts to solve the conflicts by whatever means it has at its disposal. It also means creating such kind of conditions, which are necessary for solving the conflicts.
- b) **Political process:** For resolving conflicts, it is necessary for some political institutions to take part in the resolution of the conflict. Hence, all those agencies which are involved in solving the conflict of the society are considered as part of the political process. Such political institutions/agencies consist of both state agencies and non-state agencies. Non state agencies consist of the political parties, pressure groups, interest groups etc which have bearing on the decisions of the state.
- c) **Political Power:** The third main important conations for the comparative politics is the political power. The study of the political science from the 'power' includes a study of the infra-structure of the political systems. The relationship in any domestic political system is based on the concept of the 'power.' The only difference is that rulers in the democratic societies said that such a power is established with the 'consensus' while in totalitarian system, there is the unlimited /forceful power for achieving legitimacy. The most interesting thing which is said about the power is 'Where the consensus is weak, coercion tends to be strong and vice versa.'
- d) **Functional Studies:** Comparative politics has moved away from the descriptive study to functional studies. The aim of the descriptive study is just to describe the political institutions of the world as mentioned in the constitution. It means just describe the structure without paying attention to the actual functioning of the political systems. It means taking into account the functions of the political structures into account. Such functional studies include concepts like interest aggregation, interest articulationrule application, rule adjudication and socialization.

In addition to this, the scope of the comparative politics further consists of following

- 1) **All Political Structures:** The scope of comparative politics includes all formal, informal and extra-governmental agencies which are directly or indirectly involved in the decision making or in struggle of power. As a result, the study of the comparative politics is not confined to the study of the legislatures, executive and judiciary. Beside this, it also includes the study of the bureaucracy, interest groups, pressure groups, elites and other political parties. All of these things are included in the study of the comparative politics.
- 2) **Study of Political Behavior:** Political behavior takes into consideration the individual's behavior- broadly conceived as considering its orientations (identifications, demands, expectations, evaluation) as the empirical unit of the analysis. It seeks to describe and explain the political behavior of the group as well as individuals. It also analyses the voting behavior as well as the formation of the public opinion. Comparative politics takes into account the study of the political behavior in the process of the actual politics. It includes studies like voting behavior, political participation, leadership recruitment, elite behavior, mass politics, populism etc as the part of the politics.
- 3) **Study of Similarities and Dissimilarities:** The similarities and dissimilarities of the political system across the world are taken into consideration by the comparative politics. However,

the approach which is studied cannot be classified as legalistic, descriptive or formalistic. Under this, the actual functioning of the political structures and process and their similarities and dissimilarities are empirically explained, analyzed and compared. The objective here is not to describe the ideal form of the government. However, the objective here is to have systematic understanding, explanation and theory building.

- 4) Study of Political Culture: Lucian Pye has defined political culture as the composite of basic values and knowledge which underline the political process. It can be defined as 'historically based, widely shared beliefs, feelings and values about the political systems, which serve as a link between the government and citizens. The study of the political culture comes under the study of the comparative politics. Political culture constitutes the psychological environment and therefore deserve full attention.
- 5) Study of Political Socialization: Political socialization means the process in which the people learn about the political ideals with the help of the process of socialization. It is ultimately the political socialization which helps in shaping the political culture. It is included in the scope of the comparative politics.
- 6) Study of Political Participation: Political participation means people's participation in the government, administration etc through various means. Political participation may vary from one state to other. In some states, political participation may be greater while in some other states, political participation is of no use. Ultimately, it is the political participation which provides legitimacy to the government and administration, and brings stability in the system. It also provides consent and will to the people where participation is much wider, efficient and stable. The comparative politics tries to study that how the political participation influences the functional aspect of the political systems in other states. Moreover, they also know the factors which determine the political participation and role in politics.

Differences between the comparative politics and comparative government

Some scholars, tend to use the both the words of comparative politics and comparative government as interchangeable with each other. However, there is difference between the two which is important here to consider, as mentioned below:

- a) Scope of the comparative politics and comparative government is different from each other: Comparative government consist of study of the formal structures like legislature, executive and judiciary. On the other hand, comparative politics consist of the study of both formal and informal structures. Formal structures consist of study of those organs which have direct influence on the government such as legislature, executive and judiciary. On the other hand, comparative politics consist of the study of both the formal and informal structures. Informal structures consist of all those associations which have indirect bearings on the decisions of the government such as pressure groups, political parties etc.
- b) Political Institutions: Comparative government pays attention to the study of only western institutions of the world. Their scope consists of only study of the political institutions of the western countries like the US, UK etc. On the other hand, comparative politics consists of the study of both the political institutions of the west as well as the developing countries. With the rise of the developing countries in the 1990s, the aim of the comparative politics is to study particularly the developing states of Asia and Africa.
- c) Descriptive and Analytical: Comparative government is descriptive in nature. It means, it is concerned only with describing the political institutions of the world. On the other hand,

comparative politics is analytical in nature. It means, it is concerned with the analysis of the political system and just not concerned with describing the political system.

- d) Units: Comparative politics is concerned with the study of the units which are considered conceptual in nature in the sense that object of the definition of the real phenomena we say are compare more or less to confirm. Such kind of things are not present in the comparative government.
- e) As mentioned above, comparative government consist of only political activity of the political institutions. On the other hand, comparative politics consist of all economic, social and political factors which are considered as having an impact on the political decisions of the country.

Growth and Evolution of Comparative Politics followed by Debate in Comparative politics

The growth and evolution of comparative politics can be divided into 4 trends as explained below:

1. First Trend

The first trend in the comparative politics consist of scholars like Aristotle, Machiavelli etc who have laid the foundation of the comparative politics. Aristotle in his work has evaluated approximately 150 constitutions of the world in order to evaluate them and to find out which forms and type of state is better suited. This can be regarded as the first kind of work which has used comparative method. In the similar manner, Machiavelli has used comparative method in order to describe the different forms of the leadership. The aim was to find out which is the best kind of the leadership, and which one is the worst. Following the same lines, scholars like Montesquieu de Tocqueville, Lord Bryce, Weber has compared the working of the government in Greek v/s Working of the American Federation. Similarly, Lord Bryce and Weber has compared working of democracy in Britain with Working of democracy in America. During this time, the scholars have adopted inter-disciplinary approach. It means that scholars have carried out studies on the basis of various other interrelated discipline in order to explain the phenomena. The main reason was that study was carried out by historians, Jurist, Philosophers, Active Politicians etc. Such inter-disciplinary research depends on the premises that political science is not just confined to politics but to general development of the society. There were three main aims of the First Trend:

1. Study of the existent system
2. Study the systems which has existed in the past
3. To find out the ideal form of the government.

2. 2nd trend in Comparative Politics

The aim during the second trend was to study government or any other aspect associated with it. The aim during this period was to understand one's own system in a better way in order to have better understanding of the politics. The famous scholars during this period are Macridis and Beer, Ulam. During this period, Almond has written book titled as 'The politics of the developing areas.' The scholars in the second trend has adopted new strategies in order to adopt comparisons strategies like area study, functional and institutional comparisons, cross cultural comparisons etc.

3. 3rd Trend in comparative politics

The third trend in comparative politics occur outside the area of the comparative politics/political science. It occurred in other relams and comparative politics have adopted things from it. Comparative politics, during this period has adopted concepts like Political sociology, political modernization and international politics. As a result of the impact of all these theories, new concepts have been emerged such as increasing sophistication of the comparative analysis, conceptualization, methods and models. It is associated with the behavioral revolution.

4. 4th Trend in comparative politics

This trend changes the form of the comparative politics. It has revolutionized the field of politics by moving the study subject towards the political system. The main scholars of this time are David Easton, Almond and Deutsch. Earlier, comparative government was concentrated only to study social systems (empire, republics, federations and city state). The 4th trend shifts it to set of interrelated components in order to perform political functions such as Trade Unions and Churches. During this trend, scholars began to use interrelated concepts. For example, Almond and Easton talks about input and output approach. On the other hand, Easton and Deutsch talk about feedback mechanisms.

During this time, there was an improvement in the methods to carry out research. Such as, development of survey research, American voting system, problem solving technique etc. During this period, there was also growth in the technology leading to study of the computer assisted content analysis, stimulation etc.

The most important aspect during this period was growth in the territorial area. With the rise of newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, comparative politics found and took these institutions as a part of its study. It has been reflected by the fact that Almond during this period has written book titled, 'Universal Functions.' In order to study different cultures which are different in size, resources, institutional styles, comparative politics require flexible strategies.

As mentioned:

"The Revolutions in Comparative Politics Started with the number of brave institutions, look beyond description to make theoretically relevant problems; look beyond the single case of comparison to many cases; look beyond the formal institutions of government to political process and political functions and look beyond the countries of Western Europe to new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

After 4th Trend, there was a debate started if the comparative politics is dead as there was no further improvement and no further development possible. The reason for such a debate was that there have been new developments taken place in the field of comparative politics. There has been emergence of new scholars in 1960s and 1970s. The reason was, the emergence of new independent states during this period, which have different political and social systems. As a result of this, there were many new and interesting theories related to comparative politics emerged. During this period, comparative politics emerged as an innovative field due to the fact that total number of states during this period was doubled. This gives rise to number of new states which has given rise to new research opportunities. The example of the same is political socialization, development, dependency theories etc. There have been questions raise to understand the different political institutions of the world like communism, authoritarianism, democracy etc.

During this time, the comparative politics tried to find out why the developing nations does not have good governance as compared to the western world. The answer of this was found in the Theories of Development. However, the developing countries raise their voice against the theories of development as they believed that all the blame of the underdevelopment is given to them by the western world. In reality, there are several episodes in the western world which prove that theories of development were challenged. For example, episodes of US intervention in Vietnam war, Assassination of Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Richard Nixon.

However, after the end of the cold war, there was no such debate. The reason for the same was disintegration of the Soviet Union. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, the communism falls down and the only system which was victorious was the democratic system. As a result of which, the debate between the democratic system and communist system ended. After this, many countries from the Eastern Europe also joined the democratic countries.

As a result of this, it was questioned that weather the field of comparative politics is dead now and there are no new trends to follow?

In answer to this, it was debated that there are new political systems which need to be studied like China, the commonwealth of independent state, Sub Saharan African State and several other parts of Russia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Further, it needs to be understood that why there has been transition of democracy in several parts of the world in different regimes especially. For example, how there will the transition in communist and authoritative regime and why military dictatorship decided to adopt system of democracy. In addition to it, the states today have mixed

identities which need to be studied properly. For example, Portugal, France, UK have socialist government but all are associated with neo-liberalism. Due to all these reasons, the scope of comparative politics is not lost and it continue to have relevance in the present times.

Keywords

Comparative Politics, Nature, Scope, Comparative Government, Trends

Summary

This chapter analyse the nature and scope of the comparative politics. In simple terms, it evaluate that what is being included in the study of the comparative politics. Further, there are four trends of the comparative politics which are mentioned here. There four trends show the history and the gradual development of the comparative politics.

Self Assessment

1. Empirical investigation in comparative politics means:
 - A. Scientific research in the realm of politics
 - B. Norms based research in comparative politics
 - C. Cultural investigation in comparative politics
 - D. Value-laden research in comparative politics

2. Comparative politics consist of:
 - A. Value-laden research
 - B. Value based research
 - C. Mention of values in empirical sense
 - D. None of the above

3. The scope of the comparative politics consists of:
 - A. Political Socialization
 - B. Political Participation
 - C. Political Culture
 - D. All of the above.

4. Political activity basically means:
 - A. Voting, rallies etc.
 - B. Activities which are mentioned in the constitution
 - C. Activities which are carried out in order to solve the conflicts
 - D. Activities of formal institutions only.

5. Comparative government and Comparative politics:
 - A. Comparative government consist of study of western political system only while comparative politics consist of study of both western and non-western political institutions.
 - B. Comparative government is descriptive in nature while comparative politics is analytical in nature

Comparative Political Analysis

- C. Comparative government consist of study of political institutions only while comparative politics consist of economic, political and structural factors.
- D. All of the above
6. The main scholars of 'first trend' in comparative politics consist of
- A. Aristotle and Machiavelli
- B. David Easton
- C. Roy Marcidis
- D. Almond
7. The 'values' in the comparative politics is mentioned by
- A. David Easton
- B. Almond
- C. Both a and b
- D. None of the above
8. Development and Dependency theory in comparative politics was developed in
- A. First trend
- B. Second Trend
- C. Third Trend
- D. Fourth trend
9. The debate regarding the 'death of the comparative politics' was started:
- A. After the start of cold war period
- B. After the end of the cold war period
- C. After the 9/11
- D. After Second World War
10. The meaning of the 'functional study' in comparative politics means:
- A. Studying functions of the political institutions
- B. Analyzing functions of the formal institutions
- C. Evaluating the structures of the formal institutions
- D. None of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

1. A 2. C 3. D 4. C 5. D
6. A 7. A 8. D 9. B 10. A

Review Questions

1. Discuss the nature of the comparative politics.
2. Elaborate the meaning of the term 'political activity,' 'political process' and 'political power.'
3. Analyze the scope of the comparative politics.
4. Evaluate the difference between the 'comparative government' and 'comparative politics'

5. Discuss the four trends of growth in the realm of the comparative politics.



Further Readings

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Unit 03: Approaches to the Study of the Comparative Politics: Traditional Approach and Modern Approach

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

3.1 Meaning and Nature of Approach: Similarity and Distinction with Related Themes

3.2 Traditional Approach and Modern Approach

3.3 Traditional Approach can be Classified into Following parts:

3.4 Modern Approach

Keywords

Summary

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- To understand the differences between the nature and approach
- To evaluate various kinds of the traditional approach
- To analyse the modern approach

Introduction

The study of the comparative politics became interesting and intruding is the study of phenomenon with the use of the different approaches, methods and techniques in order to understand and explain the 'political reality.' However, sometime, the leading writers and scholars on this subject use different terms like approaches, methods, techniques, models, paradigms, strategies etc interchangeably with each other. It is important here to understand that all these terms are different from each other and cannot be used interchangeably. Before discussing the approaches of the different types used in comparative politics, it is important to understand that the meaning and nature of the term 'approach' is different from all other related themes.

3.1 Meaning and Nature of Approach: Similarity and Distinction with Related Themes

An approach can be defined as a way of looking and understanding particular phenomenon. In order to understand the particular thing, the perspective may be broad enough to cover a vast area like whole world or could be small consisting of the small like it may be local, regional, national or international politics. It consists of all the phenomenon related to the collection and selection of the data, evidence which is further followed by the investigation and analysis of the particular hypothesis for the academic purposes. According to Van Dyke, "In brief approaches consist of

Comparative Political Analysis

criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods and procedures for getting and utilizing data.”

The approaches to study politics are of different types and can vary from traditional approach and modern approach. There is further classification of the traditional approaches (historical, legal, philosophical etc.) and modern approaches (input-output approach, structural approach, system analysis etc.).

It is important to distinguish between approach and method. Method refers to the procedures through which scientific study is done or search of knowledge is done. Thus, method can be of many types like comparative, configurational, historical, simulative and experimental. There is also difference between the approach and research design. Research design can be understood as a strategy into an operational plan for field work or an experiment, It is prospect out or an outline from which research is carried out forward. It can be considered as the final stage of the professional research preparation.

The aim here is to understand the traditional and modern approach in comparative politics.

3.2 Traditional Approach and Modern Approach

In comparative politics, the approaches are divided into two parts called as traditional approach and modern approach. Traditional Approach is also known as the normative approach while the modern approach is known as the empirical or scientific approach. The traditional approach lean on the side of the ‘values’ and modern approach lean on the side of the ‘facts.’ Traditional approach is ‘value-laden’ means it consist of values; norms etc while modern approach is considered as ‘value-free’ meaning free from the values and morals. The traditional approach is considered as descriptive and modern approach is considered as analytical. The differences between the two can be studied below in the tabular form:

Traditional Approach	Modern Approach
Known as Normative Approach	Known as Empirical/Scientific Approach
Lean on the side of values	Lean on the side of facts
It is ‘value laden’	It is ‘value free.’
It is considered as descriptive	It is considered as analytical.

3.3 Traditional Approach can be Classified into Following parts:

1. **Philosophical Approach:** Philosophical approach is considered as the oldest approach in the study of comparative politics. It is also known as the ethical approach. According to this approach, the study of the man, state or government is mixed with the pursuits of the certain goals, morals, truths and high principles which needs to be achieved by the man, state or government. Those who have adopted such approach seems to advise leaders and rulers of the state, so that certain ends in the political society can be achieved. For example, if you read the concepts of Plato, Aristotle etc., they seem to advise the leaders of the state in order to attain certain important aims and objectives. For example, Plato in his work keep advising its leaders that how to establish the perfect ‘philosopher state’ and how to be the perfect ‘philosopher king’ with the aim of establishing the ideal society or ideal state. The same has been followed by the other scholars like Bacon, Harrington, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Green etc. These authors have similarly mention some of the ideals which need to achieve by use of politics. As a result, they have taken politics to the high level of abstraction and they also try to mix up system of values with certain high norms of an ideal political system.

Due to this particular reason, the philosophical approach is considered as an abstract and speculative approach. Abstract here means that sometime the concepts which are given by the philosophical approach cannot be made applicable to the politics in real sense. For

example, Plato talks about the 'philosopher king' and mentioned that philosopher king is not allowed to get married or to have property. In real sense, such propositions seem to be difficult to follow. As a result, it can be concluded that such theories have maintained high level of abstractions in order to achieve ideal state/society. It has been criticized that under such conditions, politics has become handmaid of the ethics or metaphysics (it means that politics is not taking reference from god or some superior power). They talk about things as 'ought to be' rather than 'as things are' in real sense of terms.

- 2. Historical Approach:** As the name suggest, the focus of this approach is on the past or history of the selected time. Here, the scholar notes the particular time period and selected a sequence of the events in order to find out sequence of the events in order to find out the explanation of what institutions are, how they come into being and what they stand for. Political theorist like Sabine, Machiavelli and Dunning believed that politics and history are interrelated to each other and therefore politics should have some historical viewpoint. History not only define the past events but also help to look and explain the future events. Such kind of approach also helps in 'to look role of the individual motive, actions, accomplishments, failures and contingencies in history to understand the change.' For example, in order to understand Plato and Aristotle, it is necessary to understand the historical and political conditions of Greece. Similarly, the conditions of the England have resulted into Hobbes and Locke philosophy. On the same lines, the capitalist society has resulted into the rise of the scholars like Marx and Hegel.

One of the limitations of this approach is that history can be sometime biased. In reality, history is written by the winner and winner can sometime write biased history. Alan Ball has also criticized the historical approach by saying, "past evidence does leave alarming gaps, and political history is simply often a record of great events and great men, rather than a comprehensive account of total activity."

- 3. Institutional Approach:** This approach lays stress on the study of the institutions in order to understand the political phenomena. The stress is placed on the study of the formal structures of the political organizations like legislature, executive and judiciary. This particular trend has been reflected in the writings of many scholars like Aristotle and Polybius in the ancient times to Bruce and Finer in the modern periods. In the contemporary times, the modern writers have included the study of the informal infrastructures also as the part of the institutional approach. For example, the study of the pressure groups, interest groups, and other infra structure of the political system. As a result, institutional approach is also known as the structural approach (as it is studying the structure of the political system)

One of the major limitations of this approach is that it is considered as too narrow. It ignores the role of the individuals who are basically the part of the formal and informal structures. It is because of this particular reason that behavioural approach came into existence and has revolutionize the politics of the nation. Another difficulty is that this approach varies with the view of the scholar. In order to address this particular criticism, the 'new institutional' approach has been developed in 1960s and 1970s.

- 4. Legal Approach:** Legal approach is the last one in the study of the traditional approach. As the name suggest, the stress is on the study of the legal or process of the judiciary. Here, the study of the politics and the study of the legal system are mixed together with each other. This approach is based on the assumptions that matters of law and order are not merely the work of the juris dependence but rather it is the work of the political scientist to look how to maintain the equitable system of law and order. The scholars like Dicey and Cicero regarded state as 'an organization primarily for creation and enforcement of law.'" On the similar lines, there are scholars like John Bodin, Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes who have

Comparative Political Analysis

propounded the theory of sovereignty. For example, Hobbes has mentioned that state is the highest level of the command and could make laws that should be obeyed. Those who are not obeying the laws of the sovereign are punishable. Further, this approach also believes that political behaviour of the man is guided by the law of the land.

This approach has been criticized on the premises that it reduces the law to the narrow factor and it embrace only one aspect of the individual's life. Here, the political system is reduced only to the judicial aspects while all other aspects are totally ignored.

3.4 Modern Approach

It was often criticized that the study of the comparative politics with the help of the traditional approach consisting of legal, historical, institutional and ethical approach cannot develop the field of comparative politics in the context of 'pure science.' The stress of this approach was on norms and therefore should be replaced by some new approach which should be 'empirical.' Empirical here means 'scientific.' In response this, modern approaches were developed in the field of comparative politics which has laid stress on the empirical investigation of the data. It is important to remember, that empirical investigation of data consist of the collection of data with the help of sense perceptions. Such investigation will be treated as empirical. On the basis of this, following approaches emerged under the modern approaches:

1. **Sociological Approach:** The sociological approach in comparative politics became very important because eminent writers like RM Maclver, David Easton and G.A Almond have taken into consideration the essential fact that lot of data is available in the field of sociology which will ultimately help to lay down empirical rules of political behaviour. These scholars have taken the fact into consideration that state is the more social than political institution. In other words, we need to take into consideration the social aspect of the state rather than taking into consideration only the political aspect. The political behavior of the people determines the social role of the individuals. It is inside the social whole that we can find the individuals having some kind of status and playing some kind of role. This role is determined by the certain traits of the individuals. From here comes the theory of the political socialization.

The other popular theory which is accepted in the comparative politics is that of 'political culture.' Political culture is defined as 'totality of what is learned by the individuals as members of a society, it is a way of life, a mode of thinking, acting and feeling.' It is believed that political regimes may fall or may rise within the domain of the political socialization whose objective manifestation is the political culture of the people. Further, it is due to the political socialization that the concept of political development and political decay comes into existence.

2. **Psychological Approach:** Due to the contribution of the Graham Walls, Charles Merriam, Harold D Laswell, RA Dhal and Eric Fromm, political science or comparative politics move closer to the psychological approach. The political theorist like Hobbes and Machiavelli has mentioned that it is the security of life and material possessions of the man which has been emerged as the motivating force which ultimately led to the rise of 'desire of power' in the political process. It is important to note that the concepts like 'security of life' and 'material possessions' of man are considered as related to the 'psychology of the people.' As a result, the political science has borrowed concepts from the eminent psychologists like Freud, Jang, McDougall to lay down certain rules of the political behavior. As a result, politics also began to take into account the study of emotions, habits, sentiments, instincts, ego etc. which are essentially regarded as the study of the human personality or in short psychology.

It is important to note that political science is basically concerned with the study of the power. Study of power is the main context which distinguishes political science from other social sciences like history, sociology etc. As mentioned by Prof WA Robson, "It is with power in society that political science is primarily concerned with- its nature, basis, premises, scope and result...the 'focus of interest' of the political scientists is clear and unambiguous; it centres on the struggle to gain or retain power, to exercise power or influence over others, or to resist that exercise." Similarly, Fredrick M. Watkins has mentioned, "The proper scope of political science is not the study of state or any other specific institutional complex, but the investigation of all associations in so far as they can be known to exemplify the problem of power.' The concepts of 'power' and 'influence' belong to the field of psychology.

3. **Quantitative Approach:** It is also known as the statistical approach and it stands for the use of numeric data in order to analyze and describe the political phenomena. This approach is based on the presumption that mere descriptive and prescriptive approach is not enough in order to explain the political phenomenon. This approach tries to understand the political problems with the help of numbers; thereby making charts, tables, graphs etc. The quantitative approach can be used to study the electoral behavior, achievements and failures of the government department and public undertaking, voting and cross voting, rise and fall of the political party etc.
4. **Simulation Approach:** Simulation in simple language means image-construction or model building. Such kind of study is the part of the political communication, decision making and game theory. This approach was first laid down by Karl Deutsch which states that system affects another by sending messages or transmitting information from one part to the other part with the help of the 'feedback process.' In this regard, it is important to mention that decision making is another approach which can be one of the simulations approaches we need to take into consideration. Similarly, we have game theory approach also which develops conceptual designs in order to find out whether decisions are taken place or not. Game theory believes that alternatives are known to each party and they are rational enough to make choices.

Such kind of approach has been criticized on the grounds that it is abstract or too mechanistic. These all approaches work on the basis of the mathematical or computational model. Sometime, it has been mentioned that social science cannot be converted into natural sciences in order to understand the political reality. A social scientist cannot work in a way engineer or mathematician will. It has to take into consideration the complexities of the human life and it needs fixed and definite calculations for it. Sometime, the decision making or game theory cannot be applied to explain the measure or behaviour effectively.

5. **Behavioural Approach:** Behavioural approach was introduced first by the American social scientists. This approach is based on the assumptions that 'facts' need to be collected related to the actual behaviour of the man as a social and political being. It believes that it is necessary to first take into consideration the behaviour of the individuals as they are the one who are actually taking part in the political process. In comparative politics, behaviourist will take into consideration 'individuals, attitudes, beliefs, personalities, physical activities such as voting, criminal behaviour, aggression etc. and then to generalize the similar group. Political scientists' study political behaviour, voting for example.' (Introduction to Research Methods 2003)

The behavioural approach shares the number of the assumptions and analytical conceptions. In comparative politics, behaviourists try to generalize the study of political process and to use the regularities of the political phenomena to hold it across the time and space. The aim here is to regularize the political process and to naturalize it in the similar manner as that of natural science.

Comparative Political Analysis

In short, behavioural approach is reading the patterns of the human behaviour and then try to generalize the same.

The discovery of the behavioural approach in modern political science and in the realm of the political science is considered as revolutionary. The main characteristics of the behavioural approach in comparative politics is:

- A. It takes into consideration the study of the behaviour of the persons and social groups as empirical as well as theoretical unit of the analysis. It does not take into consideration the events, structures, institution or ideologies into consideration.
- B. It seeks to place theory and research in a frame of the reference common to that of the social psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology.
- C. Behavioural approach lay emphasis on the interdependence of both theory and research. Here, the theoretical questions need to be stated in operational terms for the purpose of the empirical research. The research work which is done empirically will have impact on the development of the political theory.
- D. It tries to develop rigorous research design and apply precise methods of analysis to political behaviour problems.

The behavioural approach has both merits and demerits. By focusing only on the individuals, it is restricted and has confined itself to the study of only one particular aspect which is humans. In this sense, this approach has become narrow and has ignored all other aspects like historical, legal or even sometime geographical. Further, the behaviour of the individual is analysed. But the problem is that behaviour of the individual may not have sometime the rational basis on the basis of which the recommendations are made.

6. **Marxian Approach:** The Marxian approach has features of both the traditional and modern approaches. It can be said that it has resemblance for both the approaches. Here, the state is regarded as the basic unit of the analysis. As it is well known, that Marxian has been talking about the stateless society which will come into being as a final stage of social development. The Marxian approach talks so much about the economic structure that other things like history, sociology, psychology and ethics are not taken into consideration. Politics became interconnected with the economics and economic structure and its manifestation has been found out in the class relations of production. Therefore, it has been mentioned that in real world, 'economic and political forces are constantly interacting with each other and are extremely hard to disentangle from one another.'

The comparative approach takes into consideration the study of the third world countries. As a result, they try to apply the Marxian approach to the third world countries in order to understand their problems of development or underdevelopment. Here, politics is treated as the manifestations of the class antagonisms which will result in the cumulation of the social development when the phase of class identification and resolution will result in unleashing of glorious human values.

Keywords

Comparative Politics, Approaches, Traditional, Modern

Summary

Most of the scholars tend to interchange the words 'approach' and other interrelated terms like 'method,' 'research design' etc. Therefore, it is important to understand that these terms cannot be used together and the term 'approach' carries a very different meaning. Further, the distinctions between the traditional approach and modern approach is made in this chapter. Traditional

approach is divided into various types of other approaches like historical, institutional, legal etc which has been explained here. The meaning and the different types of modern approaches are also explained which are widely used to carry 'scientific study' in the Comparative Politics.

Self Assessment

1. Traditional approach is:
 - A. Value laden
 - B. Value free
 - C. Fact driven
 - D. Based on sense perceptions.

2. Institutional Approach focus on the study of:
 - A. Formal structure
 - B. Informal structure
 - C. Both formal and informal structure
 - D. None of the above

3. The eminent writers of the sociological approach are:
 - A. Jean Bodin
 - B. John Austin
 - C. David Easton
 - D. Bentley

4. The criticism of the traditional approach is:
 - A. It focuses on the western political system
 - B. It is excessively formalistic in approach
 - C. It is descriptive rather than formal solving
 - D. All of the above

5. Physiological approach gain prominence in comparative politics because of
 - A. Study of political behavior
 - B. Study of power
 - C. Study of individual desires
 - D. None of the above

6. Behavioral approach studies:
 - A. Political Behavior of the man
 - B. Behavior of the institutions
 - C. Functions of the institutions
 - D. History of the political behavior

7. The shortcoming of the legal approach is
 - A. It is concerned with the jurists
 - B. It is concerned only with the study of the law
 - C. It is ignoring other important aspects which are not related to law.
 - D. Both 'b' and 'c'

8. Sociological approach has given rise to:
 - A. Theory of Political Culture
 - B. Marxist study of comparative politics
 - C. Input Output approach
 - D. Structural functional approach

9. Quantitative Approach is used for
 - A. Studying electoral behavior
 - B. Studying political system
 - C. Disadvantages of particular political system
 - D. All of the above

10. What is true here regarding historical approach
 - A. It focused on past or selected period of time
 - B. It focused on selected events within a particular phase
 - C. History is treated as genetic process
 - D. All of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. A | 3. C | 4. D | 5. B |
| 6. A | 7. D | 8. A | 9. A | 10. D |

Review Questions

1. Analyze the differences between the traditional and modern approach.
2. Enumerate the meaning of the 'value free research' or 'value neutral research.'
3. Evaluate the benefits and shortcomings of using historical approach in comparative politics
4. Analyze the use of 'behavioural approach' in comparative politics
5. Evaluate if the traditional and modern approaches can be mixed in the study of comparative politics.



Further Readings

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Unit 04: System Analysis: Structural-Functional Analysis Approach, Input-Output Analysis, Political Economy Approach

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

4.1 David Easton System Approach (Input-Output Approach)

4.2 Criticism of David Easton Approach

4.3 Structural-Functional Approach

4.4 Political Economy Approach

Keywords

Summary

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- To Illustrate the approach as given by David Easton
- Analyse the Structural-Functional approach of comparative politics
- Discussing the political economy approach of comparative politics

Introduction

System theory emerged as the part of the modern theory specifically after the world war through the work of the Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth E. Boulding. Ludwig von Bertalanffy has mentioned in his book, titled "An outline of the General System Theory" in the British Journal for the Philosophy of Science in 1950. System theory believed that all the phenomena of society can be viewed as interrelated although boundaries can be present in order to make all these things as compartmentalize. Robert Dahl has mentioned in his work titled 'Modern Political Analysis' that 'any collection of the elements that interact in some way with one another can be considered as a system: a galaxy, a football team, a legislature and a political party.' One system can be the element or the sub-system within the other. For example, the earth is the sub system in our solar system which is the sub-system in our galaxy and galaxy which is sub system of the universe.

There are three interrelated terms which are used in the system theory:

- a. System
- b. Structure
- c. Function.

System can be defined the object which is supposed to have the moving parts and which is interacting with the setting or with the environment. Political system is defined as a set of institutions and agencies which is concerned with formulating and implementing collective goals of the society or the groups within it. Governments and states are the part of the political systems.

Comparative Political Analysis

Structure here means the overall build-up of the system. It means studying the infrastructure or how the system has been built. Functions here means, functions performed by the system and the units.

According to Ronald Chilcote, system theory has three main trends in the literature. First, system theory has emerged as explained by the David Easton in his input-output approach. The impact of Easton can be traced to several influences in comparative politics and in international politics also. Second, system approach is also known as the structural-functionalism which strives to be holistic but tends to be middle range analysis. The third trend in the system theory is found in alternative Marxist understanding of the system theory which reach towards global theory and a historical and holistic synthesis.

Before understanding the structural-functional approach, it is necessary to take into consideration the system approach or input-output approach as given by David Easton.

4.1 David Easton System Approach (Input-Output Approach)

David Easton has elaborated the concept of System Approach in his book titled A framework for Political Analysis and A system Analysis of Political Life. Both of his works were published in 1965. He has started his premise by stating that politics is the "authoritative allocation of values." Here, values mean goods and services in a state or society which are limited in number. For example, electricity, jobs and educational opportunities, oil and other natural resources etc. As a result, people are always fighting with each other in order to get hold of these resources. The work of the politics is to ensure that there is peace in the state and conflicting interests are resolved peacefully. As a result, what they have in place is the "authoritative allocation" which means allocation of the goods and services among people in an authoritative manner. The question which David Easton raised here was why people are following this authoritative allocation of values? In order to answer this question, David Easton has proposed System Approach.

The system approach of David Easton can be understood in Figure 1

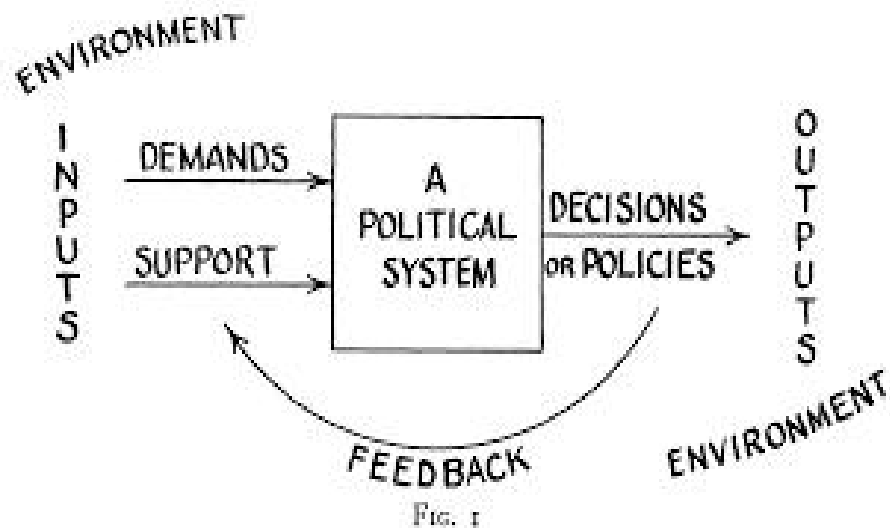


Figure 1: David Easton's System Approach

In the above figure, it is clear that we have inputs and outputs which can be compared to the computer system. Without inputs we cannot have outputs. Further inputs are divided into demands and supports which are given to the political system. On the basis of demand received, the system converts it into decisions or policies. After this David Easton has introduced a feedback loop. It means to evaluate whether the people are happy with the political decisions. It is further on the basis of the feedback that again demands are generated in the political system. Such kind of system is always in a cyclic nature and is continuously flowing in the system. The details of each part are explained below:

1. **Inputs:** Inputs are called as raw materials of the political system. Demands are generated by the people in the state and society. The aim of all political activity is to satisfy the demands of the systems. Demands are generated in the system because there is scarcity of the resources. For example, energy resources, jobs etc. are not available to all the people in an equal manner. As a result, people raise demand for the equitable distribution of the resources which will led to fulfilment of their needs. There are two kinds of demands in the system. The first are the demands in the environment which are called as the external demands. External demands are risen because of the culture. Some cultures consider some of the conflicts as important. The second is the demands inside the system which are called as the internal demands. It consists of the internal demands like equality, voting demands, demands for new political parties etc. David Easton has mentioned following demands which generally arise in the political system:
 - A. Allocation of goods and services
 - B. Regulation of behavior
 - C. Participation in the economic system
 - D. Demand to be communicate and to be informed about the political decisions.

It is important to note here that all demands are not converted into policies. Some of the demands died in the political system before even reaching the system. When demands are raised in the system, it is discussed whether they require serious political discussion? It is important to note that some of the demands die even before reaching the system. The reason is they are not considered as worthy of the discussion or to be part of the political system. Now weather the demands should reach towards the system or not depends on flowing factors:

- A. Location of initiators in the demand process – If the demands are initiated by the powerful interest groups, pressure groups or influential people, the chances of it dying in the system is very less.
- B. Publicity of demands- If the demands are publized through various channels such as media, political rallies, newspapers etc. they are to sustain themselves in the system.
- C. Political Skills- It means power to negotiate the demands in the political system.
- D. Access to communicate- It means that demands are communicated properly in the political system.

The second type of demands which are discussed in the political system is that of support. It is important to note that only demands are not sufficient in the political system. Political system also needs support in order to convert demands into policies. Demands are the only raw materials through which finished products came into existence. Without support, demands cannot be converted into policies.

There are two types of support mention by the David Easton with the help of the example, as mentioned below:

- A. When A Supports B. In political realm, such support is visible by voting and supporting the policies of the government
- B. When A acts on the behalf of B. It means that A orient itself towards the goals of the B. For example, the formation of the representative government which represent the people in general.

In short, we can conclude:

- A. The first kind of support as mentioned above consist of actions promoting the goals, interest and actions of other people. (Example Voting, defending laws of the land)

Comparative Political Analysis

- B. The second kind of support consist of course of actions which are considered as consistent to the state of mind of other people (having supportive state of mind). Such kind of support is essential as if people are deeply attached to the system, they will not undermine the policies of the government.

The Domain of Support

The domain of support can be divided into three parts, as explained below:

A. **The Political Community:** It means support given to the political community or to political regime by the people at large. It is important to understand that no political regime could sustain itself until and unless they receive support from the people at large. Even the autocratic government will be removed by the people until and unless people are ready to support it. The reason is that system is formed in order to settle differences between the people who are fighting with each other in order to get hold over the resources. If people are not supporting it, there will be chaos in the political system and it will ultimately fall down.

B. Political Regime: The support for the political regime decides that there are certain rules in the light of which demands are put forward and are settled in the system and the way in which decisions are put into effect. These rules are accepted in the system as authoritative. In short, the support also consistent of the 'support for rules.'

C. The government: Support to the government is necessary as it is involved in the process of negotiation. Government can get support through force, manipulation or by consent. However, it is generally believed that government should be run by the consent instead of force.

Some of the examples of support are:

- A. Citizens supporting the political system by paying taxes.
- B. Citizens obeying the laws
- C. By voluntary participating in the affairs of the state
- D. Supporting the government in the implementation of the policies and schemes.
- E. Showing respect to political symbols and national symbols.

Now the question arises that how much support we need to give in the political system. In order to answer this question, David Easton has explained as follows:

- A. **Output as mechanism of support:** Output here means the policies formulated by the government. It means providing such kind of outputs which will satisfy the demands of at least some of the people in the system. Without such minimum satisfaction, the system cannot work. If people are not satisfied with the policies than there will be demand for changing the system or for the dissolution of the system.
- B. **Politicization:** Politicization is the process when one member instills the institutionalized norms and goals of the society. It means that by the means of the socialization, the political values and ideologies are being transferred from one person to others. Through politicization people learn political norms and goals of the society. Politicization is believed to be start at the stage of the family when family instill values in the mind of the child. Further, it never stops and continue throughout the life.
- C. **Support generated through system's rewards and punishments:** Political system can generate support for its own system with the help of generating either rewards or punishments. It means that system will provide reward to the people who are supporting the system while it will be offering the punishments to those who are not following the system. For example, imposing fine on those who are unable to pay taxes.

4.2 Criticism of David Easton Approach

Many scholars have criticized the System approach as given by David Easton. The first criticism which was given was that political system as given by David Easton is hardly of any real use. The problem is that the input-output approach which is often explained with the figures is of little use or of no use in the practical sense. In real sense its contribution turns out to be more terminological than real. It is said that model which is produced by the David Easton is too generic and tautological to be useful. The second criticism is states that David Easton does not take into consideration such demands which are lost before reaching the political system.

Third, the system approach has been criticized for being too narrow or abstract. As said by Eugene Meehan, "Like Parsons, Easton does not think of a theory in terms of explanation but in terms of the creation of conceptual framework. The result is a highly abstract structure that is logically suspect, conceptually fizzy and empirically almost useless." Easton promise to deliver a conceptual framework with high empirical relevance has not been fulfilled by this theory. As said by Wasby, "the difficulty with Eaton's diagrammatic representation is that one cannot tell what occurs with the Black Box." He has further mentioned that, "The problem may be resolved by portraying the original model with an internal modification, which makes clear that activity does occur within the system, that the system generates demands 'consumed' within the system without having an immediate impact on the environment." Fourthly, Easton was never interested in the individuals. He has not made any mention of the individuals who are considered as an important part of the politics. As a result, the approach which he has proposed represent an empty vision of the politics. As mentioned by Paul F. Kress, "The theory's lack of substance, the artificial nature of the system and its members, the replacement of actor by container and the disappearance of boundaries as limits of possibility...were some of the shortcomings of Easton's system analysis." Fifth, this theory is very difficult to study the third world countries. As mentioned by Wasby, "When we go outside the context of North America and the western world, it becomes apparent that relatively few countries exist wherein there is not more than the remote danger of revolution, civil war or coup."

4.3 Structural-Functional Approach

The structural-functional approach was adopted from the areas of sociology and anthropology during the second decade of the last century. The main writers of this approach were Merton Levy, Robert Mcton, Talcott Parson, Mitchel Apter, Almond, David Easton etc. Under such system, the state and the government are not treated as units, rather the political system is treated as unit and effort is made to understand the authoritative allocation of values. Those who are subscribing to this approach made a basic premises that 'no society can survive or develop unless it has a political system performing such a function; i.e., we might hold that a political system is a functional requisite of a society.' According to this approach, it is necessary to understand the functions performed by the structures. If we are able to understand the function of one political system effectively, it could be applied to the rest of the systems also.

Almond is the most important name in the field of the structural-functional approach. Almond has defined political system as a system of interactions which is very profound and which can be found in all advanced as well as backward societies. It means that all the societies weather backward or advance ought to have a political system without which no society is said to have function. Further, this political system is supposed to have legitimate, order maintaining or transforming system through which interaction usually takes place. According to Almond, there are certain features of the political system which are described below:

- A. Comprehensiveness: It means that the political system includes all the set of interactions weather inputs or outputs. It includes study of all the formal and informal structures also like the study of the legislature, executive, executive, laws, parliaments, bureaucracies as well as informal structures like political parties, interest groups, media and communication etc.

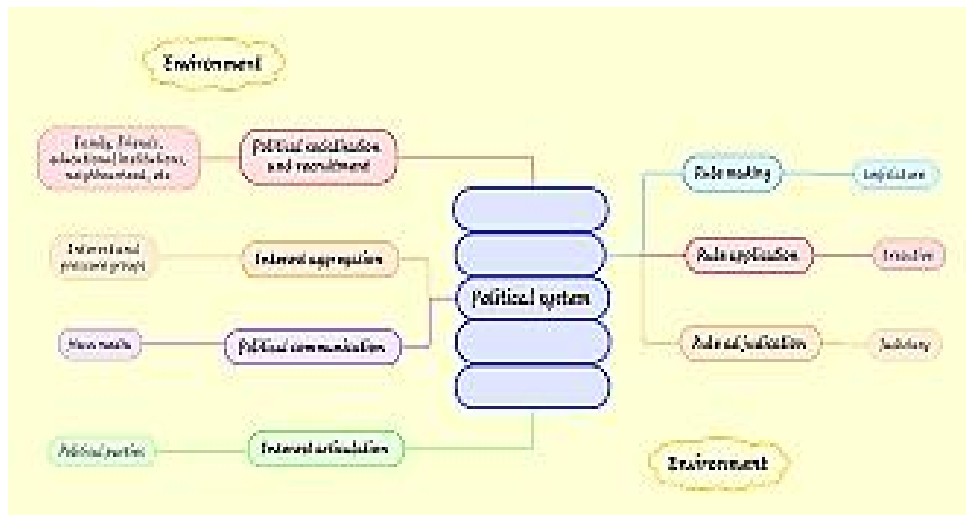
Comparative Political Analysis

- B. Interdependence: It means all the subsets are dependent on each other and change in one subset will produce changes in the other subsets. For example, electoral reforms in one country effect the feature and nature of party system, parliament, cabinet etc.
- C. Existence of boundaries: It means there are boundaries in the political system through which they can be compartmentalize despite of being interdependent. It means existence of the boundaries in which one system end and other system begins.

Further, Almond and James S. Coleman has argued that all political systems have certain characteristics, as mentioned below:

- A. All political systems (weather simple or complex, modern or traditional) have political structure
- B. All political functions perform same functions. These functions may have different frequencies in difference political system.
- C. All political structures are multifunctional
- D. All political systems are mixed systems in cultural sense of term.

Almond has also given input and output approach as given by David Easton, however, he has modified it little bit. The same has been mentioned in below mentioned figure2



Like David Easton, he has also made mentioned of input and output approach. However, the sub parts of both are different from whatever has been mentioned by David Easton.

Inputs functions

Political Socialization and Recruitment

Political Socialization is the process through which the political values, ideologies etc are transferred to people. In the words of Almond, "Political Socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Through the performance of this function, individuals are induced into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed." Thus, political socialization is the behavior or ethos through which ideas and values of the political system are transformed from one generation to other. In developing societies, churches, Western schools, political parties or other voluntary organizations played an important part in socialization of the people. The socialization process is more apparent in the western societies as compared to the third world countries. According to Almond, socialization is of two types. First is manifest or direct socialization. It is the process in which individual learn about the political process directly with the help of family members, teachers, ideology etc. The individuals here may also learn with the help of the experiences with the government institutions which share their viewpoints regarding the political culture. Second is latent socialization or indirect socialization. Latent socialization begins with the non-political objects and orientations. It consists of the most important general culture which may have an impact on the socialization process

It consists of interpersonal communication of information, values, attitudes and acquisition of non-political activities which may result in acquiring a political belief particularly as an adult. For example, participation in college and university strengthen the future roles of politics.

According to Almond, political recruitment, "is a function takes up where the general political socialisation function leaves off. It recruits members of the society out of particular subcultures, religious communities, statuses, classes, ethnic communities and the-like and inducts them into specialised roles of the political system, trains them in appropriate skills, provides them with political cognitive maps, values, expectations and affects". The objective of political socialization and political recruitment is same, i.e., to ensure political stability in the political system.

1. **Interest Articulation:** In every political system, citizens wish to have fulfilment of their demands. They put their demands in front of the authority in an articulated manner and the same must be pass through proper channel. The process of putting up of demands in the front of component authority is called as interest articulation. There are many agencies involved in the process of interest articulation such as institutional interest groups, non-associational interest group, Anomic interest groups and Associational interest groups.
2. **Interest Aggregation:** Interest aggregation is the function of the political system. Mere placing of the demands before the political system is not sufficient. Various demands and claims needs to be aggregated into consolidated form after the political action is taken place in a political system.
3. **Political Communication:** It is important to note that all the political functions which are mentioned above including political socialization, recruitment, interest aggregation and interest socialization are the result of the political communication only. Without political communication, the system cannot perform any function as mentioned above. The political system depends on the elaborate and efficient political communication.

Output functions

According to Almond, the output functions include activities like rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. According to Almond, all the output functions which are performed by the political system across the world are not uniform and they may differ from one to other. For example, in liberal democracies like the US, Brtain, France, Canada etc, governmental functions bear striking similarities. However, in countries like third world, the government may perform different functions due to the different nature.

Adaptions and Change

The core idea of Almond's studying of political system is to find out how political systems adapt or change with other systems as well as in response to the environment it is in. If the political system adjust itself with the new challenges, we could say that political system has adapted and adjusted well in the system. In a democratic set up, it is not easy to neglect such kind of change as citizens may consider it as the sign of the weakness. This may led to changes in the political system. Almond's theory of political change denotes: "those transactions between political system and its environment that affect changes in general system performance" This is referred as adjustment or adaption conversation process. The demands or claims coming from other systems or from the environment cannot be remain unattended. They are converted into policies or decisions. The demands, claims and supports are called as inputs while the decisions and policies are called as outputs. In the conversation process, inputs are converted into outputs.

However, Almond has pointed out that this conversation process depends on the capabilities of the political system. Here, capabilities indicate the ability of the political system to receive demands and claims and to act accordingly. The changes in the political takes place from:

Comparative Political Analysis

- A. The elites and their associates and affiliated groups
- B. Numerous social groups and organizations which are active in the society and environment.
- C. Demands within the political system. If these demands are neglected, it may result in the political turmoil and will disturb the whole political system.

Just like Easton, the main aim of Almond was to ensure that political system is stable. According to Almond, the political system will be stable when there is enough flow of inputs and outputs and inputs are converted into outputs without having any strain in the political system.

Criticism

1. It has been mentioned that this approach only takes into account the stability of the Anglo-American norm of the political traditions. It has been criticised that this approach cannot be used to understand the political system of the developing countries. Edward Ghills has said that the basic problem of the new state is that they do not form a single new society and are not able to produce a policy that can supply the personnel which are necessary to perform the modern society." Further, this approach is not sufficient to understand the problem of religion, caste, linguistic, religion, poverty, linguist etc.
2. Almond has defined political system as interactions which are found in all independent societies. There need to be some interactions among various part of the system of independent societies. However, Almond has not given any proper definition of the term 'independence.' Does it mean free from foreign domination or free from some foreign powers? This shows ambiguity in the formulation of the theory.
3. Almond has mention about interactions of the political system. However, he has not mentioned anything about the factors which operates behind these interactions. There has been no mention of these interactions in the political system as given by Almond.

4.4 Political Economy Approach

The term political economy made its beginning in England in the 18th century. The main aim of this approach was to analyse the conditions under which production was carried out in the nation states under the capitalist regime. The propounded of this theory are Adam Smith, Marx. David Ricardo and Thomas Malthus. Political economy meant to study the conditions under which production or consumption within the limited parameter are organised in the nation-state. Political economy studies the means of the production, specifically capital and how this manifest itself in the economic activity.

Political economy refers to various approaches which are different to each other but are underlying in order to understand the political and economic behaviour. It could be referred as interdisciplinary research which arise from the subjects of economics, law and political science in explaining how the political intuitions, political environment and economic systems influence each other

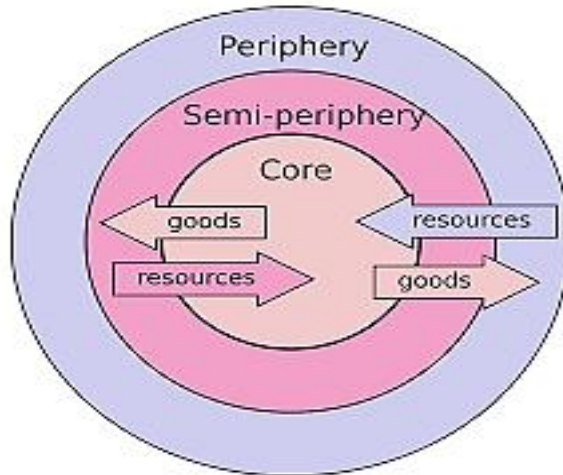
Marxist Theory

The starting point of any political economy approach is coming from Karl Marx. Karl Marx theory is based on the assumption that society/ state is divided into two parts 'haves' and 'haves not.' Haves are the capitalist people having means of production and capital in their own hands. On the other hand, haves not are the proletariat class or labour class which are looking for other means of production. The proletariat classes are exploited by the capitalist classes; therefore, they finally go for the revolution. The revolution of these classes led to the establishment of the stateless / classless society in future. Marxist class treats state as an instrument of the exploitation and continue to oppress the workers, peasants, and workers. In the long term, these peasants and workers unite with each other and try to break the chains of exploitation and as result, classless or stateless society is created.

Dependency Theory

The Marxist approach has been applied to the study of the international relations with the help of the 'dependency' theory. It is important to remember that Marxism does not have any international approach and it is the Marxian approach only which is applied in order to understand the global economy by Wallerstein. According to this approach, the world is divided into core, periphery and semi periphery. (Shown in figure 3)

Figure 3: Dependency Theory



1. The poor nations form the periphery. They provide cheap labour and natural resources to the advanced nations. They also provide market for the wealthy and rich nations without which they cannot enjoy the cheap labour and they have low standard of living.
2. Wealthy nations exploit these nations by getting cheap labour and resources. In other words, they also get good resources from the poor nations also. As a result, the poor are becoming poorer and richer are becoming richer.
3. In between we have semi-periphery nations, which have qualities of both the poor and advanced nations. They have industries as well as all the essential features of the periphery nations.

Criticism of Political Economy approach

This approach has been criticised on the premise that states are not the only actors in the international relations. There are other actors also which have now becoming important like NGOs and cooperation's which are also working to have gain in the affairs of the state. Secondly, this approach only looks towards the economy and all other aspects are neglected.

Keywords

Political System, David Easton, Structural Functional, Almond, Political Economy Approach.

Summary

System approach, structural approach and political economy approach are considered as important modern approaches in the study of the comparative politics. David Easton has given 'input-output' approach in order to understand the reason behind 'authoritative allocation of values.' The structural functional approach has made changes in order to further improve the system approach. On the other hand political economy approach is an emerging approach which has been inspired

Comparative Political Analysis

by the ideas of Karl Marx. This approach is further applied to understand the international 'political economy.'

Self Assessment

1. The term 'authoritative allocation of values' means
 - A. Authority is using force to allocate the values in the society
 - B. Values are allocated in a society by political authority in order to prevent conflicts
 - C. Authority is in hands of dominant group; therefore, it will give values in the hands of some authority
 - D. Authority here is defined by legitimacy

2. The meaning of the term 'output' in David Easton approach is
 - A. Feedback of the people
 - B. Demands of the people
 - C. Decisions taken by the political society
 - D. Support given to the system

3. Political socialization is the process
 - A. Learning political ideals, values and other political things with the help of the socialization
 - B. Socialization among the students
 - C. Political Campaigning
 - D. Media coverage

4. Interest articulation means:
 - A. Demanding from the political authorities
 - B. Activity in which the political demands of the groups and individuals are combined into policy programs
 - C. The way in which demands are addressed
 - D. None of the above

5. Input of the Almond's structural functional approach includes:
 - A. Political Socialization and Recruitment
 - B. Interest Articulation
 - C. Interest Aggregation
 - D. All of the above

6. Marxist theory does not:
 - A. Have international dimension
 - B. understand domestic conditions
 - C. understand economy
 - D. None of the above

7. Dependency theory divide world into
 - A. Master and slave
 - B. Periphery and Semi Periphery
 - C. Semi Periphery and Core

- D. Periphery, Semi Periphery and Core
8. The meaning of the term 'comprehensiveness' in Almond's structural function approach is:
- A. Including all interactions of inputs and outputs
 - B. Study of formal structures like legislatures, executive, laws etc
 - C. Study of informal structures like political parties, interest groups, media and communication etc
 - D. All of the above
9. The terms which are NOT used in system theories are
- A. System
 - B. Political Government
 - C. Interaction
 - D. Boundaries
10. Feedback results into
- A. End of political system cycle
 - B. New policies
 - C. New Demands
 - D. Political Development

Answers for Self Assessment

1. B 2. C 3. A 4. B 5. D
6. A 7. D 8. D 9. B 10. C

Review Questions

1. Analyse the system theory as given by David Easton
2. Discuss 'inputs' in detail as enumerated in David Easton Approach
3. Evaluate the structural-functional approach
4. Criticise the structural-functional approach given in comparative politics
5. Enumerate the Political Economy of comparative politics



Further Readings

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Comparative Political Analysis

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Unit 05: Theories of State: Liberal-Democratic State, Totalitarian Regimes

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

5.1 Liberal-Democratic State

5.2 Characteristic features of the State:

5.3 Totalitarian State

Keywords

Summary

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- To understand the concept of Liberal democratic states
- Enumerate the features of the liberal democratic state
- Analyse the concept of totalitarian regime

Introduction

Max Webber has mentioned ‘the state is considered as the sole source of right to use violence.’ However, John Hall has identified some of the important elements of the state as mentioned below:

- A. State as a set of institutions, the most important of it are dealing with coercion and violence.
- B. Territory, in which institutions are geographically located
- C. State monopoly of making laws or rule making within the boundaries of the geographical place.

The characteristics which are mentioned by John Hall can be regarded as some of the elements which are found in the modern state. On the other hand, we have thinkers like Miliband and Althusser who have mentioned that state is a unitary body and the focus is more on the study of the institutional structure of the state. Althusser on the other hand has divided the state into “Ideological State Apparatus” termed as ISA and “Repressive State Apparatus” called as RSA. Under ISA, state is using the ideological apparatus in order to dominate the people. They are making use of media, church etc in order to spread ideology. On the other hand, we have Repressive State Apparatus in which state is using force in order to force individuals to do something. For example, use of police force, use of military force etc in order to dominate the people. Some of the widely accepted characteristic of the state are:

- A. The state is sovereign. This means that state has unlimited and absolute power. Sovereignty is one of the important aspects of the state which makes it different from the other kind of association which are operated in the state.

Comparative Political Analysis

- B. State is referred to as 'public' on contrast to 'private' institution of the civil society. Being public means that it is responsible for enforcing and making collective decisions on the behalf of the society such as on security issues, maintained of law and order, making laws and regulations for the society.
- C. The state authority is usually considered as legitimate. It means decisions which are taken place by the state is considered and accepted as binding on the members of the society.
- D. The state has instrument of domination implies that it has legitimate authority to use coercion and violence.
- E. Territory is crucial characteristic of state.

The modern nation-states have been classified into two main parts – liberal democratic state and totalitarian state. The liberal democratic states stand on the premise of the democracy where the power of the state is in the hands of the people and their chosen representatives. The totalitarian states are totally in the hands of the power-hungry people or military oligarchs who strive to build up their legitimacy with the help of 'force' and sometime fraud. Sometime the socialist society takes up the form of the totalitarian states by saying that they are working for the welfare of the people at large. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the concept of liberal democratic state and totalitarian regimes.

5.1 Liberal-Democratic State

In the liberal-democratic model, political system or democratic system came into existence where there has been 'rule of the people.' Under this, the government runs with the help of the representative democracy who are accountable to them for their policies and actions. Freedom of speech, discussion, expression of views, universal adult franchise, free and fair elections etc all entails the continuous test of the legitimacy of the government. Democracy can be direct, indirect or the mix of the two. But the fact remains the same that power ultimately lies in the hands of the people.

The influence of such kind of state is derived from the Libertarian perspective. Libertarian is the political philosophy which advocates that individual should be free do to anything as desire without the interference of the government. Force can be used only when it is legitimate and is used to protect the rights of the people. According to liberals, there are no positive rights (food, shelter etc) but only negative rights (such as robbed or accused).

Assumptions: 1. Government is not the end but the means for the realisation of the greatest good of the greatest number. The authority of the government is not absolute or unlimited but is limited by the convention and laws which form the fundamental law of the land. The government cannot take hold over all the aspect of the life but is limited and control only some of the important aspect only. Libertarianism has significant difference between conservatism

2. Government rules not in the interest of the people but in the interest of the group or alliance of groups but in the common interest of all." It does not take into consideration the concept of state infallibility as emphasised by the Hegel. Its raison d'être is the maintained of social order for the maintenance of peace and prosperity which will not entails or neglect minorities or dissidents.

3. It lays emphasis on the concept of secularism which mean freedom of conscience and morality. It means that state has no official religion or morality of its own. The political organization here stands on the principle of secularism in order to keep the religious and communal forces on check that have potentialities of undermining the modern democratic foundations of the state.

5.2 Characteristic features of the State:

Apart from this, the liberal democratic states have certain important features also:

1. It implies government of the people through the chosen representatives. As said by JS Mill, the delegates chosen by the people act 'on the behalf as watchdogs over the

Unit 05: Theories of State: Liberal-Democratic State, Totalitarian Regimes

government." As direct democracy is not possible to establish in the present form, it requires a representative government in which free and fair elections will take place in order to enable the people to exercise their franchise through secret ballot. This means that people will act in order to guarantee freedom of thinking, peaking fighting elections etc. The people have right to express their opinion which the government cannot falsify. Sometime, the agencies also choose measures like referendum and recall in order to bring any check on the abuse of power by the government. Also, there is an impartial judiciary in order to check power either by the legislators or by the administrators.

2. Establishment of the executive organ of the state in order to have liberal democratic order. The executive is the forward looking, and therefore function of the government includes both the civil servant and politicians who jointly run the machinery of the government and thereby became the most important part of the political organization. It may be possible that the executives may use their power in order to give final decisions or executive may became 'despotism' resulting into bureaucratic tyranny. It is therefore required that civil service must remain politically neutral and harmonise the cooperation between the government and bureaucratic things.
3. It is important in the democracy that the powers of the three organs of the state: legislatures, executives and judiciary are not only separated from each other but are also connected to each other through the system of the checks and balances. This particularity is based on the premises that liberty require 'power to cut into pieces. Beside separation of power, the legislature is divided into checks and balances in order to keep check on the government.
4. Democratic form of the government represent pluralist state in which various groups are formed to promote the specific interests of the people so as to operate the polyarchal democracy. In liberal democracy, there are various groups and professional associations which are operating in order to maintain the pluralistic structure of the democracy. In the democracy, it is not the government but the bulk of the associations which are given up the decisions through various other market mechanisms.

According to Ball, liberal democratic system has following characteristics:

1. There is more than one political party; the parties are able to compete freely with each other for political power
2. The competition for power is open, not secretive based on the established norms and procedure
3. Entry and recruitment to the positions of political power is relatively open.
4. There are periodic elections based on wide franchise
5. Pressure groups are able to operate to influence the government decisions. Associations such as trade unions and other voluntary societies are not sujet to government control.
6. Civil liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest are recognised and protected by the government.
7. There is an independent judiciary
8. The mass media; that it, television, radio, newspapers are not monopolised by the government and have within certain limits freedom to criticise the government.

Comparative Political Analysis

All this result in the formation of countries in the list of the successful countries of the west like Britain and US comes under the category of the liberal democracies. Beside this, we have experimental countries of East like Japan and the other representative governments.

5.3 Totalitarian State

In the totalitarian state, the authority of the government is total and totally absolute claiming the jurisdiction of the man's life. There is no area of the man's life in the totalitarian state which is out of the control of the man's life. It means that state becomes the absolute, permanent and super naturally sanctioned institutions. It is equivalent to the saying of Hegel that 'state is the march of the god on earth.' And his disciple Trietschke has mentioned that 'man should fall down and worship state.' In short, the political power is concentrated in the hands of the one person/authority/government. Finer defined it as 'It is therefore the veritable contradictory of the liberal-democratic type of government. The scope and authority of the government is not limited, but total.' Totalitarianism is known by different names like Fascism, Nazism, Communism etc. Whatever the name of the government is, the only feature which is dominant here is the 'institutional division of power.' It means to have the de-jure or de-facto authority to control and run the machinery of the government through use of force and terror. In short, everything is controlled by the state and nothing is beyond the state. As said by Mussolini, "All within the state, none outside the state, none against the state."

The word 'totalitarianism' has been used since the 1920s when the scientific analysis of the new phenomenon began with the takeover of the power by communists in Russia, Fascists in Italy and later by National Socialist in Germany. According to the definition given by Mussolini in the Encyclopaedia Iraliana, "For the fascists, everything is within the state and there exists nothing human or spiritual...outside the state. In this sense, Fascism is totalitarian and the Fascist state interprets, develops and multiplies the whole life of the people as a synthesis and unit of each value." Subsequently, the following definition is preferred which mention, "A totalitarian regime is an ideocracy which has not yet reached the aims implied by its supreme values, and which tries to pursue them with the spiritual and secular power available after it has gained the domination of a state."

The concept of totalitarianism is not something new. It was proposed by Plato that there should be unquestioned allegiance to the government or to the people and it require that man's should have unquestioned obedience. Such kind of obedience require that desire to have 'moral development.' Plato has given the concept of the 'philosopher king' in which it was stated that people should follow him in order to have good state affairs. The same kind of things also appear in the Rousseau General will which signify the idea of the justification of the majority tyranny.

Pure totalitarian regimes have been rare throughout human history, with some recent examples including Hitler and his Nazi ideology, Stalin and his Communist ideology, and Kim Jong Il and his cult of personality. Totalitarian states have a small group of leaders, led by one individual with an absolute mandate, dictating every way of life for its citizens. Totalitarian regimes rule with fear, violence, mechanisms of repression, and oftentimes isolate the state and its citizens from the influence of outside communication and interference (O'Neil, 2007). These regimes are guided, as previously stated, by an ideology that governs all ways of life for the state's citizens; this ideology is part of the triad of totalitarianism, also including the state party having hegemonic control over the military-police force and industry / production in the state (O'Neil, 2007). Ideology, the marriage of party and law enforcement, and the dictation of culture all comprise the triad, which aids in the efficacy of the totalitarian regime to exert control. This triad is the main arm by which totalitarian regimes repress its subjects. The goal of totalitarian regimes is the spread of its ideology throughout the world, dominion over one state is typically not sufficient. Totalitarianism is seen as the 'lowest on the scale' in terms of personal freedom. Totalitarian regimes, such as North Korea, overemphasize security and grossly divert the national budget towards the military and defense.

A hallmark of the totalitarian regime is its quest for pure ideological control from the top down. To again refer to the North Korean case, upon the death of Kim Jong-il, the North Korean people were required to enter a period of intense mourning until his successor could ascend to the throne.

Unit 05: Theories of State: Liberal-Democratic State, Totalitarian Regimes

During the time of mourning, North Korea was considered a 'necropolis', a term used when the leader of a nation-state is actually a deceased individual. Kim Jong-un assumed the supreme leader position and North Korea resumed its totalitarian tendencies. The totalitarian government dictates the culture of the state often using manufactured fear, secret police, and a controlled public media/propaganda machine.

Characteristics features

1. It is dictatorial in nature and is opposed to the liberalism and parliamentary democracy. It may consist of the single leader, group or political party which control the legal and administrative apparatus of all the levels permitting the members of the apparatus no latitude or discretion. In future, the totalitarianism has done the total politicization of the society and it has been mentioned at one point, "All conscious and arbitrary movement or organization is totally controlled by the State, the state is totally expressed in the actual governing authority and coincides totally with the ruling body."
2. Totalitarianism imposes its official ideology and myth on the people by force or by the iron law of despotism. The means of communication are totally in the hands of the state and they use it for the propaganda purposes. For controlling the people, secret police and intelligence forces are organised and this may result in the establishment of the reign of terror. Official glorification of the party also takes place. The regime uses both persuasion and force in order to enforce their rule. There may be universal adult franchise in order to show that there are some freedoms provided to the people for the selection of the candidates. However, the purpose served remain totalitarian or authoritarian.
3. Totalitarianism of political party means identification of the party with the government which will ultimately result in the formation of the secret party mechanism where the formal constitutional framework becomes more important. It also imposes a ban on the existence of the other political party/other political leader existence. If there are any other party or leaders, they will be arrested or are not allowed to work. As Finer has mentioned, "The government is to the party what the glove is to the hand. The central institution of such totalitarian systems is the party. It is the party which wields all these powers; the powers of persuasion, of deference, of the licensing and control of expressed opinion, of the control of the elections."
4. Totalitarianism stands for the monistic character of society. It means state is everything and there is no room for the other associations and are disallowed or are allowed to starve. Complete satisfaction of man's life entails his total allegiance to the state. Man independence is forfeited and he becomes mere cog in the machinery of the state. Reading of party literature, writing for party papers, propagation of official ideology and activities of the party bosses, expression of views in the light of official standpoint et, all regulate the life of a member as desired by his party. The result is that his life is brought within the party framework, dominated by the party and devoted to the service of the party."
5. Totalitarianism has capability to generate the mass movements. The leaders manage to win the support of the masses by creating and generating the hysterical environment. Through these movements, the leaders promise to eat plenty, drink, eradication of poverty, unemployment, annihilation of national enemies, enthuse people in support of the regime with all the means at their disposal.

According to Ball, the totalitarianism has following characteristics:

Comparative Political Analysis

1. All aspects of the individuals and social activity are theoretically the political concern of the government.
2. Only one party is allowed to function which is legally and politically dominant. All political activity is channelled through this party; and the party provides the institutionalised basis for the competition, recruitment and opposition.
3. There is an elaborate ideology which in short regulates the political activity within the system.
4. The judiciary and mass media are rigidly controlled by the government and the civil liberties defined by the liberal ideologies are curtailed.
5. The stress is on the continuous mobilisation of the population to win the mass support of the regime, and to provide it a democratic base. The regime is legitimised with the help of the consent and participation of the people.

Keywords

liberal democratic states, totalitarian states, theories of state

Summary

Liberal democratic states and totalitarian states stand in total opposition to each other. Liberal democracies stress on liberties and minimum state interference while on the other hand, totalitarian states stress on maximum state control over the liberties of the individual. In order to understand them it is important to mention the characteristic feature of the both liberal democratic states and totalitarian states.

Self Assessment

1. Repressive State Apparatus uses:
 - A. Ideology to dominate/control the people
 - B. Use Military/police force to control/dominate the people
 - C. Use civil society in order to dominate people
 - D. Use economy in order to dominate people
2. Liberal government is based on the principle of
 - A. Welfare state
 - B. Economic equality
 - C. Rule by the people
 - D. One party system
3. According to the principle of libertarian:
 - A. Liberty is of utmost importance which is enjoyed with minimum interference of the state
 - B. No economic regulation over the economic activities of the state
 - C. Putting restrictions on the liberty of the people
 - D. State should do function of nightwatchman
4. The 'executive' in the 'liberal democratic' system is:

Unit 05: Theories of State: Liberal-Democratic State, Totalitarian Regimes

- A. Not responsible to the legislature
 - B. Responsible to the legislature
 - C. Has unlimited power
 - D. Responsible to people
5. The meaning of 'separation of power' is:
- A. Power is separated from the people
 - B. Power is exercised by the chosen representative different from all other sources
 - C. Power is divided between legislature, executive and judiciary
 - D. None of the above
6. Democratic government represents
- A. Unitary state
 - B. Pluralist state
 - C. Mixed state
 - D. Welfare state
7. The totalitarian state is:
- A. Absolute
 - B. Permanent
 - C. Naturally sanctioned
 - D. All of the above
8. Which of the following ideology represent totalitarianism?
- A. Fascism
 - B. Socialism
 - C. Marxism
 - D. Liberalism
9. Totalitarian state control all the parts of human life because:
- A. They have absolute power
 - B. Because they believe that such a control is necessary for the individual development
 - C. Because they believe that it will result into welfare
 - D. All of the above
10. In totalitarian state, means of communication:
- A. Are free
 - B. Under the control of government
 - C. Under the control of state

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. C | 3. A | 4. B | 5. C |
| 6. B | 7. D | 8. A | 9. B | 10. C |

Review Questions

1. Enumerate the main assumptions of Liberal democratic states?
2. Discuss the main characteristics of Liberal democratic states
3. Evaluate the distinction between liberal democratic states and totalitarian states.
4. Analyse the problems/limitations inherit in the totalitarian states
5. Enumerate the characteristics of the Liberal democratic states as mentioned by Ball.



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Unit 06: The Democratic Steps and Welfare State: its Functions and Role, States in Third World Countries

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

6.1 Meaning and Nature

6.2 Communist Order, Soviet Union and concept of welfare state

6.3 States in Third World

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- To understand the concept of welfare state
- Analyse the features of the welfare state
- Examine the welfare state with the case study of Soviet Union

Introduction

The blending of the democratic government and totalitarian government results in the formation of the welfare state. Welfare state is in opposition to the concept of the liberal-democracy or individualistic state which means that individual is free and state has no role to play except in playing part in the protection of the individual. On the other hand, welfare state also rejects the concept of the totalitarian state which try to put lot of restrictions on the individuals. The welfare state discards both of the cardinals of the liberal democratic state and totalitarian state while at the same point of time, it also accepts cardinal virtues of both. It borrows the virtues of the freedom from the liberal-individual and emphasis that the prime concern of the state is to ensure the development of the individual.

6.1 Meaning and Nature

The concept of welfare state found its theoretical and philosophical expression in various doctrines related to political organizations. Theories in this regard range from necessity and utility of the welfare state on the one hand and as the instrument of exploitation on the other hand. Welfare state, as mentioned, try to find expression in both of them. At one end we have Anarchists who stress on the violent and coercive authority of the state and on the other hand we have collectivist which insist on the establishment of the state as the welfare agency and thus stand for maximization of the role of the state. Beside this, there are views of the individualist who states that 'state is a necessary evil' and the state activity should be limited to 'the narrowest limit which is

Comparative Political Analysis

maintain of peace, order and security.’ Beside this, there are Marxists which states that class institution and proletariat class will establish the ‘gains of the revolution.’

Historian Asa Briggs would seem to grasp the essence quite adequately, even if it might contain a British/Scandinavian bias and appear a bit ambitious:

“A welfare state is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of the market forces in at least three directions - first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property;

- second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain “social contingencies” (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual and family crisis; and

- third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services.” (Briggs, 1961)

There are several types of explanations of welfare state development. As hinted at above, “structural” explanations link the welfare state to market economy, industrialization and modernization (Wilensky, 1974). The welfare state alleviates the inequality and insecurity of modern capitalist, industrial society. Fulfilling these needs, the welfare state also serves to maintain social cohesion. In addition to such functionalist thinking (explaining why the welfare state is “necessary” for society), a conflict approach would emphasize (class) interests. The welfare state is linked to the emergence of an industrial working class, its organization in trade unions and Social Democratic parties, and to class and party alliances with old or new middle class groups. In this power resource perspective, the welfare state (and different welfare regimes) is a product of interest conflicts, more specifically, of class struggle and class alliances (Korpi, 1974, 1980, 1983; Esping-Andersen, 1990).

In addition to such structural explanations, other scholars (following the pioneering work of Hecló, 1974; see also Beland & Cox, 2011) have underlines the role of ideas (often transferred from one country to another), and of institutions. As regards institutions, it is argued that welfare states crystallize in different regimes - “frozen landscapes” that resist change (Pierson, 1994), or at least develop in regime-specific ways when exposed to exogenous pressure (Swank, 2001; Kautto & Kvist, 2002). Among the structural explanations of welfare reform we find changing family structures, ageing populations, globalisation, migration, etc. But again, ideational and institutional theories are highly important in explaining change

The welfare state borrows the idea from the individualism and communism and try to blend these two phenomena for the emergence of the welfare state. Welfare state is called as combination of these two phenomena as it guarantees the essential liberties like freedom of expression, thought, profession etc and on the other hand it adopts policy of abolishing gigantic evils which can make the life of the people miserable. As a result, the concept of the welfare state has two main ideals:

1. It guarantees essential liberties to the people and consider the ideals based on the concept of the ‘laissez faire.’ Under this, the principle of Mill is considered as important which states that ‘over himself, over his body and mind individual is sovereign.’ The liberty of man is restricted only when he creates problem for the other man. Under such condition, the individual is reduced as a cog in the wheel of governmental machine. Beside providing liberty to the people, the welfare state also takes into account some of the ‘police functions’ in order to secure life, liberty and property of the people and to defend the territorial integrity of the country from the foreign aggressions. Welfare state try to perform these functions without restricting or crushing the liberties of the other people. The idea is that no welfare program can be carried out by restricting the essential liberties of the people. The individual liberty can be restricted only and only when it is in public good to do so.
2. The second important characteristic of welfare state is discharge of the social welfare activities. Such social welfare activities include wage regulation, regulation of marriage,

contracts, currency etc. Beside this, the state is also responsible for guaranteeing healthcare facilities, educational and other facilities. It is important to remember that social welfare services discard the notion that individuals should be left free and introduce the new doctrine that it is the duty of the state to protect the weak against the strong. For these policies need to be formulated and laws are made. Here, arrangements are also made for providing the basic amenities of the health and living which are beyond the control of the human beings. As a result, state make arrangements in order to ensure that people are free from want and fear. It makes suitable arrangements in order to provide several amenities to its citizens like minimum wage, public assistance and effective guarantees in cases of risks, hazards or other contingencies of life. In the words of Maclver, 'This expansion has done much change to the very conception of the state, so that from being, in the eyes of those subject to it, mainly an instrument of power it has become so far as its internal activities are concerned, in large measure an agency of service.'

It is important to note here that the welfare state does not kill the perception of the private incentive. It leaves room for the private activities or for the private enterprises. It believes in the establishment of such state in which private end of the individuals is of utmost importance and the interference by the state is carried out only in order to achieve the development of the individuals.

In other words, welfare state can be regarded as a 'social service state' which is playing the role of the 'policeman, engineer, teacher and like.' For the welfare of the people, it performs the functions and builds hospitals, dispensaries etc. It also helps people to fight against the epidemics and other fatal disease which can have bad impact on the people. In order to ensure that people are also getting leisure and recreation, the state regulate the working hours, service conditions, wages and bonus system, old age pensions and other health conditions. It also fights against the ignorance and open schools, colleges and other high institutions. It is also the duty of the welfare state to remodel the pattern of national economy so that vast disparities between wealth are diminished totally.

6.2 Communist Order, Soviet Union and concept of welfare state

Welfare state has been formulated in order to meet the challenges of the communist state which was particularly established by the Soviet Union. The communist writers have formulated the 'bourgeois state' which defended their own system in the name of maintenance of democracy and socialism. At times, Soviet Union has given itself the name of the welfare states which guarantee fundamental rights, universal adult suffrage, bicameral legislature, secret ballot, judicial process etc. However, the problem is that in the name of the doing welfare services it is restricting the liberties of the individuals. The Russian system was based on the dictum of Lenin which lays more stress on the economic freedom than the political freedom.

In order to deal with this problem, the welfare state was devised to meet the challenge of the communist order. Welfare state is the combination of both the communist state and also democratic state. The welfare state commit suicide when it assumes totalitarian character. According to it, the communist order cannot be regarded as the model of the welfare state as there is no room given for ensuring the justice and to have the essential liberties of the people.

The problem of welfare state: The case of European Union

The European states has represented the model of the welfare state since the second world war. Following a surge of market-driven growth after World War II, there was a rise across the continent in income redistribution and regulations intended to protect workers and consumers, and to achieve "fairness." For example, Greece, where promises for pensions and other benefits have made the cost of producing uncompetitive. (An index rates Greece's competitive position at 3.8 on a scale of 10.) Greek workers can retire on full pension after working 37 years, so a worker who starts at 18

Comparative Political Analysis

can retire with full pension at 55. Most other European countries use 65 as the age for retirement with full pension. However, after 2018 Europe has faced lot of economic crises.

Political leaders in each of these countries hoped that by joining a common currency system with their neighbours, they could increase growth and reduce some economic instability by eliminating currency devaluations. The members agreed to call the new common currency the euro and to maintain a fixed exchange rate with all members of the group. The problem was that because of the common currency, the burden of the economic crisis was on the shoulders of the Britain and other capable countries. In the later part, Britain refuses to take such burdens and declare that it wishes to exit from the system of Bret exit

6.3 States in Third World

The third world countries apply the term 'state' in a different manner than those of the industrialized and advance countries. It is true that the third world states have their own states or political systems, but they range from democratic societies as in India to a semi democracy in Mexico and thereon to a party state as in China. Theocracy has been prevailed in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel, Syria, Pakistan and Bangladesh while there has been secularism is present in the countries like India and South Africa. While some of the countries as mentioned here share different characteristics; they do also share the same characteristics also which distinguish them from the other third world countries and industrialized nations. In this regard, following parts has been enumerated:

1. The politics and government of the third world countries is shaped by the fact of scare economic resources, extensive poverty and inequality and a weak international system. The political leaders have few options in resolving problems or responding to the group demands. As a result, economic conflicts will arise in the domestic systems. Such societies will also face the problem of the corruption and maladministration.
2. In such countries, the situation of political legitimacy is very weak. The people may obey the law and order and cast vote in the elections but they do not see government as relevant to the lives of the people. The people, at large, will have negative impact and they may see their citizenship as the source of their political identity.
3. The power of the government in such countries is very limited and state do not have ability to exert pressure beyond a certain limit. The wealthy and the powerful people here are exploiting the poor and the weak people. In such countries, not only the formal aspects of the government but also informal aspects of the government are important than the informal politics of patron-client relationships.
4. The Third World countries has increased their dependency on the other organs of the states like police, paramilitary and military forces. The dependence on these organs suggest dependence on the coercive state apparatus and that state is getting back to the primitive role. The use of force without the developmental ideology in poverty ridden societies is bound to create legitimacy crisis. It 'creates a situation where different sections of the society would resort to aggressive protests and rebellious behaviour. The rebellious movements can destroy the existing structures but would not be able to offer an alternative.'

In most of the Third World countries, the state has emerged after the popular revolution and uprising. The state has emerged after the goals of the democratic government, social justice and nationalism have been emerged and proclaimed. It is only after the revolution, that state has created the conditions for political integration, social tranquillity and economic development. All the third world countries share the belief that capitalism if left unregulated will result in the economic inequality and injustice. The reason behind this belief was that private companies exploit the people in order to have their own advantage. Here, the principles of the liberalism mix up with the principles of socialism leading to the emergence of the model state. Since this model has been challenged or failed, the countries are now trying to figure out that how the goals of the social and economic justice can be realised. The state is caught up in the mic of the fore and tight that shapes the lives of the generation."

The model which is found in the third world countries is heterogenous in nature. The reason is that it differs from the liberal-democratic model and totalitarian model in degree only. It may be possible that such a model is converted into liberal democratic model with growth of political modernization and development.

Summary

Welfare states are the combination of democratic government and totalitarian government. Welfare state has to combine the advantages or merits of the both the government in order to bring fullest development of the individuals. However, just like other system of the governments, welfare state has some problems which is explained here with the case study of Europe.

Keywords

welfare state, European Union, Britain

Self Assessment

1. Welfare state is formed by blending of:
 - A. Socialism and Marxism
 - B. Democratic state and totalitarian state
 - C. Liberal States and Socialist State
 - D. Democratic states and Marxist state

2. Welfare state rejects:
 - A. Cardinals of democratic states and totalitarian states
 - B. Accepts the cardinals of democratic states and totalitarian states
 - C. Both 'a' and 'b'
 - D. None of the above

3. Structural explanations of the welfare state:
 - A. Explain the structure of the state
 - B. Explain the structure of the society
 - C. Explain the various institutions of the state
 - D. Market economy, industrialization and modernization

4. What is true regarding the concept of 'Welfare State'
 - A. It guarantees essential liberties to the people and consider ideals based on concept of *Laizzez faire*
 - B. Liberty of man is restricted only when he creates problems for other state
 - C. Welfare state also take into consideration the police functions
 - D. All of the above

5. Welfare state discharge:
 - A. Social welfare services
 - B. No political functions
 - C. Nightwatch man functions

- D. Legislative functions
6. Which of the following regions represent the Welfare state?
- Africa
 - Asian continent
 - European Union
 - SARRC
7. How are the economic conditions of the Third World State?
- They are developed economically
 - They have scarce economic resources, extensive poverty and inequality
 - They are in debt
 - They have poor infrastructure
8. Beside government, who else takes hold of the government in Third World countries?
- Religious leaders
 - Businessman and wealthy people
 - People at large
 - Lobbying groups
9. In the third world, state is the result of:
- Popular uprising and revolution
 - Economic conflict
 - Intrastate conflict
 - Interstate conflict
10. According to third world state, capitalism should be
- Operating freely
 - Should be regulated by law
 - Should not be controlled by law
 - Should be regulated by people

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. C | 3. D | 4. D | 5. A |
| 6. C | 7. A | 8. B | 9. A | 10. B |

Review Questions

- Enumerate the meaning and nature of Welfare state.
- Analyze the differences between Soviet Union and Welfare state
- Evaluate the problems/shortcomings of Welfare state
- Explain the problems of the welfare state with reference to European Union
- Describe the special features of the states in the Third World countries.



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Unit 07: Constitutional Structures: Legislature and its Role in Political System, Structure

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

7.1 Emergency Roles of the Legislatures

7.2 Modern Legislatures

7.3 Concept of the Delegated Legislation

7.4 Case of Britain

7.5 The case of the US

7.6 Critical Evaluation

Review Questions

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

Introduction

The legislature is considered as the first organ of the 'parliament' or of the 'political organization.' The word Parliament is derived from the French word 'parler' which means 'to talk.' Basically, Parliament is the place where people assemble in order to talk. Earlier, this word is used in order to refer to the conversations which are carried out after the dinner. Matthew Paris of St. Albans was first to apply the term 'parliament' in order to refer to the 'great council of prelates,' earls and barons in 1239 and again in 1246.

Legislature is basically, a 'law making body or a rule making body.' The legislature can be different from place to other. It may vary from the sovereign English Parliament to the non-sovereign National People's Congress of China or from the powerful American Congress to the 'powerless' Cortes of Spain. Curtis has formulated following main characters of the Parliament:

1. The head of the state is normally chosen by the legislature. They can be removed from the process of impeachment. For example, the legislatures of the US and India can choose the head of the state and can also remove them with the process of impeachment. The legislature can also nominate the people which are then made head of the legislature. For example, the Parliaments of Canada, New Zealand and Australia can recommend the name of the three sovereigns in order to act as the governor-general of the country.
2. It is the legislature which need to approve the choice of the Prime Minister and the other minister in some of the countries. In the US, all the ministerial nominations made by the President is ratified by Senate. The nomination of the Prime Minister made by the Kind must

Comparative Political Analysis

be approved by the Diet in Japan. Beside this, in India and UK the ministers can remain in office as long as they enjoy the pleasure of the legislatures.

3. Legislatures can make control of the government behaviour or make the executive responsible and accountable to them. The examples of such process is vote of no confidence, censure motion, interpellation procedures, debates on budget, process of impeachment etc. For example, Bill Clinton has faced the process of impeachment in 1999, however he was acquitted. Similarly, the no-confidence motion can be passed by the legislature. It is said that French Constitution censure motion must be signed by atleast 1/10th members of the National Assembly.
4. Legislatures can choose their office bearers and can also remove them. Legislature can remove the people from the legislature on the account of the 'misbehaviour.' The example of this is when an American Senate disqualify its two members William S. Vare and Frank Smith on the account that they have spent huge sum of money in their elections. Assemblies may also take up the case of breach of the privileges against the member states.
5. The last and the most important function of the legislature is to make laws. It can move the bill with or without amendments or can initiate debate on any issue. In maximum countries (including India) the bill is usually given three readings and references are made to the specialised committees in order to discuss it. The only exception to this rule is the communist country like China or Russia where bill is adopted without any proper legislative process by the party themselves.

7.1 Emergency Roles of the Legislatures

According to Richard Sisson and Leo Snowiss, the legislatures have three emergency roles, as summarized below:

1. Legislature as law affecting bodies: The main and the foremost function of the legislature is to make laws. The legislatures have power to influence the direction and counters of the public policy making. Legislatures all around the globe cannot say no to this particular function.
2. Legislature and the control of the executive power: It is considered as the duty of the legislature to control the excessive power of the executive. This idea is central to the idea of the cabinet responsibility in a parliamentary system of the government and to congressional overview in the presidential system. It may be said that only when popular assemblies participate in the moulding of the law, the power to control executive is necessary.
3. Legislature and the mobilization of consent: The advocates of the executive-central government assume that modern democracies must be used as auxiliaries for supporting the public opinion. As Bernard has mentioned in his work titled *The Reform of the Parliament*, "we never had government by Parliament...but always government through Parliament."

7.2 Modern Legislatures

Modern legislatures can be classified as unicameral or bicameral legislatures. As the name indicates, unicameral legislatures are those which have only one house as the National People's Republic of China. On the other hand, bicameral legislature is one which have two houses. For example, English Parliament which has two houses as House of Lords and House of Commons. In

*Unit 07: Constitutional Structures: Legislature and its
Role in Political System, Structure*

India, we have Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha. Blondel, in his work, has constructed four types of legislatures in the modern world:

1. Nascent or Inchoate Legislature: These are the lowest types of the legislatures and their activities are very small or non-existence. Their effectiveness or value hardly have some values. Such assemblies are also referred as 'limited surgeries' or 'low grade ombudsmen.'
2. Truncated Legislature: These legislatures exercise a degree of influence within the context of their activities. They are not given very important matters to be taken into consideration. However, they are given the things to discuss as deemed necessary by the executive. We may say that legislatures may discuss the bill and policy matter but to the extent as desired by the rulers of the land.
3. More Inhibited than truncated legislature: These legislatures have much better position as compared to the above mentioned. The legislatures and assemblies can discuss all the matters which they seem to be important in order to understand the questions of the general importance. However, they do not have the power to influence the decisions of the executive. The legislature of France, Switzerland and India are placed in this category.
4. True legislature: It includes the category of the advanced legislatures of the world like Britain and the US. These legislatures adequately channelise the demands and also articulate the interests of the various sections of the society. They pass bills, budget and discuss the policies. Not only this, legislatures could pass the no-confidence motion or adopt the resolution of the impeachment

7.3 Concept of the Delegated Legislation

Delegated legislation is the term which is used to describe the statutory rules, regulations, orders, notifications, explanations etc which are issued by the executive departments at different intervals to amplify parliamentary legislation so that 'parent act' does not fall short of the operation. Delegated legislation comes into operation when the legislature puts some law into effect. However, the feedback of the people regarding the law is not positive and it has some shortcomings. Hence, the legislatures find it essential or expedient to transfer the power through statutes to the other ministers and their administrative assistants to issue necessary orders in order to apply the provisions of statute to the situation they are intended to regulate.

In the modern democracies, only small part of the total legislative support is enacted by the legislature. Beside this, bulk of the statutes are issued and made by the executive authorities. The legislation of the modern democratic state is not confined to the statute book rather it finds places in the official documents.

Delegated legislature is the subordinate legislation not made by the legislature but by the executive department in order to understand the wishes of the operation. The powers given to the third party is derivative which means that parent organization has unlimited power while the department to which power is delegated does not have unlimited powers. As a result, delegated legislation is regarded as something secondary in character. Legislature has the power to make the delegated legislation as void in nature, if the wishes are not taken into account by the executive. On the other hand, the courts or the judiciary does not have power to declare the delegated legislation as illegal. It is only in the very rare circumstances, that the delegated legislature is declared as illegal by the court of law.

The derivative character of the delegated legislation depends on the following things:

1. In the case of the ambiguity in the law, the department may do the needful within the scope of the provisions of its law or wishes of the parliament. Sometime, it is believed that such ambiguity is left knowingly as they should be open to definition by the particular

Comparative Political Analysis

department only according to the specific need arise. Under such condition, the parliament legislation is called as 'blanket legislation' while the 'departmental legislation' is nicknamed as 'sub legislation'

2. It is agreed in Britain, that if dept adds anything in the course of the application, it will be taken as part and parcel of the parliamentary statute. The object of this statute is given away the possibility of the judicial intervention. Under such condition, the judiciary cannot intervene in the legislation made by the department in order to show that the department has fully complied with the will of the sovereign.

Keeping in view the point, content and purpose of the delegated legislation, it is supposed to have three characteristics:

1. It is contingent in nature and takes place where the legislature makes enhancement dependent on the certain facts and conditions whose determination (in accordance with them) is made in accordance with the department.
2. It is supplementary as it fills the details in the body of the parent measure passed in the shape of the skeleton.
3. It is interpretative in nature as it clarifies and explain the nature of the law to which it relates to.

7.4 Case of Britain

The delegated legislation is particularly popular in Britain constitutional system. The reason should be traced in the century old parliamentary system. In 1539, the legislative proclamation empowers the king to legislate by proclamation. Since then, it is called as Henery VII clause which was circulated among the people. As a result, any act which is delegated legislative powers to amend the acts of the Parliament, either the act in which power is delegated or other provisions of the same nature, are called as Henery VII clause. This system continued till 1932.

Over the period of time, the British Parliament develops the tradition of its sovereign authority and delegated legislation as necessary from time to time. The Parliament is thought to lay down the intelligent principle in order to guide the executive and administrative official. It was taken for granted that work for filling the details is ministerial in character rather than the work of the legislators.

7.5 The case of the US

The American constitution is not very much in favour of the delegated legislation. It is based on the concept of separation of power where the legislative power is clearly vested in the hands of the legislature or Congress. The American constitution in turn recognise the principle of *delegatus don protest delegate*. It simply means 'delegated cannot be redelegated.' It means that the authority to make law is already in the hands of the legislature, as a result, the same cannot be further redelegated to the other organ of the state or to some other department. The American constitution placed the importance to the constitutional trust which means that trust which is imposed by people on the one agency cannot be given to the other agency.

With the change of time and circumstances, it was decided to introduce the concept of delegated legislation with certain changes. The new formula stated that "Congress shall lay down by legislative act an intelligible principle to which the person or body authorised to fix such rates is directed to conform, such legislative action which is not a forbidden delegation of legislative power." Therefore, the scope of decision has been given to the legislature. In the present times, the US is in favour of forbidding the excessive legislative authorities to the executive agencies. It seems that courts have given the allowance to the needs of the age and laid down certain conditions of the valid legislation. The conditions which are imposed are that Congress must live within the

*Unit 07: Constitutional Structures: Legislature and its
Role in Political System, Structure*

constitutional competence; that the subject and scope of the delegation must be properly defined, that the delegation must be in favour of the public authorities only, that a finding must be obtained in case of the contingent delegation, penalties may not be delegated. In this way, the compelling needs of the situation 'have got over the conditional difficult by subterfuge.'

7.6 Critical Evaluation

The three important advantages of the delegated legislation is expediency, efficiency and flexibility. In the first place, it is mentioned that delegated legislation relieves the pressure on the legislature so that they can concentrate on the general principles and issues of important policies. It is generally maintained that tasks of filling in details can be done by the concerned departments. In such a way, the legislatures can concentrate more on the more important tasks and issues which needs to be carried out by the concerned department. It is through the delegated legislation that legislature can save its timings for the important matter, policy and principle. Secondly, it permits the utilization of the expert knowledge. The legislatures are generally ignorant and in component to understand the minute technical details of the legislation. As a result, they are not able to fulfil the minute details of the legislation. As a result, these technicalities can be worked out by the expert officials. Finally, it makes room for the flexibility. The legislature can never be omniscient to foresee all possibilities of contingencies. As conditions and circumstances change, a corresponding change in the modes of implementation is required.

Beside this, critics have mentioned that delegated legislation have caused some serious shortcomings which needs to be expressed:

1. The parliamentary control over the legislation will be less. With the introduction of the delegated legislation, the control of Parliament over the legislation is reduced to the theoretical or nominal significance. There are so many statutory instruments that never come before the legislature for scrutiny or are carried out in the casual way.
2. It enhances the executive authority at the cost of the parliament jurisdiction. Due to the delegated legislation, the legislature has given its original authority to the executive. As a result, the ever-expanding scope of the government has converted it into inconvincible regulation of the people's life. It may happen in future that the bureaucrats tend to overlook the concepts of the administrative convince and national advantage at the cost of his freedom. The history has manifested such types of episodes. For example, In Nazi Germany, Hitler has used this device for the sake of his ambitious programmes. Before the fall of the French democracy in 1940s, the government has been authorised to issue decrees by the French Parliament.
3. Delegated legislation has an impact on the judicial intervention. The delegated legislation is the judicial weapon due to the fact that authority of the courts is limited by the provisions of the parliaments. Beside this, the subsequent clauses can be added in order to preclude the possibility of the judicial intervention. This problem is more apparent in Britain, where parliamentary sovereignty is a juristic fact and hence courts are helpless when a parliamentary statue forfeits judicial authority in particular case.

In order to deal with all these shortcomings, the following safeguards are suggested:

1. The scope of the delegated legislation must be subject to the well-defined limits, it should not be vague, general and sweeping. Hence, the law making power which legislature wish to give to the executive must be defined by the statute, irrespective of the fact that legislature is a sovereign body or not, the suggestions should be strictly followed.

Comparative Political Analysis

2. Delegated legislation should be made only when it is necessary. The delegative authority should not be made for the purpose which are 'unusual' or 'abnormal.' The duration of the same must be taken into consideration. In other words, the legislature should not delegate its power to executive department in a hasty, rash or ill-considered manner.
3. The legislatures should be watchful of the delegate legislation. The departmental orders, rules and regulation need to be placed before the legislature for scrutiny so that executive mischief should be eradicated. In Britain, there are several kinds of the statutory instruments which needs to be approved by the affirmative vote by the Parliament.
4. The utmost importance should be given to the consideration of the publicity. It should be considered that all departmental rules and regulations which are going to amplify the provision of the parliamentary legislation should be given proper publicity. The aim here is that common person should not be kept ignorant of the changes that is supposed to be brought with the passing of the delegated legislation.
5. The safeguard of the judicial intervention needs to be taken into account. It means that courts have the authority to question the legal validity of the departmental orders and to pass a judgement declaring as void to the extent that it goes against the spirit of parliamentary legislation.
6. Here, Public scrutiny is also considered as important. The people must keep a vigilant attitude towards the executive and the rules framed by it, if challenged, go beyond the scope of the delegation. The public scrutiny is a powerful factor in preventing the infection of official despotism.

Review Questions

1. Analyze the meaning and characteristics of the Legislatures
2. Enumerate the emergency role of the legislature?
3. Evaluate the different types of legislatures as given by the Blondel
4. Discuss the concept of the delegated legislation
5. Analyze the merits and demerits of the delegated legislature

Self Assessment

1. Which is the first organ of the Parliament
 - A. Executive
 - B. Legislature
 - C. Judiciary
 - D. Parliament
2. Executive is responsible to the legislature because
 - A. It is chosen by the legislature
 - B. It is mentioned in the constitution
 - C. It is done in order to control the power of the executive so that it does not become despotism
 - D. It is according to the law of the land
3. Which of the following is the emergency role of the legislature?
 - A. Legislature is law affecting body
 - B. Legislature can take control of the executive power

*Unit 07: Constitutional Structures: Legislature and its
Role in Political System, Structure*

- C. Legislature can mobilize consent
D. All of the above
4. Truncated legislatures:
- A. Exercise degree of influence within the context of their activities
B. The impact of these legislature is minimum
C. These legislatures have lot of impact and powers
D. There is no such kind of legislature
5. Under delegated organization:
- A. Law making power is given to the legislature
B. Law making power is given to the standing committees
C. Law making power is given to the executive branch
D. Law making power is given to people.
6. Which of the following statement is true with regard to 'Delegated Legislation'
- A. It is contingent in nature and takes place where the legislature makes enhancement dependent on the certain facts and conditions whose determination (in accordance with them) is made in accordance with the department.
B. It is supplementary as it fills the details in the body of the parent measure passed in the shape of the skeleton.
C. It is interpretative in nature as it clarifies and explain the nature of the law to which it relates to.
D. All of the above
7. 'delegatus non potest delegare' means
- A. Delegated cannot be re-delegated
B. There should be no delegated legislation
C. There should be limits on delegated legislation
D. None of the above
8. It is believed that delegated legislation is not right because:
- A. Parliamentary control over the legislature will be less
B. It enhances executive authority
C. It has impact on judicial intervention
D. All of the above
9. Which of the following country does not believe in the concept of delegation?
- A. US
B. Britain
C. India
D. None of the above is correct
10. Which of the following country believe in the concept of delegation since early times?
- A. US
B. Britain
C. India

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. C | 3. D | 4. A | 5. C |
| 6. D | 7. A | 8. D | 9. A | 10. B |

Review Questions

- Q1. Analyze the meaning and characteristics of the Legislatures
- Q2. Enumerate the emergency role of the legislature?
- Q3. Evaluate the different types of legislatures as given by the Blondel
- Q4. Discuss the concept of the delegated legislation
- Q5. Analyse the merits and demerits of the delegated legislature



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Unit 8: Composition of Legislature, Office of Prime Minister and President: Power and Functions of Prime Minister and President

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction to Legislature of India

8.1 President of India

8.2 Powers and Functions of President of India

8.3 Diplomatic Powers of President

8.4 Military powers of President

8.5 Emergency powers of the President

8.6 Ordinance making power of the president

8.7 Veto power of the president

8.8 Prime Minister of India

8.9 Eligibility to Become a Prime Minister

8.10 Position of the Prime Minister

8.11 Functions and Powers of the Prime Minister

8.12 Rights and Powers with Regard to Appointments

8.13 Rights/Powers with regard to Parliament of India

8.14 Relationship with the President of India

8.15 Duties of the Prime Minister

Summary

Key Words

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Question

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the meaning of legislature including Council of Ministers
- To understand and analyze the role of Prime Minister and President

Introduction to Legislature of India

Legislature of the Union, which is called Parliament, consists of the President and two Houses, known as Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and House of the People (Lok Sabha). President constitutes the integral part of legislation as final approval for converting the bill into the law lies with the President. Each House has to meet within six months of its previous sitting. A joint sitting of two Houses can be held in certain cases.

Comparative Politics Analysis

President of India: The President of India is the head of state of the Republic of India. The President is the formal head of the executive, legislature and judiciary of India and is also the commander-in-chief of the Indian Armed Forces. Although Article 53 of the Constitution of India states that the President can exercise his or her powers directly or by subordinate authority, with few exceptions, all of the executive authority vested in the President is, in practice, exercised by the Council of Ministers (CoM).

Rajya Sabha (Council of States): The Constitution provides that the Rajya Sabha shall consist of 250 members, of which 12 members shall be nominated by the President from amongst persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as literature, science, art and social service; and not more than 238 representatives of the States and of the Union Territories. Elections to the Rajya Sabha are indirect; members representing States are elected by elected members of legislative assemblies of the States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, and those representing Union Territories are chosen in such manner as Parliament may by law prescribe. The Rajya Sabha is not subject to dissolution; one-third of its members retire every second year. Rajya Sabha, at present, has 245 seats. Of these, 233 members represent the States and the Union Territories, and 12 members are nominated by the President.

Lok Sabha (House of the People): The Lok Sabha is composed of representatives of people elected by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage. The maximum strength of the House envisaged by the Constitution is now 552 (530 members to represent States, 20 to represent Union Territories, and not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian community to be nominated by the President, if, in his opinion, that community is not adequately represented in the House). The total elective membership of the Lok Sabha is distributed among States in such a way that the ratio between the number of seats allotted to each State and population of the State is, as far as practicable, the same for all States. The Lok Sabha at present consists of 545 members. Of these, 530 members are directly elected from the States and 13 from Union Territories, while two are nominated by the President to represent the Anglo-Indian community. Following the Constitution 84th Amendment Act, the total number of existing seats as allocated to various States in the Lok Sabha on the basis of the 1971 census, shall remain unaltered till the first census to be taken after the year 2026. The term of the Lok Sabha, unless dissolved earlier, is five years from the date appointed for its first meeting. However, while a proclamation of emergency is in operation, this period may be extended by Parliament by law for a period not exceeding one year at a time, and not extending in any case, beyond a period of six months after the proclamation has ceased to operate.

As in other parliamentary democracies, the Parliament in India has the cardinal functions of legislation, overseeing of administration, passing of the Budget, ventilation of public grievances and discussing various subjects like development plans, national policies and international relations. The distribution of powers between the Union and the States, followed in the Constitution, emphasises in many ways the general predominance of Parliament in the legislative field. Apart from a wide-range of subjects, even in normal times, the Parliament can, under certain circumstances, assume legislative power with respect to a subject falling within the sphere exclusively reserved for the States. The Parliament is also vested with powers to impeach the President and to remove the Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts, the Chief Election Commissioner and the Comptroller and Auditor General in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. All legislation requires consent of both the Houses of Parliament. In the case of money bills, however, the will of the Lok Sabha prevails. Delegated legislation is also subject to review and control by Parliament. Besides the power to legislate, the Constitution vests in Parliament the power to initiate amendment of the Constitution.

8.1 President of India

The President of the Republic of India is the head of the Indian state, and commander in chief of all the Indian Armed Forces. The President of India is indirectly elected by the directly elected members of both the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha, and the legislative assemblies of the states and union territories of India. The President of India has been granted the responsibility and authority to protect the Constitution.

8.2 Powers and Functions of President of India

Legislative Powers

- i. President of India summons or prorogues Parliament and dissolve the Lok Sabha
- ii. He/She summons a joint sitting of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha in case of deadlock
- iii. He/She addresses the Indian Parliament at the commencement of the first session after every general election
- iv. He/She nominates 12 members of the Rajya Sabha and nominates two members to the Lok Sabha from the Anglo-Indian Community
- v. He/She consults the Election Commission of India on questions of disqualifications of Member of Parliament's.
- vi. He/She recommends/permits the introduction of certain types of bills and in certain cases promulgates ordinances
- vii. He/She lays the following reports before the Parliament: Comptroller and Auditor General, Union Public Service Commission and Finance Commission, etc.

Executive Powers

- i. Every executive action undertaken by the Indian government is to be taken in the President's name
- ii. He/She seeks administrative information from the Union government
- iii. He/She requires Prime Minister to submit, for consideration of the council of ministers, any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but, which has not been considered by the council
- iv. He/She can declare any area as a scheduled area and has powers with respect to the administration of scheduled areas and tribal areas

Financial Powers

- i. While introducing Money Bill in the parliament, the prior recommendation of President is a must
- ii. He/She causes Union Budget to be laid before the Parliament
- iii. To make a demand for grants, the President's recommendation is a pre-requisite
- iv. The Contingency Fund of India lies under the control of President
- v. He/She constitutes the Finance Commission every five years

Judicial Powers

- i. President is the appointment authority of Chief Justice and Supreme Court/High Court Judges of India
- ii. He/She takes advice from the Supreme Court, however, the advice is not binding on him/her
- iii. President has pardoning power: Under article 72, he has been conferred with power to grant pardon against punishment for an offence against union law, punishment by a martial court, or death sentence.

Pardoning powers

The President of the Republic of India has the power to grant pardons if the punishment of the crime is an offence against union law, granted by the military court or the punishment is that of death. In this regard, following powers are vested with President of India:

- i. Pardon with the grant of pardon convicts both conviction and sentence completely absolved
- ii. Commutation with this nature of the punishment of the convict can be changed
- iii. Remission reduces the term of the imprisonment
- iv. Respite awards lesser punishment than original punishment by looking at the special condition of a convict
- v. Reprieve stays the execution of the awarded sentence for a temporary period

8.3 Diplomatic Powers of President

- i. International Treaties and agreements that are approved by the Parliament are negotiated and concluded in the name of President
- ii. He/She is the representative of India in international forums and affairs

8.4 Military powers of President

President of India is the Commander of Defense forces of India. He/She appoints:

- i. Chief of the Army
- ii. Chief of the Navy
- iii. Chief of the Air Force

8.5 Emergency powers of the President

President of India plays a pivotal role and enjoys vast powers under the emergency situations in the country. Under the constitution, three types of emergencies are:

- i. National Emergency (Article 352)
- ii. President's Rule (Article 356 & 365)
- iii. Financial Emergency (Article 360)

8.6 Ordinance making power of the president

Article 123 deals with the ordinance making power of the President. The President has many legislative powers and this power is one of them. He promulgates an ordinance on the recommendation of the union cabinet.

8.7 Veto power of the president

The Veto Power of the President of India is guided by Article 111 of the Indian Constitution. When a bill is introduced in the Parliament, Parliament can pass the bill and before the bill becomes an act, it has to be presented to the Indian President for his approval. It is on the President of India to reject the bill, return the bill or withhold his assent to the bill. The choice of the President over the bill is called his veto power.

8.8 Prime Minister of India

According to Article 75 of the Indian Constitution, there should be a Prime Minister of the country who shall be appointed by the President. Prime Minister is thus the people's representative. Prime Minister is the head of the Cabinet. He along with the Council of Ministers forms the

executive power at the Center. The President of India is just the nominal head while the main powers are vested in the Prime Minister of India. In short while the President is referred to as the head of the State, the Prime Minister is called the head of the Government. Article 74(1) state that there shall be a Council of Ministers with a Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President. Thus, the Indian Constitution itself recognizes a Council of Ministers. President of India appoints a person as the Prime Minister who is either the leader of the party which holds a majority of seats in the Lok Sabha or is a person who is able to win the confidence of the Lok Sabha by gaining the support of other political parties. All other ministers are appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. President can also appoint Prime Minister on his own discretion but only when no party has a clear majority in the Lok Sabha.

8.9 Eligibility to Become a Prime Minister

To become an Indian prime minister one has to be

- i. A citizen of India.
- ii. A member of either Rajya Sabha or Lok Sabha
- iii. He should have completed his 30 years if he is a member of the Rajya Sabha or can be 25 years of age if he is a member of the Lok Sabha

8.10 Position of the Prime Minister

Right from the days of the first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister is treated at a much higher pedestal. His preeminence rests on his commanding position in the Cabinet, coupled with fact that he is the leader of the majority party. All these positions of power when combined in one person make him rank much above an ordinary Minister. The death or resignation of the Prime Minister automatically brings about the dissolution of the Council of Ministers. It generates a vacuum. The demise, resignation or dismissal of a Minister creates only a vacancy which the Prime Minister may or may not like to fill. The Government cannot function without a Prime Minister but the absence of a Minister can be easily compensated.

8.11 Functions and Powers of the Prime Minister

Prime Minister holds the position in lieu with the constitutional ideals. All the powers and duties of Prime Minister have their reference in the constitution of India. In this milieu, the Prime Minister of India enjoys following functions and powers:

- i. Prime Minister proposes the names of the members of his political party to President for appointment as Ministers.
- ii. He/She decides the distribution of charge to various ministers and can reshuffle their cabinet also.
- iii. He/She presides over the meetings of Cabinet and can change the decisions taken therein.
- iv. He/She can suggest the President of India about the resignation or removal of any Minister from his Cabinet.
- v. He/She also controls and directs the functioning of Ministers in the Cabinet.
- vi. He/She can resign anytime and can suggest the President of India to dissolve the Cabinet.
- vii. He/She can suggest the President to dissolve Lok Sabha and to organize fresh elections.

8.12 Rights and Powers with Regard to Appointments

Prime Minister can suggest the President about appointment of the following:

- i. Comptroller and Auditor General of India
- ii. Attorney General of India
- iii. Advocate General of India
- iv. Chairman and members of UPSC
- v. Selection of Election Commissioners
- vi. Members and chairman of Finance Commission

8.13 Rights/Powers with regard to Parliament of India

Prime Minister is the leader of the lower house and can exercise following powers:

- i. He decides the foreign policy of the country.
- ii. He is the speaker of the Central Government.
- iii. He is the leader of the ruling party in the Parliament.
- iv. He is the chairman of NITI Aayog National Development Council, National Integration Council, Inter-state Council, and National Water Resources Council.
- v. He is the head of disaster management team during emergency at political level.
- vi. He is the political head of all the forces.

8.14 Relationship with the President of India

Following articles in the constitution of India explain the relation between President and Prime Minister of India:-

- Article 74: To advise the President in various matters of national importance, there will be a Cabinet of Ministers which must be headed by the Prime Minister. President will take decisions based on the advice of Prime Ministers, however, he can ask for reconsideration of the decisions taken by the Cabinet of Ministers, though any such decision/advice after reconsideration are bound to be followed by him.
- Article 75: The Prime Minister will be appointed by the President of India and other Ministers will also be appointed by him based on advice of the Prime Minister.

8.15 Duties of the Prime Minister

- i. Prime Minister reports all the works/tasks done by the Cabinet Ministers to the President of India.
- ii. Prime Minister briefs the President of India about any state of Emergency or any matter of foreign policy or urgent importance.
- iii. Prime Minister informs the functioning of the Government and Union of India to the President.

While drafting the constitution of India, Dr.Ambedkar enumerated the role of the Prime Minister of India to be a functionary which can be compared to the President of United states. Therefore, it can be said that in India, President is the nominal head while the Prime Minister is the executive head of the Government.

Summary

In a parliamentary form of government, President is the nominal head while as real powers lies with Prime Minister. President acts on the advice of Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister. Prime Minister acts as a link between Council of Ministers and President. In the Indian context, the constitution has clearly demarcated the powers between President and Prime Minister. President is the integral part of legislature and enjoys the veto powers under the shadow of legislation.

Key Words

Cabinet, Council of Ministers, Executive, Legislature

Self Assessment

1. Which Prime Minister brought about a thaw in India- China relations by signing the “Line of Actual Control”?
 - A. Lai Bahadur Shastri
 - B. P.V. Narashima Rao
 - C. Chandrasekhar
 - D. V.P. Singh
2. The Prime Minister and the other Ministers of the Indian Union are appointed by the President under _____ of the Constitution of India.
 - A. Article 70
 - B. Article 79
 - C. Article 85
 - D. Article 75
3. Who was the prime minister of India during “the Emergency” between the year 1975 to 1977?
 - A. Indira Gandhi
 - B. Rajiv Gandhi
 - C. Moraj Desai
 - D. Charan Singh
4. What is the minimum age required to become Prime Minister of India?
 - A. 18 years
 - B. 25 years
 - C. 30 years
 - D. 35 years
5. Who appoints the Prime Minister of India?
 - A. President of India
 - B. Chief Justice of India
 - C. Attorney General of India
 - D. Governor

6. Which Article of the Indian Constitution says that there shall be a President of India?
 - A. 61
 - B. 62
 - C. 52
 - D. 74

7. What qualifications should be to become a President?
 - A. 35 years of age
 - B. He should be eligible to be elected as a member of Rajya Sabha.
 - C. Must be an Indian citizen
 - D. Only a and c

8. Which of the following statements is wrong?
 - A. Elected and nominated members of the State Legislative Assembly participate in the presidential election.
 - B. The Union Executive includes the President, Vice President, Prime Minister, Attorney General of India
 - C. Impeachment may be initiated against the President for 'breach of constitution'
 - D. Article 56 envisages the tenure of the President

9. How can the post of President be vacant?
 - A. On expiry of his tenure
 - B. By his resignation
 - C. Only on the commencement of impeachment in Rajya Sabha
 - D. Only a and b

10. Which of the following statements is not correct?
 - A. President is the head of military forces of India
 - B. President can appoint a commission to investigate into the conditions of SCs and STs.
 - C. Parliament can declare any area as scheduled area
 - D. President of India chooses the chairman of the Finance Commission

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. D | 3. A | 4. B | 5. A |
| 6. C | 7. D | 8. A | 9. D | 10. C |

Review Question

1. Write a short note on Parliamentary form of Government and its characteristics?
2. What are the functions and duties of President of India: Kindly Elucidate?
3. Why India has adopted Parliamentary form of Government: Give Reasons?
4. Who is more powerful in Indian Context, Prime Minister or President: Support Your answer with reasons?
5. What are the key responsibilities of Prime Minister of India; Elaborate?



Further Readings

- Durga Das Basu (2022). Introduction to the Constitution of India (26th Edition). *Lexis Nexis*
- M. Laxmikanth (2021). Indian Polity (6th Edition Revised). *Mc Graw Hill*

Unit 9: Judiciary and Its Importance: Challenges and Problems of Judiciary in India, Judicial Activism

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction to Indian Judiciary

9.1 Structure of the Indian Judicial System

9.2 Supreme Court of India

9.3 History of the Supreme Court of India

9.4 Constitutional Provisions

9.5 Organisational Structure of the Supreme Court

9.6 Seat of Supreme Court

9.7 Appointment of Judges

9.8 Qualifications Required for the Appointment of Judges

9.9 Oaths or Affirmations

9.10 Tenure of Judges

9.11 Removal of Judges

9.12 How are Salaries and Allowances Determined?

9.13 Jurisdiction and Powers of Supreme Court

9.14 High Court of India

9.15 Functions of Indian Judiciary

9.16 Judicial Activism

9.17 Judicial Activism in India

9.18 Importance of Judicial Activism in India

9.19 Examples of Judicial Activism in India

9.20 Challenges in Indian Judicial System

Conclusion

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the problems and challenges faced by Indian judiciary
- To understand the meaning of Judicial Activism

Introduction to Indian Judiciary

The Indian administration system is divided into three branches: Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. While the first two are interdependent, the Indian judicial system is an independent pillar. A separate pillar means that the Judiciary in India functions or works without the interference of the other two organs of the government. Indian Judiciary is an independent judiciary that has derived its powers from the Indian constitution. The judiciary is that branch of the government that interprets the law, settles disputes and administers justice to all citizens. The judiciary is considered the watchdog of democracy, and also the guardian of the Constitution. For democracy to function effectively, it is imperative to have an impartial and independent judiciary. Independent means that the other branches of the government, namely, the executive and the legislature, do not interfere with the judiciary's functioning. The judiciary's decision is respected and not interfered with by the other organs. Independent also signifies that judges can perform their duties without fear or favour. Independence of the judiciary also does not mean that the judiciary functions arbitrarily and without any accountability. It is accountable to the Constitution of the country.

9.1 Structure of the Indian Judicial System

The Judiciary in India is a single integrated judicial system. It is a pyramid-like structure with the Supreme Court of India right at the top. After which, the High Courts follow and then, the District and in the end, are the subordinate courts. The lower courts function under the direct superintendence of the courts above them. The structure of Indian judicial system is presented below:

9.2 Supreme Court of India

It is the highest court in the Indian judicial system, established as the Part V of the Indian Constitution. The decisions made by the Supreme Court are binding to all the subordinate courts. Additionally, it can transfer judges of the High Courts. Supreme courts can move cases from the other courts to themselves. Lastly, it can transfer a matter from one High Court to another.

9.3 History of the Supreme Court of India

- The promulgation of Regulating Act of 1773 established the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta as a Court of Record, with full power & authority. It was established to hear and determine all complaints for any crimes and also to entertain, hear and determine any suits or actions in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Accordingly, the Supreme Courts at Madras and Bombay were established by King George III in 1800 and 1823 respectively.
- The India High Courts Act 1861 created High Courts for various provinces and abolished Supreme Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and also the Sadar Adalats in Presidency towns. These High Courts had the distinction of being the highest Courts for all cases till the creation of Federal Court of India under the Government of India Act 1935. The Federal Court had jurisdiction to solve disputes between provinces and federal states and hear appeal against Judgements from High Courts.
- After India attained independence in 1947, the Constitution of India came into being on 26 January 1950. The Supreme Court of India also came into existence and its first sitting was held on 28 January 1950. The law declared by the Supreme Court is binding on all Courts within the territory of India. It has the power of judicial review – to strike down the legislative and executive action contrary to the provisions and the scheme of the constitution,

the distribution of power between Union and States or inimical to the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

9.4 Constitutional Provisions

The Indian constitution provides for a provision of Supreme Court under Part V (The Union) and Chapter 6 (The Union Judiciary).

- Articles 124 to 147 in Part V of the Constitution deal with the organisation, independence, jurisdiction, powers and procedures of the Supreme Court.
- The Indian constitution under Article 124(1) states that there shall be a Supreme Court of India constituting of a Chief Justice of India (CJI) and, until Parliament by law prescribes a larger number, of not more than seven other Judges.
- The Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India can broadly be categorised into original jurisdiction, appellate jurisdiction and advisory jurisdiction. However, there are other multiple powers of the Supreme Court.

9.5 Organisational Structure of the Supreme Court

At present, the Supreme Court consists of thirty-one judges (one chief justice and thirty other judges). Supreme Court (Number of Judges) Bill of 2019 has added four judges to strength. It increased the judicial strength from 31 to 34, including the CJI. Originally, the strength of the Supreme Court was fixed at eight (one chief justice and seven other judges). The Parliament is authorised to regulate them.

9.6 Seat of Supreme Court

The Constitution declares Delhi as the seat of the Supreme Court. It also authorises the CJI to appoint other place or places as seat of the Supreme Court. CJI can take decision in this regard only with the approval of the President. This provision is only optional and not compulsory. This means that no court can give any direction either to the President or to the Chief Justice to appoint any other place as the seat of the Supreme Court.

9.7 Appointment of Judges

The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President. The CJI is appointed by the President after consultation with such judges of the Supreme Court and high courts as he deems necessary. The other judges are appointed by the President after consultation with the CJI and such other judges of the Supreme Court and the high court's as he deems necessary. The consultation with the chief justice is obligatory in the case of appointment of a judge other than Chief justice.

Appointment of Chief Justice from 1950 to 1973: The practice has been to appoint the senior most judge of the Supreme Court as the chief justice of India. This established convention was violated in 1973 when A N Ray was appointed as the Chief Justice of India by superseding three senior judges. Again in 1977, M U Beg was appointed as the chief justice of India by superseding the then senior-most judge. This discretion of the government was curtailed by the Supreme Court in the Second Judges Case (1993), in which the Supreme Court ruled that the senior most judge of the Supreme Court should alone be appointed to the office of the Chief Justice of India.

9.8 Qualifications Required for the Appointment of Judges

A person to be appointed as a judge of the Supreme Court should have the following qualifications:

- He/She should be a citizen of India.
- He/She should have been a judge of a High Court (or high courts in succession) for five years; or
- He/She should have been an advocate of a High Court (or High Courts in succession) for ten years; or
- He/She should be a distinguished jurist in the opinion of the president.
- The Constitution has not prescribed a minimum age for appointment as a judge of the Supreme Court.

9.9 Oaths or Affirmations

A person appointed as a judge of the Supreme Court, before entering upon his office, has to make and subscribe to an oath or affirmation before the President, or some other person appointed by him for this purpose. In his oath, a judge of the Supreme Court swears:

- to bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India;
- to uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India;
- to duly and faithfully and to the best of his ability, knowledge and judgement to perform the duties of the Office without fear or favour, affection or ill-will; and
- to uphold the Constitution and the laws.

9.10 Tenure of Judges

The Constitution has not fixed the tenure of a judge of the Supreme Court. However, it makes the following three provisions in this regard:

- He/She holds office until he attains the age of 65 years. Any question regarding his age is to be determined by such authority and in such manner as provided by Parliament.
- He/She can resign his office by writing to the President.
- He/She can be removed from his office by the President on the recommendation of the Parliament.

9.11 Removal of Judges

- A judge of the Supreme Court can be removed from his office by an order of the President. The President can issue the removal order only after an address by Parliament has been presented to him in the same session for such removal.
- The address must be supported by a special majority of each House of Parliament (i.e., a majority of the total membership of that House and a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting). The grounds of removal are two—proved misbehaviour or incapacity.
- The Judges Enquiry Act (1968) regulates the procedure relating to the removal of a judge of the Supreme Court by the process of impeachment: However, no judge of the Supreme Court has been impeached so far. Impeachment motions of Justice V Ramaswami (1991–1993) and the Justice Dipak Misra (2017–18) were defeated in the Parliament.

9.12 How are Salaries and Allowances Determined?

The salaries, allowances, privileges, leave and pension of the judges of the Supreme Court are determined from time to time by the Parliament. They cannot be varied to their disadvantage after their appointment except during a financial emergency. In 2021, the High Court and Supreme Court Judges (Salaries and Conditions of Service) Amendment Bill, 2021 was introduced in Lok Sabha. The Bill seeks to amend the High Court Judges (Salaries and Conditions of Service) Act, 1954, and the Supreme Court Judges (Salaries and Conditions of Service) Act, 1958.

9.13 Jurisdiction and Powers of Supreme Court

Original Jurisdiction: As a Federal court, the Supreme Court decides disputes between different units of the Indian Federation. More elaborately, any dispute between:

- the Centre and one or more states; or
- *the Centre and any state or states on one side and one or more states on the other; or*
- between two or more states.

In the above federal disputes, the Supreme Court has **exclusive original jurisdiction**. Further, this jurisdiction of the Supreme Court **does not extend** to the following:

- A dispute arising out of any pre-Constitution treaty, agreement, covenant, engagement, sanad or other similar instrument.
- A dispute arising out of any treaty, agreement, etc., which specifically provides that the said jurisdiction does not extend to such a dispute.
- Inter-state water disputes.
- Matters referred to the Finance Commission.
- Adjustment of certain expenses and pensions between the Centre and the states.
- Ordinary dispute of Commercial nature between the Centre and the states.
- Recovery of damages by a state against the Centre.

Writ Jurisdiction: The Supreme Court is empowered to issue writs, including habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo-warranto and certiorari for the enforcement of the fundamental rights of an aggrieved citizen. In this regard, the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in the sense that an aggrieved citizen can go directly to the Supreme Court, not necessarily by way of appeal. However, the writ jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is not exclusive. The High Courts are also empowered to issue writs for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights.

Appellate Jurisdiction: The Supreme Court is primarily a court of appeal and hears appeals against the judgements of the lower courts. It enjoys a wide appellate jurisdiction which can be classified under four heads:

- Appeals in constitutional matters
- Appeals in civil matters
- Appeals in criminal matters
- Appeals by special leave

Advisory Jurisdiction: The Constitution under Article 143 authorises the President to seek the opinion of the Supreme Court in the two categories of matters:

- On any question of law or fact of public importance which has arisen or which is likely to arise.

- On any dispute arising out of any pre-constitution treaty, agreement, covenant, engagement, sanador other similar instruments.

Court of Record: As a Court of Record, the Supreme Court has two powers:

- The judgements, proceedings and acts of the Supreme Court are recorded for perpetual memory and testimony. These records are admitted to be of evidentiary value and cannot be questioned when produced before any court. They are recognised as legal precedents and legal references.
- It has power to punish for contempt of court, either with simple imprisonment for a term up to six months or with fine up to 2,000 or with both.

Judicial Review: Judicial review is the power of the Supreme Court to examine the constitutionality of legislative enactments and executive orders of both the Central and state governments. On examination, if they are found to be violative of the Constitution (ultra-vires), they can be declared as illegal, unconstitutional and invalid (null and void) by the Supreme Court. Consequently, they cannot be enforced by the Government.

9.14 High Court of India

This is the second most important court in the Indian judicial system. It is established according to Article 141 of the Constitution. The High Court can hear appeals from the lower courts and issue writs for Fundamental Rights. Additionally, the High Court can deal with the cases within the jurisdiction of the State. High Courts have the power to exercise superintendence and control over the courts below them.

District Courts: The District Courts are the following most essential courts in the Indian judicial system. These courts deal with the cases which arise in the District. District courts consider appeals on decisions which the lower courts give. Additionally, the district courts also decide on matters which involve serious criminal offences.

Subordinate Courts: These are the last courts in the structure of the Indian judicial system. They take up cases that are civil and criminal.

Apart from the different types of courts above, there are two more branches of the legal system in India. Here are the two branches of the judicial system in India:

Criminal Law: It deals with cases when a citizen or an entity commits a crime. A point is registered when the local police file a crime report. The court finally gives the verdict on the criminal cases on the matter.

Civil Law: It deals with the cases when there is a dispute over the violation of the Fundamental Rights of a citizen.

9.15 Functions of Indian Judiciary

The nature of Indian judiciary is federal and it works on the basis of federalism. The institution of Judiciary is neutral and independent that is supposed to work according to the constitutional ideals. In this milieu, the functions of the judiciary in India are:

- **Administration of justice:** The chief function of the judiciary is to apply the law to specific cases or in settling disputes. When a dispute is brought before the courts it 'determines the facts' involved through evidence presented by the contestants. The law then proceeds to decide what law is applicable to the case and applies it. If someone is found guilty of violating the law in the course of the trial, the court will impose a penalty on the guilty person.

- **Creation of judge-case law:** In many cases, the judges are not able to, or find it difficult to select the appropriate law for application. In such cases, the judges decide what the appropriate law is on the basis of their wisdom and common sense. In doing so, judges have built up a great body of 'judge-made law' or 'case law.' As per the doctrine of 'stare decisis', the previous decisions of judges are generally regarded as binding on later judges in similar cases.
- **Guardian of the Constitution:** The highest court in India, the SC, acts as the guardian of the Constitution. The conflicts of jurisdiction between the central government and the state governments or between the legislature and the executive are decided by the court. Any law or executive order which violates any provision of the constitution is declared unconstitutional or null and void by the judiciary. This is called 'judicial review.' Judicial review has the merit of guaranteeing the fundamental rights of individuals and ensuring a balance between the union and the units in a federal state.
- **Protector of Fundamental Rights:** The judiciary ensures that people's rights are not trampled upon by the State or any other agency. The superior courts enforce Fundamental Rights by issuing writs.
- **Supervisory functions:** The higher courts also perform the function of supervising the subordinate courts in India.
- **Advisory functions:** The SC in India performs an advisory function as well. It can give its advisory opinions on constitutional questions. This is done in the absence of disputes and when the executive so desires.
- **Administrative functions:** Some functions of the courts are non-judicial or administrative in nature. The courts may grant certain licenses, administer the estates (property) of deceased persons and appoint receivers. They register marriages, appoint guardians of minor children and lunatics.
- **Special role in a federation:** In a federal system like India's, the judiciary also performs the important task of settling disputes between the centre and states. It also acts as an arbiter of disputes between states.
- **Conducting judicial enquiries:** Judges normally are called to head commissions that enquire into cases of errors or omissions on the part of public servants.

9.16 Judicial Activism

Judicial activism means the proactive role played by the judiciary in the protection of the rights of citizens and promoting justice in society. Through Judicial Activism, the judiciary forces the other two organs of the government, i.e., the legislature and executive, to discharge their constitutional duties. It is an effective tool for upholding citizens' rights and implementing constitutional principles when the executive and legislature fail to do so and counters the opinion that the Judiciary is a mere spectator. The practice of Judicial Activism originated and developed in the USA, and historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. coined the term in 1947. In India, the foundation of Judicial Activism was laid down by Justice V.R Krishna Iyer, Justice P.N Bhagwati, Justice O.Chinnappa Reddy, and Justice D.A Desai.

9.17 Judicial Activism in India

In India, Judicial Activism has played an important role in keeping democracy alive. The Indian Judiciary is considered the guardian and protector of the Indian Constitution, and citizen's look up to the Judiciary as the last hope for protecting their rights. According to the Indian

Constitution, Article 13 when read with Articles 32 and 226, provides the power of judicial review to the higher judiciary to declare any executive, legislative or administrative action void if it is in contravention with the Constitution. Judicial Activism evolved through the process of Judicial Review, which can be pursued from Britain's unwritten constitution. In India, multiple times, Judicial Activism has led to a controversy concerning the supremacy between Parliament and Supreme Courts.

9.18 Importance of Judicial Activism in India

Judicial Activism in India can be seen in the Court's premature and early assertion regarding the essence and nature of the Judicial Review. It is necessary to keep all the organs of government in balance so that it does not disturb the principles of separation of powers and checks and balances. Proper implementation of fundamental rights could only become possible due to the advancement of Judicial Activism. Judicial Activism in India reflects the following administrative patterns:

- Expansion of judicial review over the administration.
- Expansion of hearing privileges over administrative lapses.
- Extending the conventional translation guidelines in its quest for financial, cultural, and academic goals.
- Extension of judicial control over discretionary forces.

Judicial Activism holds a high place in Indian democracy, which can be concluded from the fact that:

- Judicial Activism acts as a mechanism to curb legislative adventurism and executive tyranny by enforcing Constitutional limits.
- Judicial Activism help in upholding the faith of citizens in the constitution and judicial organs.
- Judicial Activism help in enhancing administrative efficiency and help good governance. It helps in plugging active political lacunae.
- Judicial Activism allows participation of the judiciary in the advancement of the country and upholding democracy.
- Judicial Activism help in protecting or expanding individual rights.

9.19 Examples of Judicial Activism in India

Judicial Activism, in simple words, means when judges interrupt their personal feelings into a conviction or sentence instead of upholding the existing laws. Judicial Activism in India started in 1973 when the Allahabad High Court rejected the candidature of Indira Gandhi. The other examples of Judicial Activism in India include:

- *A.K. Gopalan v. State of Madras (1950)*: The Indian Supreme Court rejected the argument that to deprive a person of his life or liberty, not only the procedure prescribed by law for doing so must be followed but also that such procedure must be fair, reasonable and just.
- *C. Golaknath & Ors v. State of Punjab & Anrs. (1967)*: The Supreme Court declared that Fundamental Rights enshrined in Part 3 are immune and cannot be amended by the legislative assembly.
- *Kesavananda Bharati case (1973)*: The Supreme Court of India declared that the executive had no right to intercede and tamper with the basic structure of the constitution. The concept of judicial activism started gaining more power from here.
- *Hussainara Khatoon (I) v. State of Bihar (1979)*: The inhuman and brutal conditions of the undertrial prisoners were published in the newspaper. Under article 21 of the Indian

Constitution, the SC accepted it and held that the right to a speedy trial is a fundamental right and directed the state authorities to provide free legal facilities to the under-trial inmates to get justice bail or final release.

- Sheela Barse v. State of Maharashtra (1983): A letter by a journalist addressing the custodial violence of women prisoners in jail was addressed to the Supreme Court. The Court treated the letter as a writ petition and took cognizance of that matter. The SC issued the apposite guidelines to the concerned authorities
- The Supreme Court rolled out a blanket ban on firecrackers in the Delhi - NCR area with certain exceptions in 2018.

9.20 Challenges in Indian Judicial System

Delay in justice: The Indian judiciary system has failed to deliver justice expeditiously. This delay in justice has proved to be one of the biggest drawbacks of the judiciary system. Delay in justice implies the time taken to dispose of a case, in excess of the time which should be reasonably consumed by the court to decide the case. Delay of justice creates disillusionment amongst the litigants, it also undermines the capability of the judiciary system.

The pendency of cases: If we look at the figures, 2.84 crore cases are pending in the subordinate courts, the backlog clogging the High Courts and Supreme Court (SC) is 43 lakh and 57,987 cases, respectively. According to National Judicial Data Grid (NJDG), the five states which account for the highest pendency are Uttar Pradesh (61.58 lakh), Maharashtra (33.22 lakh), West Bengal (17.59 lakh), Bihar (16.58 lakh) and Gujarat (16.45 lakh). This number is increasing day by day which shows the inadequacy of the courts to deal with this matter. Generally, the victims of this are ordinary or poor people. The pendency of the cases also creates a big blockade for international investors and corporations to do business in India.

Low judge's strength and appointment problem: The vacancy of judges can also result in the delay of justice. There is a tussle between executive and judiciary over who should be appointing judges rather than how judges should be appointed. There are almost 5000 vacancies in trial courts. This is a serious issue as this is a place where the common man comes in the hope for justice. The pendency of the cases will also go down when the vacancies are filled.

Strike by Lawyers: The Supreme Court bench stated that lawyer strikes are one of the major reasons for pendency of cases. As per the High Court of Uttarakhand, advocates were on strike for 455 days between 2012 and 2016. That means that on average, lawyers went on strike for 91 days per year. The figures of the UP courts are worse, as the periods of the strike over five years in the worst affected districts were.

Lack of transparency: In the functioning of the Indian judiciary system, the substantial issues like the quality of justice and accountability are not known to the citizens properly. There is also a need for transparency in the appointment of the judges. Right to know is a part of freedom of speech and expression, as provided by the Constitution, however, the present system violates this fundamental right. The citizen's right to know is also an international trend also supported by judicial decisions. Right now we do not have a transparent and fool proof system of appointment of judges. These also lead to delays in filling the vacancies.

Hardships of the under trials: In India, over two-thirds of India's roughly 4.2 lakh prisoners are under trial, which is one of the world's largest number of under-trial prisoners. They are in jail not because they have been found guilty but because they are being prosecuted on charges that are non-bailable or when they are too poor to afford a bail. In most of the cases they end up spending more time in jail during the prosecution than the actual term awarded of the crime has been actually committed. Under trials are not guilty till convicted.

No interaction with the society: In order to form an effective judiciary, it is necessary that the judiciary form an integral part of the society. Judiciary's interaction with society is a must and it should be both regular and relevant. Several countries involve their citizens in judicial decision

making, however, in India, there is no such setup. The citizens need to actively take part in judicial activities to build an effective judicial system

Less use of technology:In order to have a more effective judiciary, it needs to adopt the technology. This will reduce the huge amount of paperwork involved. The database of the court is also not maintained in one place and there is no recording of the proceedings and hearings. Thus there is a need to use better technology for recording the statements, other technology such as CCTV's should also be used for recoveries and other related processes.

Conclusion

Although the Indian judicial system is one of the strongest pillars of Indian democracy, it is currently experiencing problems that are rendering it ineffective. As a result, the public is losing faith in the judicial system and is hesitant to turn to this institution for assistance in resolving their issues. Since "justice delayed is justice denied," it is crucial that the judiciary solves these obstacles as soon as possible to ensure that Indian citizens do not hesitate to approach it.

Summary

India has adopted the decentralized mechanism of governance in both civil and judicial administration. At the apex level, the Supreme Court holds the prime position followed by state high courts and district courts accordingly. All the procedures related to appointment and functions of judicial officers including Chief justice and other judges had been laid down in the constitution. The constitution makers have termed judiciary as a guardian of Indian constitution and saviour of fundamental rights.

Keywords

Authority, Judiciary, Judicial Activism, Judicial Review, Supreme Court

Self Assessment

1. Who has the right under the Constitution to seek the opinion of the Supreme Court on the question of law?
 - A. President
 - B. Any High Court
 - C. Prime Minister
 - D. All of these

2. Which high court has the jurisdiction over Andaman and Nicobar Islands?
 - A. Kolkata High Court
 - B. Bombay High Court
 - C. Delhi High Court
 - D. Madras High Court

3. Who has the power to remove the judge of the Supreme Court?
 - A. Chief Justice of Supreme Court
 - B. Only President
 - C. Only Parliament
 - D. Both President and parliament

4. Where did India get its concept of Single order of court?
 - A. Government of India Act, 1935
 - B. Government of India Act, 1919
 - C. Pitts India Act, 1773
 - D. None of the above

5. Which of the following statements is not true about India's Supreme Court?
 - A. Article 124 to 147 and Part V of the Indian Constitution informs about the composition and powers of the Supreme Court?
 - B. The Supreme Court was inaugurated on January 28, 1950
 - C. The first female CJI was from Karnataka
 - D. Judges of Supreme Court are appointed by the President of India

6. Which of the following is not included in the qualification for being a judge in the Supreme Court?
 - A. He/she should be a citizen of India.
 - B. He should be a respected jurist in the eyes of Parliament
 - C. He/She must be a judge in the High Court for at least 5 years
 - D. He/ She should be a lawyer in the High Court for at least 10 years

7. Which statement is NOT correct regarding the tenure of judges of the Supreme Court?
 - A. A Judge of the Supreme Court can remain in office till the age of 65 years.
 - B. Judge of the Supreme Court gives his resignation letter to the Chief Justice
 - C. On the recommendation of Parliament, he can be removed by the President.
 - D. A Supreme Court judge can be removed only in the condition of misconduct.

8. The President can declare a judge an executive chief justice of the Supreme Court of India when...?
 - A. The post of Chief Justice of India is vacant
 - B. Chief Justice of India is temporarily absent
 - C. Chief Justice of India is unable to discharge his obligations
 - D. All of the above

9. Who among the following has the right to establish the bench of the Supreme Court elsewhere in the country?
 - A. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
 - B. The President of India
 - C. The Parliament
 - D. The Prime Minister

10. Which of the following articles states about the establishment of the Supreme Court?
 - A. Article 176
 - B. Article 153
 - C. Article 124
 - D. Article 324

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. A | 3. D | 4. A | 5. C |
| 6. B | 7. B | 8. D | 9. A | 10. C |

Review Questions

1. What is Judicial Activism and what is its importance in Indian context?
2. Write down the brief account of judicial system of India?
3. What do you mean by judiciary and write down the functions of judiciary in Indian context?
4. What are the major challenges associated with the judicial system of India; Elaborate?
5. Write down a brief account of Writ and Original jurisdiction of Supreme Court of India?

**Further Readings**

- Durga Das Basu (2022). Introduction to the Constitution of India (26th Edition). *Lexis Nexis*
- M. Laxmikanth (2021). Indian Polity (6th Edition Revised). *Mc Graw Hill*

Unit 10: Classification of Governments: Presidential and Prime Ministerial Governments

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

- 10.1 Presidential Form of Government
- 10.2 Features of the Presidential Form of Government
- 10.3 Merits of Presidential Form of Government
- 10.4 Demerits of Presidential Form of Government
- 10.5 Prime Ministerial Form of Government
- 10.6 Features of the parliamentary system
- 10.7 Merits of Parliamentary System
- 10.8 Demerits of Parliamentary System

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the meaning of Presidential and Prime Ministerial form of Government
- To understand the merits and demerits of Presidential and Prime Ministerial form of Government

Introduction

Countries worldwide are ruled by different forms of Government. Governments provide the parameters for everyday behaviour for citizens, protect them from outside interference, and often provide for their well-being and happiness. According to administrative law, a government is a collection of persons who can rule over a region. A country, a state or province within a country, or a region can all be considered territory. Governments are in charge of making laws, rules, and regulations, as well as collecting taxes and printing money. Governments have legal systems that identify the acts or activities that are illegal and outline the penalties for breaching the law. Governments employ a police force to ensure that citizens adhere to the law. Governments have a military force, such as an army, to defend the country from terrorism and other severe threats, as well as to attack and invade other countries. A government's leader may have advisers and ministers in charge of several ministries. They are collectively known as the administration.

Different countries have different executive systems. Some Constitutions or fundamental laws provide for a head of state that is not in theory but in practice chief executive, operating separately from, and independent from, the legislature. This system is known as the Presidential form of government because the government is answerable solely and exclusively to a presiding activist head of the State. A Prime Minister in a Presidential system lacks the constitutional and

political dominance of a prime minister and is often seen as simply a politically junior figure that may run the mechanics of government while allowing the president to set the broad national agenda. Whereas in Parliamentary systems; a prime minister may be master of his or her party and the government.

10.1 Presidential Form of Government

A presidential system is a democratic and republican system of government where a head of government leads an executive branch that is separate from the legislative branch. This head of government is in most cases also the head of state, which is called president. In presidential countries, the executive is elected and is not responsible to the legislature, which cannot in normal circumstances dismiss it. Such dismissal is possible, however, in uncommon cases, often through impeachment. According to Garner, "Presidential Government is that system in which the executive (including both the Head of the State and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of the legislature in respect to the duration of his or their tenure and irresponsible to it for his or their political policies". In the opinion of Gettell, "presidential government is that form in which the chief executive is independent of the legislature as to his tenure and to a large extent, as to his policies and acts. In this system, the head of the state is real executive." According to D.V. Verney "The term presidential has been chosen because in this system the office of the head of the government and head of state is combined in president." The above definitions summarize two features of the presidential executive i.e. its independence and non-responsibility to the legislature as well as its definite tenure and united structure. At present countries like USA, Brazil, Sri Lanka etc are having presidential form of government.

10.2 Features of the Presidential Form of Government

Maurice Duverger stated that the presidential system is characterized by the principle of the separation of powers, presidential elections by means of universal suffrage, presidential appointment and removal of ministers and because none of them are not politically responsible to the parliament.

- **President is the Real Head:** The Executive Power is undivided. In the Presidential system, the chief of the state is not merely the titular executive but he is real executive and actually exercises the powers which the constitution and laws confer upon him. In such a system, the President is the real head. He is the head of state as well as the head of government. In this system, the President enjoys real powers of the government. He is not responsible to the legislature for his administration and policies.
- **Separation of Powers:** There is separation of powers in the Presidential form of government. In this system the executive and legislature are separate from each other and they have equal status. The President is elected by people. Neither he nor his ministers are drawn from the legislature. They are not accountable to it. They are independent of the legislature. He has a fixed tenure. He cannot be easily ousted from office by the legislature. The only method of his ouster from office is impeachment which is a very difficult process. On the other hand, the President also cannot dissolve the legislature. Further, the judiciary is independent of both the executive and the legislature. Thus, there is not only separation of powers, but also check and balance in the Presidential system.
- **Checks and Balances;** Though the three organs of the government are kept apart, they are also connected by the system of checks and balances. Each organ of government exercises checks on the other two organs so that a sort of balance is established.
- **Ministers are Accountable to the President:** In a Presidential government, the President enjoys real powers of the administration and he exercises all those powers, which are given to him under the constitution and the law. The President appoints his ministers (or secretaries) who

Unit 10: Classification of Governments: Presidential and Prime Ministerial Governments

stay in office during his pleasure. They do not belong to the legislature. Nor are they responsible to it. They are appointed on the basis of their experience and expertise. The secretaries help the president in the administration and it depends upon the will of the president to accept or reject their advice. They are 'President's men'. He can remove them from office if he is not happy with them.

- **Non-Responsibility to the Legislature:** In a Presidential government the President and his secretaries are not responsible to the legislature. The legislature cannot remove them through a vote of no-confidence. Moreover, an adjournment motion or a censure motion cannot be brought against them. The President and his secretaries are not the members of legislature and they do not attend its sessions. Thus, they cannot be asked questions and supplementary questions.
- **Fixed Tenure:** In a Presidential government, the President is elected for a fixed tenure and except through impeachment for the violation of the constitution; he/she cannot be removed from his office before the expiry of his term. The tenure of office cannot be lessened or increased under any circumstances.
- **Transparency:** In a presidential system, the balance of power tends to be more transparent since it aims at defining the limits between the Executive and Legislative branches, even though there are many collaboration alliances between them, and that members of one are not members of the other at the same time, though there are exceptions.

10.3 Merits of Presidential Form of Government

- **More Democratic:** Because of the twin principles of separation of powers and check and balance, there is no concentration of powers in the same man or in the same body. As a result, there is more of democracy in this system.
- **Stability and Continuity:** As both the President and the legislature enjoy fixed terms of office, there is political stability. There is continuity of policy. As a result, the government can think of long-term policies.
- **People's President:** The President is directly elected by people. He has thus reason to think that he enjoys more of people's confidence and support than the Prime Minister in the Parliamentary system.
- **More Efficient:** The President is free to choose his ministers. The Senate, the Upper House of American Congress, may or may not ratify such appointments, but it cannot impose its choice on the President. The President has thus the freedom to appoint very competent persons as his Ministers or Secretaries on the basis of their experience and expertise. They are accountable only to the President and not to the Congress. As a result, they have time to concentrate on their work and to do their duty efficiently.
- **Prompt and Bold Decisions:** The President, being all powerful, is in a position to take bold and prompt decisions. His ministers, being subordinate to him, cannot tie hands. They may advise him, but they have to implement his decisions.
- **Best suited to Deal with Emergencies:** The Presidential system is more effective in tackling emergencies as there is unity of control and concentration of executive powers in person (President). He can react quickly to any national crisis by taking prompt decisions. There is hardly any need for him to convince others on the spot that the decision he going to take is good for the nation.
- **More Suitable for Multi-Party System:** The multiparty system is prone to political instability. Political parties with different interests pull the political system in different directions. In

order to check this, there is the need of a strong executive and the Presidential government is best suited to establish stability in a multiparty system.

- Symbol of National Unity and Integrity: The Presidential executive is of help in forging unity in the nation consisting of diverse regions, communities and cult. As he is directly elected by people, they look upon him as the symbol of their unity.

10.4 Demerits of Presidential Form of Government

- Dictatorial: The Presidential executive is likely to be authoritarian. As all executive powers are concentrated in the hands of the President and he is not accountable to legislature, he may be tempted to abuse powers and behave in a dictatorial manner.
- Conflict and Deadlock: As the President and his ministers are not members of legislature; they find it difficult to persuade the members of the latter to accept proposals. The legislature is inclined to find fault with the President, and vice versa. Conflict between the executive and the legislature leads to deadlock in the administration.
- Absence of Accountability: The executive is not accountable to the legislature. Nor is it accountable to people. The people directly elect their President; they cannot recall him even if they find him incompetent or dishonest or useless. President can be removed from office by the legislature through impeachment, which is a very difficult process.
- Rigidity: The Presidential system is too rigid to adapt itself to sudden changes in circumstances. To manage a crisis, the ministers including the Prime Minister in Parliamentary system can be replaced. However, the President in a Presidential system cannot be replaced during his tenure.
- Weak Foreign Policy: In the field of foreign policy, the President has handicaps. He has no power to declare a war even when his country is attacked by enemy. This power belongs to the Congress. Similarly, the treaty that he may conclude with another country is not valid if it is not ratified by the Senate. There is thus some validity in the comment of Gamer that the Presidential system government is 'autocratic, irresponsible and dangerous'.

10.5 Prime Ministerial Form of Government

India chose a parliamentary form of government primarily because the constitution-makers were greatly influenced by the system in England. Another reason the founding fathers saw was that the parliamentary model would only work to accommodate the varied and diverse groups within our population. Also, the strict separation of powers in the presidential system would cause conflicts between the two branches, the executive and the legislature, which our newly-independent country could ill-afford. There are more parliamentary forms of government in the world than there are presidencies. In this system, the parliament is generally supreme and the executive is responsible to the legislature. It is also known as the Cabinet form of government, and also 'Responsible Government'.

10.6 Features of the parliamentary system

- Close relationship between the legislature and the executive: Here, the Prime Minister along with the Council of Ministers form the executive and the Parliament is the legislature. The PM and the ministers are elected from the members of parliament, implying that the executive emerges out of the legislature.

Unit 10: Classification of Governments: Presidential and Prime Ministerial Governments

- Executive responsible to the legislature: The executive is responsible to the legislature. There is a collective responsibility, that is, each minister's responsibility is the responsibility of the whole Council.
- Dual executive: There are two executives – the real executive and the titular executive. The nominal executive is the head of state (president or monarch) while the real executive is the Prime Minister, who is the head of government.
- Secrecy of procedure: A prerequisite of this form of government is that cabinet proceedings are secret and not meant to be divulged to the public.
- Leadership of the Prime Minister: The leader of this form of government is the Prime Minister. Generally, the leader of the party that wins a majority in the lower house is appointed as the PM.
- Bicameral Legislature: Most parliamentary democracies follow bicameral legislature.
- No fixed tenure: The term of the government depends on its majority support in the lower house. If the government does not win a vote of no confidence, the council of ministers has to resign. Elections will be held and a new government is formed.
- Although India follows this system chiefly influenced by the British model, there are a few differences between the Indian and British systems. They are:
- In India, the PM can be from either the Rajya Sabha or the Lok Sabha. In Britain, the PM will always be from the lower house, the House of Commons.
- In Britain, the speaker once appointed, formally resigns from his/her political party. In India, the speaker continues to be a member of his/her party though he/she is expected to be impartial in the proceedings.
- The concept of a shadow cabinet is absent in India. In Britain, the opposition forms a shadow cabinet that scrutinises the actions and policies of the government. It also offers alternative programmes.

10.7 Merits of Parliamentary System

- Better coordination between the executive and the legislature: Since the executive is a part of the legislature, and generally the majority of the legislature supports the government, it is easier to pass laws and implement them.
- Prevents authoritarianism: Since the executive is responsible to the legislature, and can vote it out in a motion of no confidence, there is no authoritarianism. Also, unlike the presidential system, power is not concentrated in one hand.
- Responsible government: The members of the legislature can ask questions and discuss matters of public interest and put pressure on the government. The parliament can check the activities of the executive.
- Representing diverse groups: In this system, the parliament offers representation to diverse groups of the country. This is especially important for a country like India.
- Flexibility: There is flexibility in the system as the PM can be changed easily if needed. During the Second World War, the British PM Neville Chamberlain was replaced by Winston Churchill. This is unlike the presidential system where he/she can be replaced only after the entire term or in case of impeachment/incapacity.

10.8 Demerits of Parliamentary System

- No separation of powers: Since there is no genuine separation of powers, the legislature cannot always hold the executive responsible. This is especially true if the government has a good majority in the house. Also, because of anti-defection rules, legislators cannot exercise their free will and vote as per their understanding and opinions. They have to follow the party whip.
- Unqualified legislators: The system creates legislators whose intention is to enter the executive only. They are largely unqualified to legislate.
- Instability: Since the governments sustain only as long as they can prove a majority in the house, there is instability if there is no single-largest party after the elections. Coalition governments are generally quite unstable and short-lived. Because of this, the executive has to focus on how to stay in power rather than worry about the state of affairs/welfare of the people.
- Ministers: The executive should belong to the ruling party. This rules out the hiring of industry experts for the job.
- Failure to take a prompt decision: Since there is no fixed tenure enjoyed by the Council of Ministers, it often hesitates from taking bold and long-term policy decisions.
- Party politics: Party politics is more evident in the parliamentary system where partisan interests drive politician's more than national interests.
- Control by the bureaucracy: Civil servants exercise a lot of power. They advise the ministers on various matters and are also not responsible to the legislature.

Summary

Presidential form of government is the one where the executive is independent of legislature. In the Presidential form of government President holds the title of being the head of state as well as head of government. In the parliamentary form of government, Executive is dependent on legislature as all the members in the Council of Ministers are part of legislature. The United States of America is the suitable example of Presidential form of government and United Kingdom is the best example of Prime Ministerial form of Government.

Keywords

Constitution, Decentralize, Election, Presidential, Veto

Self Assessment

1. When a country's government is led by a single person with complete control over its inhabitants, it is known
 - A. Democracy
 - B. Dictatorship
 - C. Both a & b
 - D. None of the above
2. Josef Stalin and Adolf Hitler are examples of dictatorial form of government?
 - A. Yes

Unit 10: Classification of Governments: Presidential and Prime Ministerial Governments

- B. No
 - C. Can't Say
3. Which among the following statement/s is/are true?
- A. A monarchy is a form of governance led by a king or queen descended from the "royal family".
 - B. The ruler's preferences and powers are unrestrained in an absolute monarchy.
 - C. Both 1 and 2
 - D. Neither 1 nor 2
4. Parliamentary Government" is also known as...?
- A. Cabinet Government
 - B. Responsible Government
 - C. Westminster forms of government
 - D. All of the above
5. Which of the following characteristics is not related to Parliamentary Government?
- A. Resolution of lower house
 - B. Collective liability
 - C. Leadership of the Prime Minister
 - D. Single Executive
6. Which of the following is not the merit of the Presidential System?
- A. Permanent Government
 - B. Confirmation in policies
 - C. Limited Representation
 - D. Government by experts
7. Which of the following is a demerit of the Parliamentary System?
- A. Compressed representation
 - B. Uncertainty of policies
 - C. Temporary Government
 - D. All of the above
8. Which of the following characteristics is not related to the Presidential System?
- A. Governance of the Prime Minister
 - B. Single Executive
 - C. Single Membership
 - D. Dissolution of lower house is banned
9. United States of America is an example of which form of government?
- A. Presidential
 - B. Parliamentary
 - C. Dictatorship
 - D. None of the above
10. India and United Kingdom are the examples of which form of government?
- A. Presidential

- B. Parliamentary
- C. Dictatorship
- D. None of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. A | 3. C | 4. D | 5. D |
| 6. C | 7. D | 8. A | 9. A | 10. B |

Review Questions

1. What is Parliamentary form of Government; write down its characteristics?
2. Write down a comparative analysis of presidential and parliamentary form of government?
3. What is parliamentary form of government; elaborate with its characteristics?
4. What are the merits and demerits of presidential form of government; Elaborate?
5. Critically analyze the presidential form of government with examples?



Further Readings

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Unit 11: Federal System, Features of Federal System and Its Advantages, Characteristics of Unitary Government

CONTENTS

Objectives

- 11.1 Unitary Form of Government
- 11.2 Features of Unitary Form of Government
- 11.3 Merits of Unitary Government
- 11.4 Demerits of Unitary Government
- 11.5 Federal Form of Government
- 11.6 Features of Federal Form of Government:
- 11.7 Merits of Federal Form Government
- 11.8 Demerits of Federal Form of Government

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the meaning and features of federal form of government
- To understand the meaning and features of unitary form of government

11.1 Unitary Form of Government

On the basis of relationship between the center and the units, the governments may be classified as unitary and federal. In a unitary government, all the powers of government are vested in the central government whereas in a federal government, the powers of government are divided between the center and the units. Unitary government is a kind of government system in which a single power, which is known as the central government, controls the whole government. In fact, all powers and administrative divisions authorities lies at the central place. Today most of the government systems in the world are based on unitary system of government. It is slightly different from federal model of government.

In unitary government, central government has the power to increase or curtail the power of sub-national units. It can create and abolished the same. UK, Afghanistan, Italy, China, Saudi Arabia, Spain, etc., are the important examples of unitary government. The unitary government system is based on the concept of consistency, unity, and identity that's why the centralization of power and authority system remains at the top priority. The decision-making power rests with the central government that are shared by the government with the lower level government when needed. There are not so many options for change and new innovation as the people have a very limited voice in this government system. There are many merits and demerits of unitary government. It is useful in the term that rules and regulations in this government systems remain consist and equal throughout the country. Moreover, it is less expensive as compared to the federal government because the number of powerful people remains very low. In a time of emergency, it makes timely decisions as compared to the federal government system. But at the same time, the

Comparative Political Analysis

concept of freedom of speech and expression always remains at a low priority that's why most of the principles of unitary government are much similar to that of dictatorship system of government.

11.2 Features of Unitary Form of Government

- **Concentration of Powers:** A unitary government is one in which all the powers of administration are vested in a single center. The center is omnipotent. A unitary state may be divided into small units for the sake of administrative convenience but the units do not have any constitutional status of their own. In other words, the constitution does not confer any powers on the units. It is the central government which delegates certain powers to the units on its own accord. The units are, therefore, subordinate agents of center. The powers enjoyed by them are the gifts of the center and as such these can be taken back at any moment. The units are thus not autonomous and independent in any way.
- **Single Government:** In a unitary government, there is a single set of governmental apparatus. There is a single supreme legislature, single executive body and one supreme judiciary. England, for example, is a unitary state. She has one parliament as her legislature, the King-in-Council as the executive and the judicial committee of the House of Lords as her supreme judiciary.
- **Written or unwritten Constitution:** A unitary government may or may not have a written constitution. As for example, England and France are unitary states. France has a written constitution but England has none.
- **Rigid or Flexible Constitution:** Unlike a federation, a unitary state may or may not have a rigid constitution, e.g., the constitution of England is flexible but that of France is slightly rigid.
- **No Special Judiciary:** There is no need of having a special judiciary with wide powers of judicial veto in a unitary government. Even the highest court of U.K., for example, cannot sit in judgment over the law passed by Parliament.

11.3 Merits of Unitary Government

- **Strong Government:** It is a source of strong, stable, all-powerful government.
- **Single Administration:** It ensures single uniform administration for the whole of the state.
- **Simple and Less Expensive System:** The system deserves special praise for its simplicity and less expensiveness.
- **Flexibility in Administration:** The administration of a unitary state is flexible and can easily adapt itself to the changing social needs and environment because the central government can amend the constitution as and when required.
- **Suitable for small states:** A unitary government, because of its simplicity, less expensiveness and strength, is ideally suitable for small states.
- **Responsible for its work:** Since a single government runs the whole show, the responsibility of any lapse can be easily fixed. The central government cannot blame the local governments for its failures and acts of omission.
- **Can be very useful in meeting emergencies:** Finally, it is very suitable for meeting emergencies because being an all-powerful government—the central government can take all necessary decisions quickly and implement these with full force.

It is because of recognition of these merits of a unitary government that many federal constitutions (like the Constitution of India) provide for a temporary transformation of federalism into Unitarian-federalism for meeting emergencies. Gettell praises a unitary system for its uniformity and freedom from repetitions, wastefulness and extravagance that usually characterize a federal system.

11.4 Demerits of Unitary Government

- Centre Government is Excessively Powerful: First, the unitary system provides for the creation of an all-powerful central government with full centralization of powers. It involves a possibility for central dictatorship or despotism over local areas. In the words of E.B. Schulz, "The primary objection to the unitary system is its lack of formal safeguards against centralization of government functions."
- Danger of Inefficiency: The central government often behaves inefficiently because of being overburdened with all the work. It often finds itself not fully capable of meeting the pressure of work resulting from the socio-economic-cultural functions that it has to perform as an agent of the modern welfare state.
- Ignores Local Needs: Another valid point of criticism against the unitary government is that because of being located at the center and faced with pressing national problems, it very often fails to satisfy local needs. The local governments, being its administrative agencies do not enjoy the much needed autonomy required for meeting the local needs locally.
- Unsuitable for Big States: The unitary system is suitable only for small and homogeneous states. For big states or states with racial, linguistic, cultural, religious and regional diversities, federal system alone can be suitable.
- More Dependent on Bureaucracy: A unitary government is more bureaucratic. The existence of a single political executive and legislature for the whole of the state makes way for the dominance of the administration by the bureaucrats. It is the bureaucracy which really runs the central and local administration.
- Fewer chances for Popular Participation in the working of government: Being a system governed by a single central government, a unitary state provides fewer opportunities for political participation of the people. Consequently, the people receive less political education and there usually exists a psychological gap between the people and the government.
- Less of Local Autonomy and Initiative: Finally, because of being a system based on centralization of powers, the critics regard a unitary government as less democratic. It kills local initiative. It further discourages popular interest in public affairs.
- Discussing the demerits of a unitary government, Dr. Garner opines that it "tends to repress local initiative, discourages interest in public affairs, impairs the vitality of local governments and facilitates the development of centralized bureaucracy." Similar views have been expressed by R.G. Gettell and several other political scientists.

In conclusion, we can say that a unitary government, because of its simplicity, strength and stability, represents an effective type of governmental organization, which, can be fruitfully established and worked in small states. For large states or states characterized by socio-cultural-regional diversities, it cannot be recommended because of its centralizing nature and scope.

11.5 Federal Form of Government

Federal government is a type of national government in which government have powers to delegates the power to other elected member of the states. There can be two level of federal government in a country either it is performing through common institutions or through powers as prescribed by a constitution of the state. It is totally opposite to the unitary government. In federation or federal government, provinces or territories enjoys some rights as are available to the independent states. However, international diplomacy, national security, foreign affairs and other kinds of international dealings are solely made by the federal government. Pakistan, India, Brazil, Switzerland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, etc., are the significant examples of federal government. Mostly the federal government system is referred to the United States government. This

Comparative Political Analysis

government is based on the republicanism and federalism. In the federal system, power is jointly shared between the state and federal governments. In the federal government system, the powers never rest with one national government. However, there can be certain powers and authorities that remain totally with the federal government like policies on defence, budget, international diplomacy, etc. The hierarchy of power in federal government system starts from the federal level and then flows to the state and then local level.

11.6 Features of Federal Form of Government:

- **Division of Powers:** In a federal government the powers of administration are divided between the center and the units. The powers may be distributed in two different ways. Either the constitution states what powers the federal authority shall have, and leaves the remainder to the federating units, or it states what powers the federating units shall possess and leaves the remainder to the federal authority. The remainder is generally known as residuary powers. The first method was employed in America and the second in Canada. The federal government in U.S.A., for example, is weak in relation to the states whereas the federal government in Canada is more powerful. In a federation both the federal and state governments are independent and autonomous in the spheres of their powers. 'One is not subordinate to the other. Both derive their powers from the constitution which is the supreme law of the land. The powers enjoyed by the units are, therefore, original and not delegated by the center.
- **Separate Government:** In a federal form of government both the center and the units have their separate set of governmental apparatus. America is a federation of states. States have therefore separate legislatures and Separate executives.
- **Written Constitution:** A federal government must have a written constitution. As a federation is a political partnership of various states and consequently there must be a written agreement in the form of a written constitution.
- **Rigid Constitution:** The constitution of a federation should be more or less rigid. It is regarded as a sacred agreement, the spirit of which should not be easily violated. A flexible constitution allows a scope to the central government to curtail the autonomy of the federating states.
- **Special Judiciary:** In a federation, there are possibilities of constitutional disputes arising between the federal center and the units or between one unit and another. All these disputes are to be adjudicated in the light of the constitution. For this purpose, a special judiciary with wide powers must be established. It should act as the custodian and guardian of the constitution. It should be vested with powers of declaring any law, national or local, ultra vires if it is at variance with the articles of the constitution. The constitution is thus the supreme law in a federation to which both the centric and the state must adhere to.

11.7 Merits of Federal Form Government

- Firstly, a federal government reconciles national unity with local diversity and autonomy under these systems small and militarily weak states can join hands to create a central government and also retain their independence and autonomy.
- Secondly, the federal system of government is based on divisions of powers between which leads to administrative efficiency. Generally, the local matters are tackled by the state governments and central governments concentrate only on problems of national importance. This imparts efficiency to administration.

- Thirdly, under federal government due to existence of dual polity and division of power there is very little chance for the central government to become despotic. In other words the federal system there is no danger of despotism.
- Fourthly, federal government is most suitable of countries with vast territories and inhabited by people of different races, cultures etc. It enables these groups to retain their individual entity along with national unity.
- Fifthly, federal government is also economy beneficial. Under this system small independent states can pool their resources and achieve rapid development. The elimination of inter- state tariff barriers amongst the state also contributes towards the property of the state increasing their trade personalities. In the foreign spheres the federal government leads to greater economy because there are saved from the burden of maintaining separate representatives and embassies.
- Sixthly, federal government can also serve as a model for world government. It is admitted at all hands that though the idea of a world-state does not seem to be realizable in the near future of a world state were ever to emerge it would certainly be the pattern of federal system.
- Federal system imparts greater political education to the people by affording them an opportunity to participate with governmental activities at the central as well as state levels.
- Finally, the federal government enables the state governments to experiment with different methods of administration and laws in the listed spheres thereby minimizing the risk of damage. Once these experiments prove successful they can be easily adopted at the national level.

11.8 Demerits of Federal Form of Government

- In the first place the federal government is a weak government because it is based on division of powers. Further there is also the problem of constantly balancing one state of federation against another.
- Secondly, in the foreign sphere also the federal government is a rather weak. The state government can pose obstruction in the way the central government with regard implementation of treaties. It is well known that the government of West Bengal strongly opposed the transfer of BeraBori to Pakistan even after the conclusion of agreement by the government of India with Pakistan.
- Thirdly, under federal system there is always scope for conflicts between the national and local interest. While the states tend to their local interest, the central government adopts policy which is national interest. As a result, there are bound to be conflicts between the two sets of policies.
- Fourthly, federal government is more expensive because it demands double set of government. Apart from financial burden the double set of government leads to delays and causes unnecessary irritation.
- Fifthly, the federal government is not able to change according to the requirements of the time due to presence of a written and rigid constitution. No doubt there is always provision for amendment of the constitution, but under federal system it is always possible that different political parties may be in the power at the center and the units and it may not be easy to affecting necessary amendment in the constitution. This rigidity stands in the way of progress.
- Sixthly, federal system due to division in the law making power between the center and the states there is always the possibility of a variety of laws on the same matter.

Summary

The countries across the globe have adopted variety of governance models based on their convenience and geographical vastness. In this milieu the federal form of government has multiple hierarchy levels, with both the central authority and the states (or provinces) both being sovereign. While as there is no hierarchy of sovereign powers in case of unitary governance mechanism. There is clear division of powers between centre and states in federal mechanism; which as the case is quite reverse in unitary form of government. The example of federal country is USA and that of unitary one is UK.

Keywords

Federal, Geography, State, Sovereign, Unitary

Self Assessment

1. In federalism, power is divided between various constituent units and:
 - A. Central authority
 - B. States
 - C. Both (a) and (b)
 - D. None of the above

2. Which of the following characteristics is not related to the federal government?
 - A. Written Constitution
 - B. Flexible Constitution
 - C. Supremacy of the Constitution
 - D. Independent Judiciary

3. In the Federal Government.....?
 - A. All the powers and functions are vested in the Central Government and Regional Government.
 - B. All powers are divided into Central Government and Regional Government
 - C. Both A and B
 - D. None of the above

4. The Federal System in India is based on the model of which country?
 - A. Canada
 - B. UK
 - C. America
 - D. Japan

5. Which of the following statements is wrong?
 - A. Lok Sabha represents the people of India.
 - B. The Rajya Sabha represents the states.
 - C. There are only 98 topics in the center list at this time.
 - D. Rajya Sabha protects the state with unnecessary interference from the Center

6. A system of government in which power is divided between a central authority and various constituent unit of the country is called
 - A. Federalism
 - B. Communal-ism
 - C. Socialism
 - D. Democracy

7. How many languages are included in the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution?
 - A. 15
 - B. 22
 - C. 25
 - D. 21

8. To make India a strong federation, we need.....?
 - A. Written constitution
 - B. Rigid constitution
 - C. Independent judiciary
 - D. All of the above

9. Who is the head of urban local government?
 - A. Sarpanch
 - B. Ward commissioner
 - C. Mukhiya
 - D. Mayor

10. In India's federal system, the state governments have the power to legislate on all those subjects which are included in the...?
 - A. Union list
 - B. State list
 - C. Concurrent list
 - D. Residuary subjects

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. C | 2. B | 3. B | 4. A | 5. C |
| 6. A | 7. B | 8. D | 9. D | 10. B |

Review Questions

1. Write down a brief account of unitary form of government?
2. What do you mean by federal government; discuss its characteristics?
3. What are the merits of federal form of government?
4. Critically discuss the unitary form of government with suitable examples?
5. Write down the comparative analysis of federal and unitary form of government?



Further Readings

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Unit 12: Typology of States: Totalitarian State and Its Features**CONTENTS**

Objectives

Introduction

12.1 Characteristics of Totalitarian State

12.2 Current Totalitarian States

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the meaning and nature of totalitarian state
- To understand the features of totalitarian state

Introduction

A state is a political division of a body of people that occupies a territory defined by frontiers. The state is sovereign in its territory (also referred to as jurisdiction) and has the authority to enforce a system of rules over the people living inside it. That system of rules is commonly composed of a constitution, statutes, regulations, and common law. The state consists, most broadly, of the agreement of the individuals on the means whereby disputes are settled in the form of laws. In such countries as the United States, Australia, Nigeria, Mexico, and Brazil, the term state (or a cognate) also refers to political units that are not sovereign themselves but subject to the authority of the larger state, or federal union.

12.1 Characteristics of Totalitarian State

Totalitarian states and Liberal Democratic states are two different types of government. Totalitarianism is a form of state in which the state holds sovereignty, and typically is run by a dictator. The Totalitarian system is centralized and a single person or party has complete authority, and disagreement is forbidden. Often regarded as the most extreme form of authoritarianism, totalitarianism is generally identified by dictatorial centralized rule dedicated to controlling all public and private aspects of individual life, to the benefit of the state, through coercion, intimidation, and repression. Totalitarian states are typically ruled by autocrats or dictators who demand unquestioned loyalty and control public opinion through propaganda distributed via government-controlled media. An even darker description of living under totalitarianism comes from George Orwell's classic dystopian novel 1984, when the main character Winston Smith is told by Thought Police interrogator O'Brien, "If you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face forever." There is wide array of characteristics that define the basic and functional outlook of a totalitarian state. In this milieu, the characteristics of a totalitarian state are:

- They differ individually: Totalitarian states have several characteristics in common. The two most notable characteristics shared by all totalitarian states are an overarching ideology addressing all aspects of life as the means of attaining the state's final goal, and a single, all-powerful political party, usually led by a dictator. While there is only one platform, participation in the political system, especially voting, is mandatory. The ruling party controls all aspects and functions of government, including the use of a secret police force to brutally suppress dissent. The government itself is riddled with the duplicity of roles and functions, creating a hopelessly complex bureaucracy creating a false impression of a non-existent separation of powers the antithesis of totalitarian regimes.
- Mandatory Devotion to a State Ideology: All citizens are required to adopt and serve a single apocalyptic ideology dedicated to defeating a shadowy and corrupt old order to be replaced by a new, racially pure, utopian society. Renouncing all traditional forms of political orientation—liberal, conservative, or populist—the totalitarian ideology demands a virtually religious and unconditional personal devotion to a single charismatic leader.
- Unwavering and total loyalty to both the regime's ideology and its leader are demanded. Total obedience to authority is required and enforced through physical intimidation and the threat of imprisonment. Citizens are made to be aware that they are under constant surveillance. Individual thought is discouraged and publicly ridiculed as a potential threat to the goals of the state ideology. As often attributed to totalitarian Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, Ideas are more powerful than guns. We would not let our enemies have guns, why should we let them have ideas?" All basic liberties, such as the freedoms of speech and assembly, are denied and punishable.
- State Control of Media: Totalitarian governments control all mass media, including art and literature. This control enables the regime to produce a constant stream of propaganda designed to "gaslight" the people and prevent them from realizing the hopelessness of their situation. Often riddled with clichéd, confusing catchphrases, this propaganda is typified by the poster created by the totalitarian government depicted in George Orwell's classic novel 1984: "War is peace. Freedom is slavery. Ignorance is strength."
- State Control of the Economy: To further its predatory militaristic goals, totalitarian regimes own and control all aspects of the economy, including capital and all means of production. The personal economic incentives of capitalism are thus rendered impossible. Theoretically unburdened by the independent thought and effort required to succeed under a capitalistic system, individual citizens are free to concentrate solely on furthering the regime's ideological goals.
- A System of Terror and Constant War: Domestic terrorism conducted in support of the regime against dissidents is celebrated through the wearing of party uniforms and the use of complimentary metaphors for terrorists such as "storm troopers," "freedom fighters," or "labor brigades." To further rally universal support for their ideology, totalitarian regimes strive to convince all individuals that they are civilian soldiers in an endless war, against an often loosely-defined evil enemy.

12.2 Current Totalitarian States

According to most authorities, North Korea and the East African state of Eritrea are the world's only two nations recognized as still having totalitarian forms of government.

- North Korea: Established as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948, North Korea remains the world's longest-lasting totalitarian state. Currently ruled by Kim Jong-un, North

Unit 12: Typology of States: Totalitarian State and Its Features

Korea's government is considered one of the most repressive in the world by Human Rights Watch, maintaining power through brutality and intimidation. Propaganda is widely used to support the government's totalitarian ideology of Juche, the belief that true socialism can be achieved only through universal loyalty to a strong and independent state. Although North Korea's constitution promises human rights, freedom of expression is restricted and the people are constantly supervised. The same constitution contradictorily defines North Korea as "a dictatorship of people's democracy." Politically, the constitutionally recognized Workers' Party of Korea enjoys legal supremacy over any other political parties.

- Eritrea: Since gaining full independence in 1993, Eritrea has remained a totalitarian one-party dictatorship. Under President Isaias Afwerki, national legislative and presidential elections have never been held and none are anticipated. While Afwerki has dismissed the allegations as politically motivated, Human Rights Watch has condemned Eritrea's human rights record as one of the worst in the world. Falsely claiming to be on a constant "war footing" with neighboring Ethiopia, Afwerki's totalitarian government uses mandatory, indefinite military or civilian national service to control the Eritrean people. According to Human Rights Watch, the entire working life of many Eritreans is spent serving the government.

Summary

Totalitarian state is the one that maintain its controls upon all the facets of social existence. In a totalitarian state, the decisions pertaining to social, economic and political facets are being taken by the state (government). Under the shadow of totalitarian state, an individual enjoys limited liberty and freedom of expression. Furthermore, the state maintains tight control upon the public and private life. In the recent era North Korea is the matching example of a totalitarian state.

Keywords

Democratic, Freedom, Liberal, Regime, State, Totalitarian

Self Assessment

1. Which of the following is an accurate definition of a totalitarian government?
 - A. A government that holds total control over the citizens of its nation
 - B. A government that allows basic freedoms to its citizens
 - C. A government that allowed private ownership of business
 - D. government that allowed private ownership of business

2. All of the following are characteristics of totalitarianism except:
 - A. State controls the economy
 - B. State is run by a single party
 - C. State relinquishes control of armed forces to military leaders
 - D. State censor's newspapers and other forms of media

3. Under totalitarianism, the government would exercise control over:
 - A. Art
 - B. Personal beliefs
 - C. Speech

- D. All of these are correct
4. A totalitarian government may include which of the following characteristics:
- A. Total authority over all aspects of a society
 - B. The use of terror to avoid losing control over the public
 - C. A planned ideology and/or social revolution
 - D. All of the answers are correct.
5. Which of the following state has been described as 'An indestructible union of destructible states'?
- A. Australia
 - B. USA
 - C. India
 - D. France
6. Which type of government is called as representative one?
- A. Autocratic
 - B. Monarchy
 - C. Democracy
 - D. All of the above
7. In context to democracy, which among the following is not relevant?
- A. Free and fair elections
 - B. Dignity of the individual
 - C. Majority rule
 - D. Equality before law
8. Using right to vote during the election represents which type of value/right?
- A. Fundamental right
 - B. Democratic value
 - C. Autocratic value
 - D. Authoritarian
9. Which country was defeated after the First World War?
- A. France
 - B. Germany
 - C. Russia
 - D. Britain
10. The country that dropped atom bomb on Hiroshima in Japan was....?
- A. France
 - B. America
 - C. Germany
 - D. Britain

Answers for Self Assessment

1. A 2. C 3. D 4. D 5. C
6. C 7. C 8. B 9. B 10. B

Review Questions

1. Define totalitarianism and its characteristics?
2. What are the pros and con's of totalitarianism; Explain?
3. Write down a comparative analysis of totalitarianism and democracy?
4. Explain totalitarianism with suitable examples in the recent times?
5. Is North Korea a totalitarian state; If yes specify the reasons?

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Unit 13: Liberal State: Its Role, Welfare State and Its Role on Modern Society

CONTENTS

Objectives

13.1 Meaning and Definition of Liberal State

13.2 Features of the Liberal State

13.3 Welfare State

13.4 Objectives of Welfare State

13.5 Role of Welfare State

13.6 India: A Welfare State

Conclusion

Summary

Key Words

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the meaning and features of welfare state
- To understand the meaning and features of liberal state

13.1 Meaning and Definition of Liberal State

Liberalism, in a sense, means to shun conservativeness or avoid restrictions in policy making, enactment and administration of state. The liberal state is, however, one that adopts liberal principles, policies and methods. It means that the state should adopt a liberal attitude towards the rights, privileges, functions and various other things of the citizens. It has been assumed that the restrictions or any type of conservativeness adopted by the government will curb the liberty and, simultaneously, the spontaneity of the individuals leading to the slow-down of growth of man's personality individuality and inherent qualities.

Therefore, a liberal state denotes a limited government or limited state. It can also be called a theory of limited state introduced by a number of thinkers. The term limited state may be confusing. It exactly means limited functions and role of the state or non-intervention of state. The concept of liberal state can also be explained from another standpoint. It has been maintained by a recent critic that all strands of liberal era confer certain rights and privileges upon persons and these must be protected at any cost. So a liberal state is one which gives priority to the cause of the individuals. In the controversy 'individual vs. state' liberal state always favours the interest/cause of individuals.

The liberal state is, thus, opposite to conservative, authoritarian and totalitarian state. The dictionary meaning of liberal is – respectful and accepting of behaviour or opinions, different from others. A state is liberal when it acknowledges the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of individuals and does not think these as a threat to the existence and administration of state. There are

differences among the political philosophers and political scientists as to the functions of liberal state, but there is a common strand among them all—and it is that individuals must have maximum freedom so that their free development does not receive any setback due to state policy or action.

13.2 Features of the Liberal State

A liberal state can easily be distinguished from an authoritarian or totalitarian state and this is because of certain unique features of such a state:

- A liberal state always adopts a liberal attitude towards the rights of citizens. Mention has been made that the most vital precondition of individual's development is granting of rights and privileges to all individuals equitably. If any inequality or discrimination is to be followed that must be for the general interest of the body politic and to the least disadvantage of anybody. By resorting to this system the authority of the liberal state will be in a position to ensure the progress of the individuals. In precise term liberalism implies what is granted in the forms of rights and privileges to one shall also be granted to others.
- Liberal state presupposes the existence of many groups and organizations and the characteristic feature of a liberal state is they are engaged in cooperation and conflict among themselves. These groups are termed in various ways such as "power elite" "ruling elite" etc. There are also many interest groups. Under normal and peaceful conditions liberal state does not normally intend to impose restrictions upon their activities. In an authoritarian state the prevalence of such a situation cannot be imagined. Plurality of ideas and organisations is a forbidden fruit in such a state.
- The liberal state maintains neutrality among all these groups. Since multiplicity of groups and organizations and coexistence among them are the characteristic features of a liberal state any conflict or clash of interests can also be regarded as inevitable consequence. Here the question is: What would be the exact role of the state in this situation? The liberal state maintains utmost neutrality. This is the claim of the votaries of a liberal state. The liberal state normally does not favor any particular class or elite group in the case of conflict. Though the state maintains neutrality the state is quite aware of clash of interests between classes and groups. As a provider of check and stability in the political system the state adopts reforms so that destabilization cannot occur.

A liberal state can reasonably be called a reformist state. Through frequent reforms a liberal state brings about changes in the political system. In fact, liberalism or liberal state is closely linked with reforms and in that sense it is based on reformism. It adopts liberal attitude to reforms.

- The important feature of a liberal state is it is accountable to the citizenry which means that all its activities, decisions and policies are to be approved by the body politic. The consent and accountability is the twin ideas associated with the liberal state. It means that the decision of the state is not final even though it is for the general welfare of the community. It is because what is welfare and what is not, is to be decided for whom it is meant. There is no scope of imposing anything upon the individuals against their will.
- Liberal state is never a one-idea state; it embraces multiplicity of ideas, views and existence of numerous groups and parties. This finally indicates a competition among them. Competition involved seizure of political power through constitutional means, legal procedure and democratic ways, competition in views and ideas. It is believed that the truth will emerge only from this struggle of words and ideas. That is why in a liberal state such a competition is

Unit 13: Liberal State: Its Role, Welfare State and Its Role on Modern Society

always encouraged. J. S. Mill strongly advocated for the competition among the different shades of views and ideas.

- A liberal state cannot be imagined without political parties; and this is not all. In any liberal state there are number of ideas number of political parties and they struggle to capture power. Here lies a major difference between a liberal state and authoritarian state. A liberal state is sometimes called a pluralist state because of the plurality of ideas and organizations. A competitive party system is a very important aspect of a liberal state. One party captures power, while the other party or parties sit in the opposition and in this way the change in power takes place which does not normally occur in dictatorial state. It has been maintained by a critic that modern parties are mass organizations with extra-parliamentary structure.
- Separation of power is generally regarded as a feature. A liberal state means limited state and it again implies the three organs of the state will discharge this function keeping them within the confinement decided by law and constitution. When this is implemented no organ of the government will interfere with the functions and jurisdiction of another organ. But the separation of powers need not be the only precondition of being liberal. For example, Britain is a liberal state but the separation of powers has failed to be an integral part of state machinery. But some forms of separation of power must exist in all liberal states. The separation of power of USA is different from that of U.K.
- A liberal state does not endorse the domination of a particular ideology, various opinions or ideologies work and exist side by side. It is a state of multiple ideas, ideals ideologies and views and all of them enjoy ample opportunities and atmosphere for work. In a non-liberal state such a situation is unimaginable. While as in authoritarian regimes the state-sponsored ideology dominates over all other ideologies. Both fascism and communism fall in this category. The citizens are free to select any one idea or ideology and application of force is non-existent.
- In all liberal states there are mainly two centres of power—one is economic and the other is political. But the interesting fact is that economic power-centre controls the political power. Marx emphasizes this aspect of liberal state. From the study of history, he came to know that the owners of the sources of production and the controllers of distribution in all possible means control the political power for the furtherance of the interest of the capitalist class. They control parties, pressure groups, send their own persons to represent people, the legislatures enact laws to safeguard the interests of the ruling class.
- There is no fixed form of liberal state. For example, we find in Britain a constitutional monarchy. There is clear incongruity between monarchism and liberalism. But the mere fact is that Britain is a liberal state. On the other hand, United States is also a liberal state with constitutional republic in character. The head of the state is President and if he exercises all his constitutional powers with a nefarious motive he can become a real dictator. France and Russia are also liberal states though the administrative machineries in these two states are different. With different constitutional machinery, Switzerland is also a liberal state.

13.3 Welfare State

The term "welfare state" refers to a type of governing in which the national government plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. A welfare state is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions of a good life. Social Security, federally mandated unemployment insurance programs, and welfare payments to people unable to work are all examples of the welfare state. In welfare state there is

well-established network of social institutions that play a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. The general term may cover a variety of forms of economic and social organization.

Most modern countries practice some elements of what is considered the welfare state. That said term is frequently used in a derogatory sense to describe a state of affairs where the government in question creates incentives that are beyond reason, resulting in an unemployed person on welfare payments earning more than a struggling worker. The welfare state is sometimes criticized as being a "nanny state" in which adults are coddled and treated like children. A fundamental feature of the welfare state is social insurance, a provision common to most advanced industrialized countries (e.g., National Insurance in the United Kingdom and Social Security in the United States). Such insurance is usually financed by compulsory contributions and is intended to provide benefits to persons and families during periods of greatest need. It is widely recognized, however, that in practice the cash benefits fall considerably short of the levels intended by the designers of the plans. In this milieu, there are two main interpretations of the idea of a welfare state:

- A model in which the state assumes primary responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. This responsibility in theory ought to be comprehensive, because all aspects of welfare are considered and universally applied to citizens as a "right".
- Welfare state can also mean the creation of a "social safety net" of minimum standards of varying forms of welfare.

13.4 Objectives of Welfare State

- To provide economic security: The purpose of the welfare state is to provide economic security to an individual. The basic needs of an individual viz foods, cloth and shelter are fulfilled in a welfare state; otherwise the political freedoms granted to him become meaningless. The basic purpose of welfare is to provide economic security to old age, sickness, unemployment etc.
- Social equality: To provide social equality is also the objective of welfare state. No discrimination should be made with anybody on the basis of his caste, religion, color and creed etc and everybody should be given equal status. In case any individual become a threat to social equality, proper legal action should be taken against him.
- Political security: It means that without making any discrimination, everybody should be given equal rights to take part in political activities. He should be given freedom to express his view freely about the problem of the country. Thus, impartial judiciary has made for the protection of their rights.
- To seek public welfare: The chief purpose of welfare state is to seek public welfare, so it provides all the opportunities to an individual for his sided development. The responsibility of physical, economic, political and social development of an individual is that of the state and of an individual is that of the state and for this state create necessary environment.
- To achieve international cooperation: A welfare state is also concerned with the welfare of the people living in all countries of the world. A welfare state does not want the devastation of other states rather it wants peace, harmonious and prosperous world and for this it is believe in international cooperation.

13.5 Role of Welfare State

- Protection of life and liberty: The first and foremost duty of the state is to protect the life and property of the individual. If the individual is worried about the security of his life, he will not be able to make any progress. Thus, for the progress of the individual the first important concern of the state should be the protection of the life and property of citizens.
- Protection from external invasions: In order to maintain its existence, the state has to protect its external sovereignty. If state fails to do so, it loses its identity. In order to achieve this objective, the state has to maintain a strong standing army. The state which is unable to protect itself from internal and external threats shall not be able to protect the life, liberty and property of its citizens.
- Maintenance of law and order: One of the important functions of the state is the maintenance of law and order. The state makes adequate arrangements for curtailing crimes, punishing the criminals and for the protection of life and property of its citizens. The state makes provision of police and courts to apprehend culprits and to punish them.
- Social and economic security: The contemporary state also makes arrangements for economic and social Security of its citizens. Facilities of old age pensions, subsistence allowances to the crippled and unemployed and pensions after retirement of service are also granted by the state.
- Eradication of poverty: No state can make progress if its citizens are poor and are not able to meet and bear necessities of their lives. It should be the duty of the state to eradicate poverty and the citizens may be well provided with the necessities of life like food, clothing and shelter. For this purpose, the welfare state makes various plans, creates employment opportunities, distributes free food to the persons living below poverty line etc.
- Development of natural resources: The natural resources are a great asset of the state. These resources significantly contribute to the progress and development in the country. The state develops and preserves the forests, exploits the mineral resources and utilizes the water resources of land for benefits of the people.
- Imposition and collection of taxes: The state needs financial resources to undertake the various welfare projects for the people. The state also takes necessary steps to stabilize monetary position and to control inflation. It also regulates banking system, fixes interest rates for borrowing and lending and prints current according to need etc.
- Provision of political equality: Political equality is essential conditions for the establishment of welfare state and the state without political equality cannot claim to be a welfare state. To establish political equality, the state provides for equal political rights to all. All the citizens of the state are given the right to vote, right to contest election, right to contest election, right to hold public office, right to petition etc without making any discrimination.

13.6 India: A Welfare State

The welfare state is a concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. It provides a social security net which may include education, housing, sustenance, healthcare etc. Without ensuring equality of opportunity and equitable distribution of wealth, the welfare of the marginalised and deprived sections of society cannot be ensured.

India at the dawn of the independence inherited several economic (chronic poverty) and social challenges, for example, vulnerable sections of the society such as women, Dalits; children were deprived of basic means of living. In this context, the Indian Constitution imbibes the concept of the welfare state, which can be depicted in the form of Fundamental Rights and the other as

Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). Fundamental rights sought to implement political equality and Directive Principles of State Policy sought to implement socio-economic equality.

In pursuance of this, the Indian state has provided many schemes and policies. For example: Enforcing Article 16(4) the government can provide for reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class that is not adequately represented in the state services. In pursuance of Article 21A, the Parliament enacted the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009. This Act seeks to provide that every child has a right to be provided full-time elementary education. The Maternity Benefit Act (1961) and the Equal Remuneration Act (1976) have been made to protect the interests of women workers. Schemes like Ayushman Bharat, Jal Jeevan Mission, Saubhagya scheme etc. are all steps towards fulfilling the mandate of the welfare state.

Conclusion

The welfare state is the mandate of any mature democracy. Therefore, both citizenry and government should strive to make society more inclusive and equitable. While equality of opportunity provides all the sections of the society a level playing field, equitable distribution of wealth empowers them to maximise their productivity and contribution in society. Government schemes like Stand Up India, Start Up India, Jan Dhan Yojana and policies like land reform policies, reservations for the marginalised sections in job opportunities are some of the steps being taken by the government in this direction to ensure equitable distribution of wealth and to provide equality of opportunity.

Summary

A Welfare state is the one that holds the prime responsibility to provide basic amenities to its citizens. The basic amenities including food, water, shelter, education and employment are termed as basic foundations for survival. Liberal state is the one that accept the opinions and differences in a political setting. There is large room for opposition to criticize the policies as well as for government to promote the competition and freedom. Both the welfare and liberal state are primarily intended to support the individual freedom and holistic development.

Key Words

Liberal, Privilege, Policy, Society, Welfare

Self Assessment

1. The founder of Chinese Nationalist Party-Guomindang (GMD) was?
 - A. Mao Zedong
 - B. Chiang Kai-shek
 - C. Dr. Sun Yat-sen
 - D. Xi Jinping
2. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded in which year?
 - A. 1954
 - B. 1961
 - C. 1963
 - D. 1964

Unit 13: Liberal State: Its Role, Welfare State and Its Role on Modern Society

3. The group of 77 includes the countries belonging to the?
 - A. Developed states
 - B. Developing states
 - C. Underdeveloped states
 - D. Different Indian tribes

4. Which one among the following is not related to Globalization?
 - A. Communication
 - B. Knowledge
 - C. Media & entertainment.
 - D. Communism

5. Welfare administration is referred to?
 - A. Translating social policies into a welfare program
 - B. Method of policies governance
 - C. System of administration for social welfare
 - D. All of the above

6. Which is not a remedial measure for unemployment?
 - A. Population Control
 - B. Education Reforms
 - C. Five-Year Plans
 - D. Political Reforms

7. Who defined democracy as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people"?
 - A. Woodrow Wilson
 - B. Lord Bryce
 - C. Abraham Lincoln
 - D. Laski

8. The two forms of democracy are?
 - A. Parliamentary and presidential
 - B. Direct and indirect
 - C. Monarchical and Republican
 - D. None of the above

9. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by UN General Assembly in which year?
 - A. 1945
 - B. 1946
 - C. 1948
 - D. 1950

10. The idea of welfare state in Indian constitution is enshrined in?
 - A. Directive principles of state policy
 - B. Preamble
 - C. Fundamental rights
 - D. Seventh schedule

Answers for Self Assessment

1. C 2. B 3. B 4. D 5.
6. D 7. C 8. B 9. C 10. A

Review Questions

1. What do you mean by liberal state and explain its characteristics?
2. Write down a brief account of Welfare state and its characteristics?
3. Write down a comparative analysis of liberal state and welfare state?
4. Do you think India is a welfare state; If yes justify with reasons?
5. Write down a comparative analysis of totalitarian state and welfare state?

**Further Readings**

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Unit 14: Advantages and Disadvantages: Totalitarian Form of Governments

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

14.1 Merits of Totalitarian States

14.2 Demerits

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Further Readings

Objectives

- To understand the meaning and advantages of totalitarian form of government
- To understand the disadvantages of totalitarian form of government

Introduction

The term “totalitarianism” dates to the fascist era of the 1920s and 1930s, and it was first used and popularised by Italian fascist theorists, including Giovanni Gentile. It progressively came to be extended to include not just extreme utopian dictatorships of the far right, but also Communist regimes, especially that of the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin. It is still frequently associated with Cold War thought of the 1940s and 1950s, a period during which it was most widely utilised as a governing concept, although its philosophical implications transcend that era’s political fears and rhetoric. As used in this article, “totalitarianism” will refer to the most extreme modern dictatorships possessing perfectionist and utopian conceptions of humanity and society.

Totalitarianism’s appeal is linked to a variety of perennial values and intellectual commitments. Although a distinctly modern problem, proto-totalitarian notions may be found in a variety of philosophical and political systems. In particular, Plato’s utopian society discussed in the Republic featured a caste-based society in which both social and moral order is to be maintained and fostered through strict political control and eugenics. In the seventeenth century, absolutists and royalists such as Thomas Hobbes and Jacques Bossuet advocated, in various ways, a strong centralized state as a guarantor against chaos in conformity with natural law and biblical precedent. However, it was only in the early twentieth century that totalitarianism, properly understood, became a conceptual and political reality. Thinkers as diverse as Carl Schmitt in Germany and Giovanni Gentile in Italy helped to lay the foundations of fascist ideology, stressing the defensive and unifying advantages of dictatorship. In the nascent USSR, Vladimir Lenin developed Marx’s ideas from a potentially totalitarian base into a full blown communist ideology, in which Marx’s own phrase “the dictatorship of the proletariat” was interpreted explicitly to mean the dictatorship of the Soviet Communist Party.

The term “totalitarianism” is also sometimes used to refer to movements that in one way or other manifest extreme dictatorial and fanatical methods, such as cults and forms of religious

extremism, and it remains controversial in scope. It has been a topic of interdisciplinary interest, with various typologies offered by political scientists.

14.1 Merits of Totalitarian States

It can have a deterrent effect on crime: Under the self-described Duterte dictatorship administration in the Philippines, between FY 2016 and FY 2017, the number of violent crimes decreased dramatically. The total number of focused crimes dropped from over 158,000 to just fewer than 80,000. This resulted in a reduction of theft, robbery, and catnapping incidents. Even if 7,000 killings from the government's drug war are added into the figures, the crime levels are still much lower than in previous administrations.

Political corruption is taken out of the shadows: Within the auspices of a dictatorship, the ruler or ruling party has no need to cover up any form of political corruption. That is because they answer to no one but themselves. Because of this, corruption within government systems is often reduced under this form of government because there is no need for it. A dictator can be forthright because little can be done to stop them. Workers within the party or government avoid breaking the rules because of the fear of repercussions.

It can provide effective responses during emergency situations: Within a dictatorship, there is very little scope for red Tapism. If the dictator decrees that an action should be taken, then it is done. That format can be very useful should a natural disaster or some other form of emergency occur in that society. Resources can be allocated with one simple command instead of multiple layers of approval, allowing help to be received faster. That is, of course, based on the assumption that the dictator decides to provide emergency relief in the first place.

Ruler can take the lead on innovation: A ruler doesn't need to worry about pleasing the population. It needs to worry about making sure it can stay in power. Because of that, many rulers have numerous resources dedicated to research and development. Not only are there fewer obstacles in the way, but people can be ordered to perform the research as part of the regular duties. That can lead to fast advancements in a number of fields if the resources are properly allocated.

It can provide ruling stability: Governments that are based on totalitarian ideals often see a single ruler or ruling group in charge for several decades. Even violent rulers that have no concern for the lives of their people can remain in charge for a lengthy period. As of November 2017, there were 12 world dictators that had been in charge for 25 years or more. There are another 16 world leaders that have held their position for 15 years or more.

International diplomacy can flourish: A dictator of sound mind and body, along with a benevolent and patriotic streak, can form beneficial alliances with other world governments with relative ease. Foreign policy runs straight through the ruler or ruling party, which makes it easier to advance a negotiating position for both sides. Checks and balances will always be part of international diplomacy and a dictator that recognizes this can create incredible opportunities for their people.

Many dictators come to power through experience: It takes experience to run a country of any size. For that reason, the structure of a monarchy keeps the training for governing within the family. In a dictatorship, the experience comes from first-hand incidents that generate expertise. Think of it like this. You have one person who trained for 4 years in school to be a welder. You have another person who has worked the last 4 years, 8 hours every day, as a welder. Which person would you hire for your next welding job? That is why the power of a totalitarian regime can seem so inviting, especially to a nation that has been struggling economically. The real-life experiences of the ruler feel relatable to the general public, which allows them to accept the idea that sacrificing their rights for the better good of everyone is an idea worth pursuing.

14.2 Demerits

It is never a long-term solution to governing: In any given period of history, totalitarian regimes tend to happen on the African continent more often than anywhere else. In 2015, about 50% of the

Unit 14: Advantages and Disadvantages: Totalitarian Form of Governments

governments run by totalitarian regimes existed on the continent. Idriss Deby Itno, for example, has managed to rule Chad since 1990, but has had to survive several attempts to overthrow his rule. Even when his role was switched to “President” and elections were held, he has still retained power. The problem with a dictator is that once that person dies, a different dictator or another form of government takes over.

Another example is Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe. On November 15, 2017, the government of his country was taken over by the military after 30 years of his sole possession of national leadership.

Opposition is rarely permitted: Under most totalitarian regimes, opposition to the ruler or ruling party is rarely permitted. Any public displays of opposition are often met with force, up to and including death warrants being issued for the individuals involved. Many dictators even crack down on private displays of opposition. That means the ruler remains isolated, the society suffers, and people die because there are no checks and balances allowed in this form of government – unless the dictator allows it, that is.

Laws can be changed at any time: The speed of implementation that a dictatorship can provide to its society can be beneficial, but it is often used for harm instead. No process is required for laws, procedures, or policies to change under this form of government. The ruler can impose their will on the people at any time and for any reason. History has shown us, from the Nazis to modern dictators like Saddam Hussein, that dictators create laws which benefit them and their friends or allies more than they benefit the average person. If a person can get themselves into that top socioeconomic tier, then a dictatorship can seem beneficial. For many, however, the rich get richer in a dictatorship and the poor eventually wind up dead.

The nation becomes isolated, just like the leadership: Cuba is an excellent example of the isolationism a culture faces when being ruled by a dictatorship. When Fidel Castro took over the government, it led to a slow decline of international relationships over the decades. Some countries implemented complete economic restrictions in response to Castro’s actions. Some of those economic restrictions have been eased or eliminated, but the toll on the society has left permanent scars. At the same time, Castro was hardly bothered by the sanctions. He could get what he wanted. It was the general population that suffered because of the actions and decisions of the government.

Ruling by fear is a common action within a dictatorship: Adolf Hitler is believed to have killed a total of 18 million people in a quest to achieve his vision of perfection. Joseph Stalin is credited with killing around 40 million people during his reign of power. Mao Zedong ruled China in the years after World War II and is credited with killing at least 65 million people. These three rulers are responsible for over 100 million deaths. That is the equivalent to the number of people who died in both world wars.

Personal rights are often restricted, if not completely eliminated: Within a dictatorship, the goal is to create population control. One method of accomplishing this is through the creation of a police state. Another is to restrict or eliminate personal rights of individuals within that society. Common restrictions involve free speech, access to certain religions, or even access to the internet. This oppression may work in the short-term for control, but often creates long-term problems that often end in violence.

It creates a disinterest within the society: Because there is such oppression of the general population within a dictatorship, the end result is often a lack of personal initiative. Individuals become focused on providing the complete obedience that is required of them so they can maintain a semblance of a life with their family.

Most become indifferent to the government because they lose their long-term vision in an effort to survive to see another day. Over time, this creates a government that is one-sided and will eventually fall.

Power vacuums can be created instantly: When a dictator decides to step aside, is killed, or dies of natural causes, a power vacuum is immediately created within that government. Even if there is a clear line of succession, such as has been seen in North Korea, the perception of a power vacuum can create an impression of political unrest. To reinforce their ruling position, a dictator may decide to take unilateral actions to eliminate any real or perceived threat to their leadership. One of the

latest examples of this was the murder of Kim Jong-un's half-brother in the Kuala Lumpur airport in Malaysia.

Innocent people get caught in power struggles: Mass killings are common in a dictatorship because of the need to consolidate power. If there is a political rival, any real or perceived followers of that rival will be eliminated with them. The strict laws can be changed at a moment's notice, even in response to a specific individual's behavior, to eliminate the idea of innocence through retroactive application of the law. For that reason, people often flee from a dictatorship, even if there is a great risk to their life in doing so, because the risk in fleeing is seen as being less than the risk of staying.

Summary

Totalitarian form of government is the one that prohibit opposition parties and outlaw individual freedom. A strict control mechanism is being adopted to restrict the private and public life. A totalitarian state is characterized by a strong central authority where limited space is being reserved for states/provinces. Furthermore, people have limited/no authority to elect or oppose the deliberations of legal instruments.

Keywords

Communist, Fascism, Regime, Totalitarian, Utopia,

Self Assessment

1. Which among the following game/s was glorified by Hitler?
 - A. Wrestling
 - B. Kabaddi
 - C. Hockey
 - D. Boxing

2. The Treaty of Versailles (1920) signed at the end of World War I, was harsh and humiliating for Germany, because ...?
 - A. Germany lost its overseas colonies, and 13 per cent of its territories
 - B. It lost 75% of its iron and 26% of its coal to France, Poland, Denmark and Lithuania, was forced to pay compensation of 6 billion pounds
 - C. The western powers demilitarised Germany and they occupied resource-rich Rhineland in the 1920s
 - D. All the above

3. Which of the following bodies was set up to try and prosecute the Nazi war criminals at the end of World War II?
 - A. International Military Tribunal
 - B. British Military Tribunal
 - C. Allied Military Tribunal
 - D. Allied Judicial Court

4. Lenin's successor, who worked to control every aspect of life in the Soviet Union, was?
 - A. Leon Trotsky
 - B. Nicholas II

Unit 14: Advantages and Disadvantages: Totalitarian Form of Governments

- C. Rasputin
D. Joseph Stalin
5. The main idea of Communism is to
A. Create a war-loving nationalist state
B. Create a democratic republic
C. Create a classless and stateless society
D. Create a direct democracy
6. One people, one state, one leader was the policy of ...?
A. Jawahar Lal Nehru
B. Joseph Stalin
C. Adolf Hitler
D. None of the above
7. The two key post-war powers which played significant role during the Cold War were?
A. USA and Soviet Union
B. USSR and China
C. USA and England
D. USA and China
8. The Communist system of organizing the State and society was based on the ideas of?
A. Joseph Stalin
B. Karl Marx
C. Antonio Gramsci
D. Mao Zedong
9. The US policy to provide military and economic aid to countries threatened by communism was called?
A. Monroe Doctrine
B. Truman Doctrine
C. Brezhnev Doctrine
D. Marshall Plan
10. The organization of the Soviet bloc's equivalent of NATO was.....?
A. COMECON
B. Warsaw Pact
C. NAM
D. SEATO

Answers for Self Assessment

1. D 2. D 3. A 4. D 5. C
6. C 7. A 8. B 9. B 10. B

Review Questions

1. Why are democracies generally more stable than authoritarian or totalitarian regimes?
2. Critically analyze the totalitarian state in the modern context?
3. What is a totalitarian state; also mention its merits?
4. Write down a comparative analysis of liberal state and totalitarian state?
5. Write down a detailed account of merits and demerits of a totalitarian state?



Further Readings

- Almond, Gabriel A etal. (2003), Comparative Politics Today: A World view, Pearson Publications: UK.
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