

UNIT 11 SOCIAL BASES OF STATE POWER

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11.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit discusses Power and its social bases and the theorists who have studied power and its distribution.

Reading this unit will enable you to understand:

- Meaning of power;
- Classification and Distribution; and
- Different theories of power.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Power is the most fundamental among all the political concepts. It is one of the foundations of Political Science. While there is a near unanimity among political scientists about the importance of power, they have differences about its definition and the manner in which it should be conceived and measured.

11.2 MEANING

In a broad sense, power is the production of intended effects. It is the capacity to get what one wants to get. Among the several approaches to power, the 'Power to' approach associated with Talcott Parsons is the most significant. According to Parsons political power is the capacity of a government to draw on the commitment of its citizens in order to achieve societal, political and economic goals. The power of the government is decided by the effectiveness with which it achieves community's goals. Thus, for Parsons, power is a device which enables the government or the rulers to fulfill the objectives of society. It is not the ability of one group or the other to win control of the state.

Why was Parson's definition of power not found adequate?

Despite its positive connotations, Parson's view of power is considered too narrow by several political scientists. For those who disagree with Parsons, politics is an arena of conflictual opinions regarding what goals and whose goals or rather which group's goals should be pursued.

The underlying view of power is conflict and not consensus. Power consists in the ability to get ones way, usually in the face of opposition. This opinion supported by Robert Dahl and other pluralists talk of power over rather than power to. The former Soviet Union during the last years of its existence witnessed such a distinction between power over and power to. The quantity of power available to a central government can decline to a point when the issue of its distribution becomes secondary.

11.3 CLASSIFICATION OF POWER

As power is not merely authority, violence, force or war alone, Kenneth Boulding in his Three faces of power provides a classification of forms.

The threat of force [Boulding calls it the 'stick'] is used by the military and the police — the coercive institutions of state. The state has the authority to deprive its citizens of their liberty if taxes are not paid, if laws are not obeyed etc., though on many occasions the coercive authority of the state is merely implicit, that is a sign of its effectiveness.

Exchange power [Kenneth Boulding calls it the 'Deal'] is more effective as there is a positive note in this variety of power. There is a deal and reciprocity and the deal is based on reward. Nevertheless, the deal is also a form of power as it changes the behaviour of one person by another person. In almost all modern states, the relationship between the citizen and state is that of an exchange or contract. The citizens agree to accept and obey the state's authority and the state agrees to provide and 'protect the citizens'. Though the contract is imaginary, the exchange exists.

Creating obligations [the 'kiss' method according to K. Boulding] is the other method whereby the capacity to inspire loyalty, respect and commitment is brought forth. Family and religious institutions are two of the most significant social institutions that indulge in such obligatory exercises of power. In most Islamic states, fundamentalist organizations operate on these lines.

Others such as S. Lukes, claim that power is not merely what Boulding talks about. It is exercised wherever the real interests of people are ignored. A polluting factory that affects the inhabitants exercises power over them without their knowledge. Similarly, a government that begins conscription by whipping up patriotic fervour is also exercising power over its people by manipulating the knowledge, values and preferences of others.

We may conclude that the power of a modern state rests on its capability to draw on a wide range of sources of obligation. All the three approaches of power enunciated by Kenneth Boulding in his Three faces of Power are instructive and highlight the fact that power is based on a combination of factors.

11.4 DISTRIBUTION OF POWER : HOW?

Apart from the debate as to what is power, how it is exercised and measured another significant question concerning power is how it is distributed in societies. A close look at political systems, both democracies and dictatorships, indicates that there is a dissimilarity between the two. The Elite and Pluralist theories are the most important. The elitists hold that there is not much of a dissimilarity.

11.4.1 Elite Theory : Pareto and Mosca

The elitists view that there is not much difference between the two systems. There are three proponents of elitist theory, namely Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca both of Italy and Robert Michels of Germany. Their writings had a

profound influence on the thinking of the concept of power in the twentieth century.

Pareto firmly believed that all societies are divided among,
 a small governing elite,
 a non-governing elite, and
 the mass population or non-elite.

There might be a circulation of elites but an elite is always present.

Mosca argued that a governing elite is possible by the presence of a superior organisation and calibre. The domination of a small organised minority is inevitable over unorganised majority.

Unlike his Italian counterparts, Robert Michels studied specific organisations. He propagated the famous “iron law of oligarchy.” Oligarchy meaning rule by the few. In path breaking studies Michels proved that his law was applicable to socialist parties, most organisations and even the Labour party in England.

11.4.2 Elite Theory in the United States of America : C. Wright Mills

Based on these theories originating in Europe, several sociological studies developed in the United States from 1920. They investigated the distribution of power in local communities. Most of them concluded that a small minority of people from either upper or middle class backgrounds were always predominant in a community. The same people repeatedly get nominated to city councils and community bodies. This fact reiterated the concept of a governing elite in local communities, even in a supposedly democratic United States.

C. Wright Mills was the other significant supporter of elite theory. In his famous study, the Power Elite, Mills argued that political leaders were the principal groups that directed the American politics either from the background or sometimes through elected offices.

Mill's theory today is identified as a version of corporatism, a proposition that duly elected representatives have been losing power to other institutional interests such as business and military.

11.4.3 Pluralism

The next most significant theory concerning power in political science has been pluralism. While elitism identifies rule by a minority, pluralism identifies rule by minorities. It is a doctrine of diversity. Its main argument is that most modern forms of government are open and different interests and groups compete for influence.

Robert Dahl, the most noted among pluralists, concluded that ruling elites do not exist and that power manifests itself through a plurality of interests and groups after a careful scrutiny of New Haven city in Connecticut (U.S.A.) By the 1970s, most American political science writers began to approve of pluralism as a desirable and an ideal theory. They also began to see the benefits of pluralism as its fragmented nature means that well informed views receive special weightage. It was also a better version of the democratic principle of one man, one vote and majoritarian rule.

Criticism: However, critics accused the pluralists of excessive emphasis on decision making as non-decisions are ignored by the pluralists. Also a significant minority of the population is too indifferent and alienated to get involved. So increasingly it is argued that the pluralists captured only one aspect of power in western societies.

11.4.4 Power as Coercion : Max Weber

Yet another form of power is coercion. Most rulers face the problem of legitimizing their position into authority. Authority is the right to rule. Relationships of authority are maintained in a hierarchical fashion. The German sociologist Max Weber provided an original analysis of the several bases of authority. He termed them as traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. The first type is TRADITIONAL. Weber says, "in traditional authority the present order is viewed as sacred, eternal and inviolable. The dominant person or group, usually defined by heredity, is thought to have been pre-ordained to rule over the rest. The subjects are bound to the ruler by personal dependence and a tradition of loyalty, further reinforced by such cultural beliefs as the "divine right of Kings."

CHARISMATIC authority is Weber's second type. Leaders are obeyed because they inspire their followers. Very often the masses that follow the heroes credit them with exceptional and supernatural qualities. However, the charismatic authority is normally a short lived affair.

LEGAL-RATIONAL is the third type. In this case authority is exercised through principles and obedience is to a government of laws. All modern bureaucracies appear to be authorities of this type.

In Max Weber's own words, thus "power is the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action against the resistance of others."

Check Your Progress 1

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Who is the author of Three Faces of Power?

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2) What does the Elite Theory believe in?

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3) How does Elitism differ from Pluralism?

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11.5 CONTENDING APPROACHES TO POWER

To understand this most significant concept in contemporary political science, at a theoretical plane, three major approaches can be identified. As has already been mentioned, the pluralists or the empirical democratic theorists focus on the fragmented nature of power in a given society; the theorists of corporatism emphasize the significance of extra governmental institutions in determining state's policies and decisions. Despite the changing fortunes of Marxism as an ideology, contemporary Marxists have been working to reconstruct state as a class-state keeping in view the functioning of the Post-Second World War two governments in Western nations. They have succeeded in retaining the link between political power and class power.

11.5.1 Pluralistic Conception of Power

As has already been mentioned in the introduction, to the pluralists, power is the ability to achieve one's aims and objectives, despite opposition. Robert Dahl describes power 'as a reasonable relationship, such as its capacity for acting, in such a manner as to control B's responses.' He also describes it as a "successful attempt by A to get B to do something he would not otherwise do." The notion of power as described and defined by Dahl stresses the subjective element of purpose, willingness and implies a conflictual relationship. The central issue is overcoming B's resistance and in such a case power rests on the exercise of control over immediate events.

Robert Dahl's empirical investigations (mentioned in the Introduction) in the city of New Haven titled *Who Governs* concentrated on discovering the capacity of actors involved in policy making. The project study concluded that the decision making process in the city is pluralist democracy of multiple coalitions. Power is disaggregated and non-cumulative. Several groups spread throughout the society and representing various diverse and competitive interests share power. Such plurality contributes to inequalities of power and also to unequal distribution of wealth, status, education and so on. The conflicts over the power to decide policy outcomes, the manner in which differing interest groups lay claims on the city mayor, ultimately leads to positive policy formulations for the good of the citizenry. That divergent interests competing for power contribute to an equilibrium in democracy and also to favourable policy articulation, becomes the second most critical assumption of American empirical democratic theory. It also stands alongside the individualist and voluntarist notions of power.

11.5.2 American Empirical Democratic Theory or Classical Pluralism

American empirical democratic theory or classical pluralism dates back to the era of James Madison and the Federalist papers. Madison reiterated the Hobbesian assumption that people have a natural desire for power over fellow beings in his Federalist No.10 by stating that "the latent causes of faction are ... sown in the nature of men." He also identified "unequal distribution of property," as the most

common and durable source of factions. However, contemporary adherents of Madison's arguments radically alter his opinion. Empirical democratic theorists claim that factions are more than the natural counterparts of free association. In the contemporary society, factions assume the shape of interest groups and they are the source of stability and central expression of democracy.

11.5.3 Group Theory

As one of the most articulate among the proponents of democratic theory, Group theorists assert the importance of group interaction for securing equilibrium in American democracy. Power, for group theorists, such as David Truman, is conceived along Weberian lines. But the state is not autonomous like in the Weberian sense nor in the sense of Marx, who considers state's capacity to change as central to society. For the group theorists, State reacts to the purposive exercise of power. Power is fragmented within society. Truman also hopes that out of the competing interests a relative coherent policy will emerge.

Robert Dahl was another Group theorist after David Truman. He assimilates the central concern of Madison about factions considering it as the best expression of DEMOCRACY. Dahl calls it POLYARCHY and argues that competition among various interests ensures the safety of democracy. S.Lukes in his *Power : A Radical View* argues that "the bias of a system is not sustained simply by a series of individually chosen acts, but also most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions." This conception of power as the capacity of individuals to realize their will against resistance, neglects the importance of collective forces and social arrangements. For this reason, the classical pluralists failed to grasp the asymmetries of power - between classes, races, genders, politicians and citizens and thus were responsible for shattering the premises of classical pluralism. The evolution of political groups associated with the New Left also began to alter the political space in the U.S. Political polarization took place in the name of anti-Vietnam war movement, student movement, civil rights movements etc. The new left and its political polarization did not fit into pluralist terms, and consequently the pluralist inadequacies in grasping the nature and distribution of power led to great many difficulties in understanding reality. A great deal of empirical research into understanding power also proved that many groups do not have the resources to compete in the national arena, as the national politics are controlled and manipulated by powerful national and multinational corporations. Acknowledgement of these problems in both conceptual and empirical terms has led to dissolution of classical pluralist theory and emergence of newer and competing schools.

11.5.4 Corporatist Theory

By the late 1970s the empirical democratic theory has been severely criticised by Corporatist theory. At first, both appeared wholly incompatible. In *Leo Panitch's* 1977 essay "The development of Corporatism in liberal democracies" (published in the *Journal of Comparative Political Studies*) he explained that "class harmony and organic unity were essential to society and could be secured if the various functional groups, and especially the organizations of capital and labour, were imbued with a conception of natural rights and obligations somewhat similar to that presumed to have unified the medieval estates." The principle of organic unity is the central idea of corporatism. J.T.Winkler observed that "society is seen as consisting of diverse elements unified into one body, forming one Corpus; hence the word corporatism". Fascist Italy and Nazist Germany were considered the prime examples of European Corporatism.

However, with the emergence of post liberal, advanced capitalist states, that are also organized as well structured democracies and welfare states, a new conceptual variant of Corporatism, namely SOCIETAL CORPORATISM evolved. In the words of Philippe Schmitter ('Still the century of corporatism?' *Review of Political Studies*, 1974) contemporary or societal corporatism is "a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports."

What caused the rise of Societal Corporatism? Changes in the equilibrium maintained by varying class forces since the 1920s led to decay of pluralism and its displacement by societal Corporatism. (Schmitter) Corporatist theory is a synthesis of central conceptual premises of Marxist and Pluralist theories.

While agreeing with the pluralists that policy outcomes are determined by the competitive claims of interest associations, the Corporatists argue that associations are now OLIGOPOLISTICALLY configured. From the Marxists, Corporatists accept the fact that basic class conflicts exist and most activities in state and society are pursued to reproduce class relations. At the same time, the traditional corporatist also preserves the principle of organic unity.

From an empirical point of view, Corporatism, has been successful only in Austria and the Netherlands.

11.6 MARXIST THEORY

In the 1970 and 80s there has been significant revival of interest by Marxist writers in State power. Ralph Miliband highlighted the centrality of state in European and American societies and studied the class-state relations from Marxist perspective and state society relations from pluralist perspective. Miliband opposed the view that State is a neutral arbiter among social interests. He observed the presence of a ruling class in European societies that controls the means of production; the linkages such class has with political parties, military, universities and the media; the commanding position that this class occupies in almost all the matters of State; the social background of civil servants and, their ideological bent of mind meant that the state promotes a 'structure of power and privilege inherent in advanced capitalism' (Miliband).

Nicolas Poulantzas and Michel Foucault were the other prominent modern Marxist thinkers. Poulantzas's major theoretical contribution was with regard to State power. For him, State power is a result of the interaction between the institutional form of the State and the changing character of political class forces.

Power as the capacity to attain class interest

Poulantzas analysis of power and strategies is apparent in *Political Power and Social Classes*. He identified power as the capacity to realize class interest in a specific context and went on to define interests as those that can be considered as a range of feasible class objectives. The emphasis was on the feasibility and achievability of the class objectives. He also emphasized that power is not a fixed quantum. In both *Political Power and Social Classes* and the subsequent work, State, Power, Socialism he evolved the argument that State itself is a social relation and that class interests, class power and class strategies are all connected.

Michel Foucault was a French Philosopher and a Historian. His works, Discipline and Punish and The Will to Know deal extensively with the nature of Power in most modern societies.

What did both Foucault and Poulantzas agree on with regard to power?

- a) **Power is relational** that is, Power grows from a combination of circumstances during the evolution of a State.
- b) **Power is productive and positive rather than merely repressive and negative.** Foucault rejected views of power being repressive. Poulantzas viewed the State as a factor of social cohesion in a class-divided society. Thus, State, the central site of power, was an institution with a productive role. State is a balancer of clashing classes and does not deprive power to any class.
- c) **Power causes resistance. Resistance evokes counter-resistance.**
- d) **Rejected the Liberal and Marxist approaches to Power as these approaches subordinate Power to economic functions.**
- e) **Said close links exist between Power and Knowledge.** Concluded that division of knowledge into mental and manual categories create political and ideological class domination.
- f) **Omnipresence of power in all social relations.**
- g) **Understanding of struggles** - All social struggles are a form of assertion of power.

Having studied the areas of agreement between Foucault and Poulantzas regarding Power, we will see areas of disagreement. Poulantzas criticized Foucault for:

- 1) Stating that Power relations are the only supreme thing.
- 2) arguing about dispersion of Powers. He said it is impossible to locate oneself outside the purview of State Power. Popular struggles and Movements impact the State and Power mechanisms.

Nevertheless, together Foucault and Poulantzas treat power as a basic feature of all social relations. By doing so they highlighted the strategic character of power relations and the important role played by different sites of power.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What did Corporatists understand regarding Power and the State?

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- 2) Who were the two famous neo-Marxists who wrote extensively on Power?

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- 3) State whether the following statements are True or False.

- Poulantzas was a Pluralist.
- Foucault said "State should wither away."
- Poulantzas said "Power and Knowledge are inter-related."
- Robert Dahl is the author of **Who Governs?**
- American Empirical Democratic theory's origins can be traced to the Federalist Papers.

11.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we studied what is meant by Power, its relations with the State and Classes. We also saw how different theorists tried to understand Power relations. We have also read about various aspects of State-Society relations. Karl Marx argued that the State generally, and institutions maintained by bureaucracy in particular, manifest themselves in various forms and constitute a source of power. Max Weber's account of bureaucracy shares similar ideas. While questions of Class, Power, and the State are thus viewed by Marxists, the significance of examining power from a Pluralist perspective is ignored by them. On the other hand, Corporatism has attempted to assimilate interest group behaviour with the State-Society relations as understood by Capitalism. We had also seen the ideas of Social Corporatism which said constituent units are organised according to well ordered hierarchical principles and given representational autonomy in exchange for observing certain controls.

In summary, **power** is not just the capacity of an actor to influence the conduct of others. Power, is used as facility by various agents in society to act within the existing institutions and collectivities to achieve their own objectives. Power is articulated by the government and state personnel in terms of intentions and purposes.

Governing regimes are constrained by the power of dominant groups and also by the principles of parliamentary and democratic systems. Three principal methods determine the power of regimes and State policy: **formal rules** which provide access to governmental power; **institutional arrangements** for policy implementation; and the **ability of the economy** to sustain State policies by providing resources.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Kenneth Boulding - Author of **Three Faces of Power**.
- 2) Elite Theory presupposes existence of small governing elite and the mass of population over whom the elites rule.

The difference between Elitism and Pluralism is, while Elitism is a rule by a minority, Pluralism is by minority. Pluralism is a doctrine of diversity.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Corporatists believed in the Principle of Organic Unity; various functional groups, the organisations of capital and labor should be conscious of natural rights and obligations to ensure class harmony and organic unity in the society. State should guarantee a representational monopoly to functionally differentiated categories. They have a monopoly to act within the autonomy granted by the State.
- 2) Foucault and Nico(la)s Poulantzas
- 3)
 - a) False
 - b) False
 - c) True
 - d) True
 - e) True

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
 - 12.1 Introduction
 - 12.2 Meaning of Underdevelopment
 - 12.3 Classical Capitalist Model of Development
 - 12.4 Soviet-Style Socialism
 - 12.5 The Chinese Strategy of Development
 - 12.6 The Third World Strategies
 - 12.7 Let Us Sum Up
 - 12.8 Key Words
 - 12.9 Some Useful Books
 - 12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
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12.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the theory and practice of development and discusses various strategies of development adopted by capitalist, socialist and developing countries. Once you are able to grasp it, you could be in a position to:

- Understand the phenomenon of underdevelopment as distinguished from undevelopment;
 - Explain the classical capitalist method of development in the West and Japan;
 - Describe the Soviet style socialist model of development and its failure now;
 - Follow the trajectory of China's changing strategies of development; and
 - Neo-liberal strategy of development based on globalization and privatization.
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12.1 INTRODUCTION

You have already studied the nature of comparative study of politics and also the Political Economy Approach to its study. In this unit, an attempt has been made to explain the concept of development and underdevelopment and various strategies of development in a comparative perspective. Liberal writers emphasize the concepts of democracy, nationalism and modernization in this context. But radical and Marxist thinkers prefer to stress the concepts of underdevelopment, dependency and imperialism while discussing development strategies.

12.2 MEANING OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The theory of underdevelopment was first propounded by Latin American writers to explain the economic and political backwardness of Latin American societies, which became independent from Spanish or Portuguese rule during the third decade of the 19th century. Despite their political independence for more than 150 years, their democracy, modernization and national state remained underdeveloped and they continued as semi colonial dependencies of imperial countries suffering from retarded economic development..

According to Andre Gunder Frank, underdevelopment of Latin American countries in the past as well as some Afro-Asian countries found themselves after their political decolonisation.

The fact is that underdevelopment, like development, is also a modern phenomenon. The underdevelopment of the colonies, semi colonies and neocolonies and development of the metropolitan centres of imperialism are related both as parts of the historical process and through the mutual impact they would continue to exercise in the present as well as the future. Paul Baran has argued that underdevelopment is organically and systematically associated with colonisation, political dominance and exploiter-exploited relationship in the economic sphere.

The concept of economic surplus is crucial for the study of development and underdevelopment. Economic surplus may be defined as the actual or potential excess of a social unit's production which may or may not be invested or exploited. In the present context what is important is not the sacrifice of the loser nation in terms of its actual loss of income or wealth or the absolute gain of the recipient country but the contribution to economic surplus accruing to the imperialist country from the colony. It is the loss of present and potential capital for the colony.

While the peripheral societies are denied the development possibilities of this capital, the metropolitan imperial country can use it for its own economic development. The satellite country's contribution may be great or small in quantity, but the associated sacrifice in terms of underdevelopment for the colony, semi colony or neocolony can readily be much larger. While the imperialist gain a pound of flesh, the dependency may lose ten or twenty times more. Thus, the colony may lose resources, its essential irrigation system, or its civilization or even its physical existence. Many Native American tribes and nationalities were wiped out when the Europeans colonized America, through genocide. Thus development and underdevelopment are not the summation only of economic quantities. They are their cumulation and the whole social structure and process which determines that accumulation.

It is obvious that the incorporation of the underdeveloped countries in the international capitalist system keeps them permanently underdeveloped. This contribution of imperialism and capitalism to the underdevelopment of underdeveloped areas continues even now. It is not so much the resources that the United States draws out of Latin America, as it is the use of her economic, political and military power to keep the structure of underdevelopment in these countries in the economic, political, social, cultural and even military spheres.

This structure of underdevelopment imposes on them mass poverty, loss of political freedom, loss of culture, loss of current production, infant mortality, starvation for the disadvantaged groups, disease and epidemics. The continuous drain of potential capital plays a critical role in the economy of all satellite countries as well as the imperialist economy. The drain of wealth from India and other colonies by Britain promoted the growth of de-industrialization in India and its other colonies. The African slave trade benefited European traders and plantation-owners in America but damaged the economies of many countries in West and Central Africa. No wonder that South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa even now have the lowest per capita income in the whole world.

The control exercised by the multinationals or strategic sectors plays a crucial role in preserving the pattern of underdevelopment. One example has been the extraction of mineral resources from underdeveloped countries. Another was extraction of oil and its distribution. Examples may change from time to time. The most critical sector has been that of foreign trade, which is usually controlled by the dominant country in its dependency.

The domination over a sector by the bourgeois class and the state bureaucracy is sufficient to keep a dependency underdeveloped indefinitely and to aggravate its underdevelopment in future. The bourgeois classes of several Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are highly dependent on the economic power of the multinationals and political power of the governments of advanced capitalist countries. The ruling elites of the underdeveloped countries, therefore, have a vested interest in preserving indefinitely the system and pattern of underdevelopment. The supposed independence of many Afro-Asian and Latin American nations in thus a convenient fiction.

12.3 CLASSICAL CAPITALIST MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

At the dawn of the 21st century, we find capitalism as the dominant model of development which has successfully overcome challenges posed by socialism as an alternative strategy of development. The industrialization of England was the first successful model of capitalist development. This was accomplished between 1760 and 1820. It was based on free enterprise within and monopony trade in the colonies, often accompanied by direct plunder of the colonial resources. The other countries, which followed this model with some local variations were France, Holland, the United States, Germany, Italy and later Japan.

The political history of capitalist systems has followed neither a simple nor a linear path of development. Capitalist development reflects a contradiction between the requirements of capital accumulation and the needs of political legitimization. This contradiction was sought to be resolved through six different stages of capitalist growth requiring six successive state formations.

According to Alan Wolfe, the *Accumulative State* corresponded to the first wave of capitalism industrialization. It made accumulation its own mechanism of legitimization. Since any means needed to achieve the accumulation of wealth was justified, the Accumulative State was not committed to laissez faire ideologically. It promoted government intervention to define the parameters of the emerging system of production, to preserve discipline among the workers, to adjust macroeconomic conditions, to fight colonial wars, to pursue capitalist interests, to provide subsidies to capitalists, and to support miscellaneous eccentric activities.

When the crisis of accumulation grew, Adam Smith and Ricardo talked of the *Harmonious State* and harmony as the essential elements of capitalist production. Freedom of the market, they said, reconciled the interests of the producers with those of the consumers and the interests of the capitalists with those of the workers. This assumption was internally inconsistent, led to Social Darwinism and failed as a legitimization mechanism.

The *Expansionist State* characterized the third phase of capitalist development. Although an imperialist policy of expansion carried out in the interest of finance capital seemed to relieve domestic pressures from the working class, expansionism meant the erosion of classical liberalism. The end of free trade, unrestricted immigration and export of capital to colonies and semi colonies were accompanied by indoctrination and control of workers through education and mass culture. The World War I put an end to this phase of capitalist imperialism.

The *Franchise State* characterized the fourth phase of capitalist development. It tried to regularise conflicts between classes and strata by delegating public power to private bodies. This reflected a pluralist dispersal of power. The capitalist state of 'pluralist democracy' was supposed to give away power, not to exercise it.

This was mystification. The franchise state declined by the end of World War II. Private interest groups failed to regulate themselves effectively. Economic planning in European countries and military spending in the United States led these states to assume enormous powers.

The **Dual State** came into existence during the fifth stage of capitalist development. This state created two parallel structures, one charged with keeping order through repression and the other with presenting a democratic facade. Capitalism at this stage functioned through a diarchy-one arm being the military bureaucratic apparatus and the other arm, more visible to the public eye, constituting the electoral parliamentary mechanism.

The **Trans-national State** characterizes the sixth and present stage of capitalist development which is dominated by the rise of multinational corporations. It is the product of internationalization of capital and globalization of the market. However, this development did not transcend the problems of nation-state because multinational corporations needed government aid in a manner not seen earlier in the history of capitalist development. During this phase, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and now the World Trade Organisation have emerged to regulate the world economy and the world market.

Neo-liberalism with its slogans of globalizations, liberalization and privatization is the new credo of triumphant, transnational capitalism. However, each of the six stages of capitalism have failed to resolve the tensions between the requirements of accumulation and the needs of legitimization. Despite the fall of Soviet-style socialism, late capitalism has yet to prove its rationality as a world-wide strategy for economic growth.

Check Your Progress 1

Note i) Use the space provided below each question to give your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Distinguish between underdevelopment and undevelopment.

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- 2) Mention any two stages of capitalist development and the corresponding state formation.

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- 3) Read the following exercise carefully. Which of the following statements are true?

- a) Underdevelopment is lack of development in quantitative terms.
- b) Colonisation is the cause of underdevelopment.
- c) Germany was the first model of capitalist development.

- d) Accumulation is the first and basic characteristic of the capitalist strategy of growth.
 - e) The Franchise state is not based on self-regulation by interest groups.
 - f) The IMF-World Bank role is significant in the strategies of development adopted by the developing countries today.
 - h) The drain of economic surplus is the main cause of underdevelopment.
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12.4 SOVIET-STYLE SOCIALISM

Marxism-Leninism was the official ideology and the guiding strategy of development in the former Soviet Union and other Soviet-style socialist states of eastern and central Europe. It attempted to change the socio-economic basis of the pre-existing system by abolishing the capitalist mode of production itself.

Marxism aimed at the destruction of the capitalist system, through a revolutionary class struggle of the working class in alliance with the oppressed peasantry, culminating in a socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Communist Party.

However, no advanced country of the west succumbed to a socialist revolution of Marx's vision. Revolution did occur in Russia which was relatively a less developed capitalist country at that time. After the defeat of the Nazi Germany in World War II, Soviet-style socialism, minus collectivization of agriculture, was imposed upon the "People's Democracies" of eastern and central Europe. China and some neighbouring Asian countries and later Cuba also carried out their socialist revolutions.

Socialist systems in the Soviet Union and other allied countries provided for public or state ownership of all major sectors of the economy. Internal and external market was strictly controlled. The Soviet-style economy was based on comprehensive planning of national resources through successive Five Year Plans. All sectors such as industry, agriculture, trade, banking, transport and communications were brought under centralized planning.

Due to international isolation of Soviet Russia, centralized planning emphasized the development of heavy industry such as steel, machines and armaments. The planned economy was free from capitalist-style slumps and recessions and registered a rapid rate of economic growth. The trade agreements were largely restricted to the socialist bloc but after 1960, China was excluded from these, which opted out from the Soviet block of socialist nations.

Agriculture was collectivized in the Soviet Union but not in other East European countries. It formed a smaller sector of the economy but absorbed a relatively larger labour force. The state largely controlled production and distribution of consumer goods. Labour unions were official state agencies and the workers' councils played a limited role in decision-making.

The political system of socialist countries was based on democratic centralism and the dictatorship of a single political party or an alliance of parties led by the

Communist Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party determined the goals and strategy of development. Strong one-party system dictated all interest articulation and aggregation. Discipline and centralization were the guiding principles of industrial management and administration.

Economic surplus was obtained for investment by denying the people necessary consumption goods. All social strata, particularly the peasants, helped the Soviet state to accumulate capital for rapid industrialization. World War II destroyed lives and properties on a huge scale. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were denied assistance by the United States under the Marshall Plan for post-war rehabilitation. The Cold War compelled them to allocate large funds for defense.

Despite, threats of invasion from capitalist countries and destruction caused by war, the Soviet Union did succeed in achieving rapid economic growth both in the Stalinist and post-Stalin periods till 1970. Planned socialist economy did enable Soviet Russia to emerge as a second super-power in the world. Soviet style socialism also transformed the relatively backward economies of some east European countries into industrial societies.

Communist China also emulated the Soviet-style economic planning immediately after its successful revolution in 1949 till 1956. Many states in the Third world like India under Nehru, Egypt under Nasser and Indonesia under Soekarno experimented with state capitalism and creation of a larger public sector mainly under Soviet inspiration.

Though the Soviet strategy of economic development could avoid capitalist-style slumps and recessions for a long time, it ultimately succumbed to the evils of stagnation and excessive militarization. Gorbachev tried to reform the Soviet system through glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) but paved the way for disintegration of the Soviet Union and restoration of capitalism in Russia and other seceding republics. Other countries of Eastern Europe also succumbed to capitalism counter-revolution. This signified the failure of Soviet-style socialism all over Europe.

12.5 THE CHINESE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

The Chinese model of economic growth is both a study in contrast and comparison with the Soviet-style development. The Soviet Union had a proletarian revolution under Lenin and straightway proceeded towards socialization of its economy through nationalization of its industry, banking, trade, transport and communication. Agriculture was collectivized under Stalin. The centralized, command economy continued, through its successive Five Year Plans, till its final fall in 1991 with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Mao Zedong's revolution in China, which took place in 1949, was called 'new-democratic'. It permitted national and petty-bourgeoisie classes to participate in China's economic development till 1954. During this period, a radical land reform was carried out which abolished ownership of land by feudal landlords and redistributed it among the tillers of the soil. Mao, thereafter, favoured a continued revolution towards socialism. As a result, the Chinese peasants were soon regrouped into co-operatives and collectives.

The aims of the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) were to lay the foundations of a comprehensive industrial structure at a rapid pace. Priority of investment funds (over 50 percent) was given to the capital goods sector. Relatively less importance was given to the growth of the consumer goods. Agriculture was given only 6.2 percent and left largely for private initiative by peasants. The Soviet Union gave the required help in technology and expertise.

According to Ashbook, the Chinese Communists did not start large-scale mechanization of agriculture during the First Five Year Plan period. This was a correct strategy. It was first necessary to expand the industrial base. By the end of the First Five Year Plan period, China had achieved a considerable momentum in economic development.

The Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the Crisis Years of 1958-1961 saw the creation of the Communes and the industrial policy of ‘walking on two legs’ which meant the simultaneous development of small and large industry and the simultaneous use of indigenous techniques and modern methods.

The ‘People’s Communes’ were not only a new administrative unit, they were also an exercise in agrarian socialism. They arose out of the merger of co-operatives. 90 percent of peasant households were grouped into Communes by September 1958 all over China. The Great Leap Forward, which encouraged the establishment of steel foundries in every town or village, proved an incorrect strategy of economic growth. National calamities such as floods and famine which according to Amartya Sen killed millions of people, withdrawal of Soviet economic assistance and serious organisational problems in the Communes paralysed the Chinese economy during the Crisis Years of 1958-1961. As a result, the Chinese economic growth slowed down considerably. Consequently, a new economic policy was adopted by the Chinese leadership which was described as ‘market-socialism’.

The Chinese leadership recognised that the experiment of the ‘People’s Communes’ had failed because it was trying to skip necessary historical stages in development. The Second Five Year Plan period was marked by a serious economic depression in the first three years and a policy of readjustment during the next two years. Then followed three years (1963-65) of further readjustment. This was regarded as a transitional phase between the Second and Third Five Year Plans.

In 1966 China had successfully readjusted its national economy, had overcome serious economic difficulties and had begun implementing its Third Five Year Plan. Just then, Mao Zedong began his “Cultural Revolution”. According to Deng Xiaoping, it was not a revolution at all. It was an internal disorder that damaged China’s economic development for a decade.

Mao Zedong started the Cultural Revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China. He thought that Party leaders like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were ‘capitalist roaders’ who wanted China to revert to the capitalist past of development. During 1967-68, China’s national economy speedily deteriorated in the social chaos created by the Cultural Revolution.

Zhou Enlai continued as Prime Minister and was able to limit the damage to the economy by following pragmatic policies. Post-Mao leadership regards the Cultural Revolution as a period when “Left” mistakes derailed the process of economic development. During this period, national income suffered a loss of 500 billion Yuan, and the living standard of the people declined.

With the passing away of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the suppression of the “gang of four”, who were Mao loyalists, power passed in the hands of Deng Xiaoping and the so called “capitalist roaders”. The new leadership instituted large scale economic reforms in the direction of what it described as “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. In practice, it meant the repudiation of Maoist strategy of development based on early introduction of doctrinaire socialist features in China’s economy. It pushed China in the direction of neo-liberal reforms though Deng officially stated that the new strategy of economic growth had no connection with ‘bourgeois liberalization’.

The government introduced the "household responsibility system" in agriculture by parcelling out the collectively owned land to peasants on a long term lease-hold basis with provisions for the rights of inheritance. This was, in effect, re-introducing privatized agriculture in China through the back-door. However, new system increased agricultural production immensely though it promoted inequality in rural society to some extent. In contrast with Soviet collectivization, family based agriculture in China has proved more productive despite lower level of mechanization.

In the five years between the 12th and the 13th Congress of the Communist Party, China achieved great progress in economic reforms and the opening of the economy to the outside world also began in a big way. Industrial re-structuring was accomplished. Investment in productive and profitable enterprises was increased. Agriculture, energy, resources, transport and communication were given special support. The annual average growth rate of the GNP reached 10 to 11 percent between 1990 and 1999. During this period, China's economy was liberalized and privatized at a rapid pace. This was done through what the Chinese prefer to call "contractual responsibility system" that conferred long lease-hold rights on the recipient of land and property.

China also encouraged investment of foreign capital and gave favourable terms to all foreign investors. Fourteen special zones were created in the coastal provinces where foreign firms were allowed 100 percent equity. Foreign capital entered China in a big way. The Chinese trade also flourished with various foreign countries particularly the United States, Japan and West European countries. Hong Kong and Macao with their capitalist structures have now become parts of China with a guarantee that these will be maintained so far at least 50 years more. Communist China has also promised that Taiwan's capitalist economy will be preserved perpetually whenever it decides to joint the mainland.

In fact, China is rapidly marching towards system, which some critics describe sarcastically as "capitalism with Chinese Characteristics" where social ownership and socialism are increasingly becoming mere legal fictions. The share of the public sector in China's economy has decreased from 96 percent in 1976 to just 26 percent in 2001. Post-Mao development strategy has largely succeeded in making China an industrial giant and also self-sufficient in the agricultural sphere.

The strength of the Chinese strategy of development consists of the following :

- 1) Abolition of land-lordism, the end of the unproductive commune system, establishment of family leasehold farms in agriculture, peasant initiative in rural enterprises encouraged.
- 2) Abolition of mass poverty, promotion of education and removal of illiteracy, wide-spread health services, population control with a single child norm.
- 3) Economic reforms which have almost liberalized the economy and opened it up to the outside world.
- 4) China's policies recognize the importance of market, profitability, competition and integration with the world economy but on its own terms.
- 5) Chinese leadership regards China at the primary stage of socialism and it may take more than a century to complete the transition to socialism.
- 6) China's development strategy should be based on pragmatic considerations. As Deng said, the cat could be white or black, what is important is that it should be able to catch mice.

According to the IMF criteria of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), China's GDP is second only to that of the United States, surpassing that of Japan which is in the third place.

Check Your Progress 2

Note i) Use space provided below to give your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) State three main features of the Soviet development strategy.

.....

- 2) Post-Mao development strategy in China differs from the previous one in these respects.

.....

12.6 THE THIRD WORLD STRATEGIES

The underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and even Latin America tried to follow from 1950 to 1970 what Charles Bettelheim has called the state capitalist model though role of the state in their economies varied from country to country. The purpose was to strengthen the infrastructure and create an independent economic base for which private capital was not forthcoming. The public sector could be as low as 20 percent (Indonesia) or 70 per cent (Algeria).

However, many developing countries did not follow the state capitalist strategy and did not create any sizable public sector. Most of the Latin American countries like Brazil, Argentina and Chile followed the capitalist model in which foreign capital also played a major role, though foreign capital was not absent in the countries which tried to experiment with the mixed economy model such as Mexico. South-East Asian countries also preferred market based strategy of economic growth. Later, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore emerged as the Asian tigers which were Asian showpieces of capitalist development.

According to Paul Baran, the development strategies of the Third World countries show two different kinds of orientations. He maintained that an overwhelming majority of the backward countries are ruled by regimes of a clearly pronounced comprador character and their strategies are also based on what he calls comprador capitalist development. Secondly, he maintained that some underdeveloped countries have governments which have a 'New Deal' orientation such as India, Indonesia, and Burma.

If the first group, he placed the oil-producing countries of the Middle East and Latin America and Afro-Asian and Latin American countries producing valuable

minerals and food-stuffs. Many of these countries are ruled by pro-Western dictators who are constrained to pursue development strategy based on comprador capitalism. Baran's characterization of such regimes as comprador is considered dated and inapplicable now.

In the second group, Baran placed 'New-Deal' type regimes where a nationalist bourgeoisie was in power which, in alliance with other exploited classes, was trying to create an independent economic base for the country's all round development. As the pressure for social liberation was not great in these countries, the governments there adopted the strategy of evolving an indigenous variety of industrial capitalism in which both the public and private sectors would have a co-operative relationship.

However, the New Deal regime is also plagued with certain contradictions. For example, it is unable to offend the landlords and cannot carry out pro-peasant land reform. It cannot interfere with the privileges of the merchants and moneylenders. It is unable to improve the living conditions of the workers, as it cannot antagonize business. Despite its anti-imperialism, it favours foreign capital.

This regime substitutes minor reforms for radical changes, revolutionary words for revolutionary deeds. It is unable to do the battle for industrialisation and unable to mobilize the masses for a decisive assault on the nation's backwardness, poverty, illiteracy or ill-health. The state capitalist model may create new steel plants, set up fertilizer plants, develop hydro-electric power, build oil and gas producing plants etc in the public sector, but the government never nationalizes any private sector industry. However, the private sector is unable to fulfill the role that is expected. Population growth remains unchecked and generally neutralizes economic growth in real terms.

Development strategies based on the state capitalist model have now been rejected almost in all developing countries. Neo-liberal economic reforms advocated by the IMF-World Bank advisers are being implemented at a varying pace almost in all developing countries. The state sector is being dismantled gradually everywhere including India.

China, South Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and some Latin American countries have achieved considerable success in implementing neo-liberal reforms. In contrast, India is still debating the trickle down effects of its reform programme. With the exception of South Africa, the IMF-World Bank model of growth has not helped the African countries in any appreciable manner. However, the slogans of liberalization, privatization and globalisation have been universally accepted as the guidelines for development by the ruling elites of all developing nations. This is basically a market-oriented, capitalist strategy of economic growth.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note i) Use space provided below to give your answer.
 ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Enumerate the basic features of development strategies followed by the Third World countries.

12.7 LET US SUM UP

Development is one area of study where at the height of the neo-liberal upsurge, it is recognized that governments have a major role to play. Underdevelopment means not just low per capita income but lack of sound structures, missing markets and external constraints. Proper development strategy requires efficient arrangement of the system of production, a human development and human rights approach, and redistributive policies. Development strategies must be oriented towards reduction of inequalities, across the regions within an economy and across the countries in the international economy. The fall of Soviet-style socialism has not proved the ultimate rationality of capitalist, market-oriented economy, which still suffers from mal-distribution of incomes and periodical recessions. Many countries are still underdeveloped.

12.8 KEY WORDS

Underdevelopment : Perverted development caused by imperialist intervention in a dependent economy.

Genocide : Deliberate destruction of a conquered race.

Multinationals : Companies having subsidiary operations in several countries across the globe.

Capitalism : Economic system based on private ownership of the means of production.

Socialism : Economic system based on social or state ownership of the means of production.

Neo-liberalism : New liberal approach promoting free enterprise and free trade all over the world.

Marxism-Leninism : The official ideology of the former Soviet Union and Communist China presenting a socialist model of development.

Capitalist Rroaders : China's leaders such as Deng Xiaoping who, according to Mao Zedong were trying to restore capitalism in China.

Purchasing Power Parity : A method of calculating the GDP in accordance with the purchasing capacity of a national currency.

12.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Asirvatham, E. & Misra, K.K. 2001, *Political Theory*, Chapters 12, 13 & 14, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi.

Baran, Paul, A., 1973, *Political Economy of Growth*, Penguins, Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 8.

Chilcote, Ronald H., 1981, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, Chapter 7, Westview Press, Boulder-Colorado.

Frank, Andre Gunder, 1967, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, Monthly Review Press, New York.

Kay, Geoffrey, 1975 *Development and Underdevelopment - A Marxist Analysis*, Macmillan Press, London.

Misra, K.K. & Iyengar, Kalpana M., 1988 *Modern Political Theory*, Part III Chapters, 5, 6, 12, 13, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi.

12.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Underdevelopment is a kind of defective development caused by capitalism and imperialism but undevelopment is the historical condition that existed before industrialisation in a country not exploited by imperialism. India in 1947 was underdeveloped but Japan in 1868 was undeveloped.
- 2) Any two of the following six:
 - 1) Accumulation (Accumulative State),
 - 2) Harmony (Harmonious State)
 - 3) Pluralism (Franchise State),
 - 4) Expansion (Expansionist State),
 - 5) Dualism (Dual State) and
 - 6) Multinationals (Transnational State).
- 3) (a) False, (b) True, (c) False, (d) True, (e) False, (f) True, (g) True, (h) True

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) 1) Centralized Economic Planning
- 2) Nationalization of Industry, Trade, Banking, Transport and Communication.
- 3) Collectivization of Agriculture

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2) Mao's Strategy | Post-Mao Strategy |
| Collectivization of Agriculture | Family Farms |
| People's Communes | Abolition of Communes |
| Dominance of State Sector | Phased Privatization |
| Opposition to Foreign Capital | Foreign Capital Welcome |
| Doctrinaire Socialism | Neo-liberal Reforms |

Check Your Progress 3

Development strategies followed by the Third World countries were not exactly uniform.

- 1) Some countries like India, Egypt and Algeria followed the state capitalism model and created a state sector of economy.
- 2) But a private sector, which co-existed with public sector, was also encouraged to make its contribution to economic growth.

- 3) Brazil, Argentina, South Korea, Singapore etc. adopted market-oriented strategy of growth from the very beginning.
- 4) Foreign capital was invited in both types of the developing countries, though it preferred to go to market-oriented economies.
- 5) Some countries like Cambodia, North Korea and Cuba emulated a socialist strategy of development.
- 6) All developing countries after 1970 gradually came under the influence of the International Monetary Fund-World Bank guidelines as they faced foreign exchange crises one after another.
- 7) Neo-liberal economic reforms were carried out in phases but at a varying pace in all developing countries including China.
- 8) Neo-liberalism promotes globalization of the Third World economies on the basis of free trade and free enterprise as far as possible.
- 9) All developing countries are striving to combine economic growth with human development and redistributive justice.
- 10) In practice, their development strategies have magnified social inequalities with the exception of a few socialist countries like China, Viet Nam and Cuba.

UNIT 13 MODES OF CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL REGIMES

Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
 - 13.1 Introduction
 - 13.2 Problems of Classification
 - 13.3 Classification in Ancient Period
 - 13.3.1 Aristotle's Classification
 - 13.3.2 Extension of Aristotle's Classification
 - 13.4 Modern Classification
 - 13.5 Contemporary Classification
 - 13.6 Division of Power as the Basis of Classification
 - 13.6.1 Unitary Government
 - 13.6.2 Federal Government
 - 13.7 Legislative-Executive Relationship as the Basis of Classification
 - 13.7.1 Parliamentary Government
 - 13.7.2 Presidential Government
 - 13.8 Let Us Sum Up
 - 13.9 Key Words
 - 13.10 Some Useful Books
 - 13.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
-

13.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the modes of classification of states and governments in historical and comparative perspectives. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the different models of classification of political regimes;
 - describe the bases and principles adopted from time to time to classify the political regimes;
 - identify the problems in arriving at a universal mode of classification of political regimes;
 - describe the changing patterns of classification; and
 - describe different forms of democratic government.
-

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The classification of political regimes is as old as the study of politics itself. Beginning from the 4th Century BC onwards, there have been numerous attempts to classify the regimes, define the concepts, and specify the basis of classification. During the Greek period, the basis of classification was very limited and revolved around the number of rulers and quality of rule. In the medieval ages, attempts were made by Bodin, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Kant, etc. to improve upon the Aristotelian classification but they could not carry farther. New modes of classification emerged with the rise of modern nation-state. The American and French revolutions gave a blow to monarchy and brought about the republican and democratic forms. They also clearly demarcated the different organs of the government viz. legislature, executive, judiciary. The American Constitution clarified the concept of federation, separation of powers and introduced the presidential form of government. Political scientists adopted modern forms of classifications which categorised government into Limited Monarchy, Democratic Republic, Parliamentary, Presidential, Unitary and Federal.

Further refinements in the classification of governments and regimes became necessary in the post-Second World War period. This was necessitated by the emergence of a number of post colonial societies as sovereign independent states and the establishment of communist/socialist states. Today, there is a great variety of governments in the twentieth century but it is difficult to reach any universal classification of political regimes. Let us first identify some of the problems of classification of political regimes and then proceed to examine modes of classification adopted by political thinkers from time to time.

13.2 PROBLEMS OF CLASSIFICATION

Classification of the political regimes is primarily an attempt to pinpoint the most important elements of the political system from the least important. Classification presupposes a comparative approach; it is to identify the group of like with like to allow for significant comparisons and thereby increase our understanding. The classification scheme may point to the inter-relations between different variables i.e., the connection between the type of political regime. The socio-economic structure is an important factor in this respect. The number of typologies is very wide and the choice will depend upon the type of variables that are being considered and more importantly, the nature of the questions being asked.

It is important to remember that classification depends on what aspect of the political regime one wishes to isolate and emphasise. Therefore, there can be no one scheme of classification that is suitable for all purposes. It is important to ask question— what is the purpose of a particular scheme of classification? Although one's conclusion can only be tentative, the mark of good classification is simplicity.

The aim of classification is simplicity, though even here there are a number of difficulties. First, there is the problem of defining the concepts being used. For example, the meaning of liberty may be different in America and Russia. Secondly, the political institutions with the same level may perform similar functions in different political systems. For example, the British monarchy has similar political functions as those of the West German President. The French President has more powers than that of USA. Again, classification is sometimes used to praise or condemn a particular regime. Regimes are labelled democratic or autocratic not only simply to describe but also indicate preferences.

13.3 CLASSIFICATION IN ANCIENT PERIOD

13.3.1 Aristotle's Classification

The tradition of classification of political regimes goes back to the Greek city states in the 4th century BC. A systematic study of the classification of constitutions was undertaken by Aristotle though Herodotus and Plato before him had also tried to classify the regimes. Herodotus divided the states into three categories : Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. Plato in his book *Republic* mentions about five types of states, namely, Ideocracy, Timocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. However, the novelty of Aristotle lays in the fact that he based his classification on the investigation of 158 Constitutions existing in his day and offered a scientific and generally acceptable classification of Constitutions. In his book *Politics*, Aristotle divided the Constitutions into two classes; good and bad or true and perverted, and in each of these two categories, he found three types according to whether the government was in the hands of one, few or many. By applying the two bases of quality (i.e. whether the regime is good or bad) and quantity (i.e. the number of persons), Aristotle provided six

types of Constitutions : three good - Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity respectively in the hands of one, few and many, and three bad - Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy respectively in the hands of one, few and many. His classification can be better understood from the following table.

Aristotle's Classification

Number of Ruler(s)	Normal Form	Perverted Form
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

According to Aristotle, monarchy is the rule of one person with supreme virtue as its guiding principle; its perverted form is tyranny that represents force, deceit, selfishness and like. Aristocracy was described as rule of few representing the mixture of virtue and wealth and its perverted form as oligarchy which represented greed for wealth. Finally, there is the polity as the rule of many representing martial and medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people only, whose perverted form is democracy that represents the principle of equality without discrimination with power vested in the hands of numerous poor.

A prominent feature of Aristotle's classification and political analysis is that no form of state remains static for ever. All the states pass through a cycle of revolutions. Every form degenerates over a period of time giving place to a new one. Thus a state began with the best form of government i.e. rule of one man who is supremely virtuous but over a period of time, this gave way to tyranny. But the tyrant would meet one day the opposition of a body who would depose him and rule in his stead. This was aristocracy. Again the spirit of aristocracy would degenerate one day into oligarchy into the rule of the many that is polity. But polity would easily become license and anarchy; the rule of many cannot help negation of the rule. Out of this darkness then again will rise one virtuous man. The cycle thus complete will begin once again.

Aristotle's main concern was to find out the conditions under which the states - whether normal or perverted - may enjoy stability. He held that the underlying cause of political strife and hence of revolution was inequality. Consequently, for him, the best state would have a form of constitutional government in which all citizens have access to at least some offices whereby they rule as well as are ruled - a constitution which in practice blends democratic and oligarchic features and in which the middle class is in control. For if the middle class - those who are neither rich nor poor and are sufficiently numerous was to hold the balance of power, then the state will enjoy greater stability. This form of government was found in Polity. It was the golden mean between the ideals of monarchy and aristocracy which is difficult to obtain and sustain and perversions of tyranny, oligarchy and democracy which are undesirable.

The lesson which we learn from Aristotle's classification is that all citizens have one common object, i.e., the safety of their association and for this everything must be sacrificed to maintain a constitution which is the basis of that safety. Hence any action on the part of the citizens outside the bounds of the constitution should not be tolerated. Also history has supplied many illustrations of a cycle of deterioration and revolutions. Nevertheless, Aristotle's classification has been abandoned because it is not applicable to the modern political conditions. For example, it is no longer useful to employ the term monarchy to describe a modern democratic state. Also the term democracy applies to so many modern states that it no longer helps us to a division of them.

13.3.2 Extension of Aristotle's Classification

In sixteenth century, Bodin pushed Aristotle's classification further. Although he was still primarily interested in identifying the best constitution, he insisted that the type of government depended on economic and geographical as well as political factors. He also emphasised the legal sovereignty, a concept which became the hallmark of political science. Another French philosopher Montesquieu in the eighteenth century produced one of the most favoured scheme of classifying governments : Republican, Monarchical and Despotic. His classification was firmly in the classical mould since the type of government depended on the number of people holding power. In Montesquieu there was an important recognition of the relationship between the type of government and the type of society. He suggested that education, morals, patriotism, and the level of economic equality - all help to determine the type of government and the most important variant is the extent of the state's territory. Rousseau, a few years later, classified the forms of government into three - Autocratic, Aristocratic and Democratic - but he held that there was only one form of state, namely, Republic. Kant saw three kinds of states corresponding to Rousseau's three forms of government but only two forms of government - Republican and Despotic. In our own time, a modern German writer, Bluntschli attempted to extend Aristotle's tripe division by adding to it a fourth type of state which he called Ideocracy or Theocracy in which the supreme ruler is conceived to be God or some superhuman spirit or idea. However, such classifications carry us no farther in our endeavour to classify states according to real and existing likeness and differences. For this we must seek our answers somewhere else.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Describe the basis on which Aristotle classified states.

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- 2) Describe different types of states as classified by Aristotle with their characteristics.

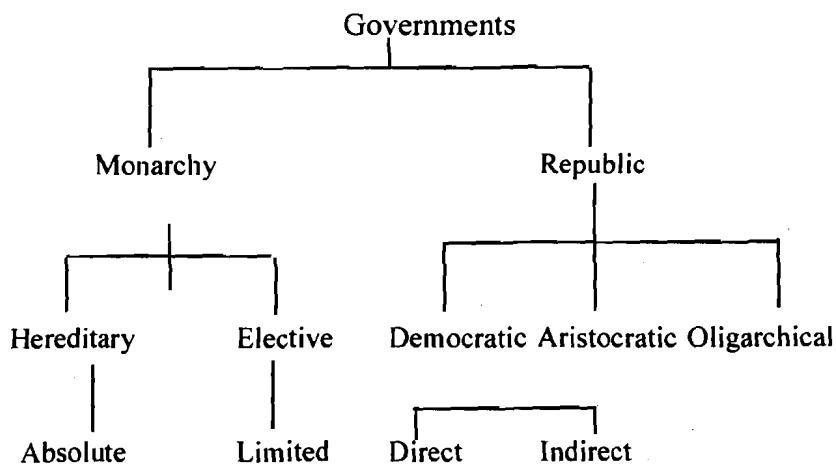
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13.4 MODERN CLASSIFICATION

With the rise of sovereign nation-state, evolution of liberal-constitutional-democratic state, formation of American federation during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, etc. the old classification of political regimes lost its relevance. The new developments changed the basis of classification dramatically. The new modes of classification which emerged were based upon the nature of constitution, concentration or distribution of power within the state, relation of the executive with the legislature, nature and extent of civil liberties, degree of

public participation or the role of ideology. However, we must keep in mind one important factor, that is that the totality of power of all the states is the same. In other words, every state is a sovereign state; the only manner in which states can be classified is according to the structural peculiarities of the governmental organisation.

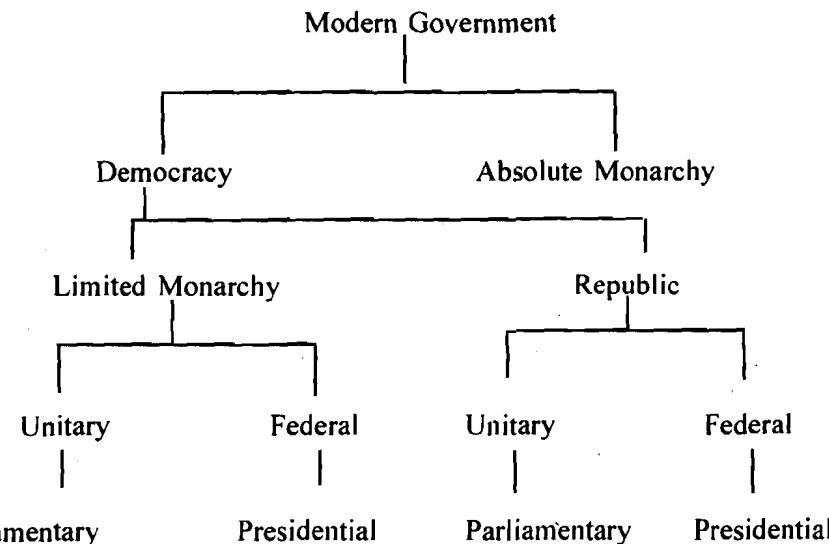
In the context of sovereign state and its structures, attempts have been made by innumerable writers to classify the political organisations from time to time. For example, Jellenick, a German writer classified political regimes into two broad categories: monarchical and republican. He further divided monarchy into hereditary and elective with absolute and limited forms, and republic into three forms - democratic, aristocratic and oligarchic. Finally, he described democratic variety having direct and indirect forms. This can be shown through a table:



Another writer Burgess presented his classification based upon four distinct principles and tried to place several forms of government into those categories. The four principles and the forms of government were :

- identity or non identity with state and government- primary and representative,
- tenure of executive- hereditary or elective
- relationship between executive and legislature-parliamentary or presidential, and
- concentration and distribution of power- unitary and federal.

Leacock presented the forms of government in a simplified form which can be understood by the following table:



F.C. Strong, another important writer of this century has offered his own classification. He suggested five heads under which modern constitutional states could be divided with specific types of governments. The model of Strong is as follows:

Grounds of Division	First Type	Second Type
1. The nature of the state to which the constitution applies	Unitary	Federal
2. The nature of the Constitution itself	flexible (not necessarily written)	Rigid (not necessarily fully written)
3. The nature of legislature	i) Adult suffrage ii) Single member constituency iii) Non elective second chamber iv) Direct popular check	i) Qualified adult suffrage ii) Multi member constituency iii) Elective or partially second chamber iv) Absence of such checks
4. The nature of the executive	Parliamentary	Presidential
5. The nature of the judiciary	Subject to Rule of Law (in Common Law States)	Under Administrative Law (in Prerogative States)

From the above models of classification, we can draw certain conclusions. Firstly, although numerous models have been identified, there is no consensus on a universal and scientific classification. Secondly, all identified models are based upon the institutions of state, government and its organs such as legislature, executive and judiciary, constitution, law, and political organisation. The socio-economic, historical and cultural factors affecting the political system were not taken into consideration. Thirdly, and most importantly, these classifications were exclusively influenced by the type of state institutions which developed in Europe and America. The political systems of Asia, Africa or Latin America were completely ignored. It was only after the Second World War, when these countries got independence from the colonial rule, it was found that their political systems could not be accommodated within the above models. Hence the need was felt to create new models of classification.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Briefly describe the different forms of governments in Leacock's classification.

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- 2) List the chief characteristics of modern classification of governments.

- a.....
- b.....
- c.....

13.5 CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION

As explained above, the modern classification was primarily based upon liberal democratic governments as developed in Europe and North America during nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, after the second world war, new types of political regimes emerged at two levels:

- 1) a host of post-colonial states which got independence from the imperialist powers in which the liberal democratic institutions had not evolved, which were economically underdeveloped and had diverse cultural, social institutions and political structures, and
- 2) emergence of a communist/socialist bloc of states whose objective was the building of a socialist society (in contrast to the liberal capitalist society of the West) and which had different conceptions of democracy, parliament, party system, federalism and political powers.

These factors compelled political scientists to evolve new models of classification which would encompass the variety of political regimes that evolved in the post-war period. The lead in this direction was taken by a number of American political scientists who tried to create a classification which could suit the changed circumstances. They tried to integrate the political institutions with development and modernisation. Consequently, they gave new basis for classification such as industrialisation, urbanisation, technological development, level of education, commerce, cultural and social achievements and communication network. In the past forty years several prominent political scientists, such as Edward Shils, Kautsky, David Apter, Almond and Powell, Robert Dahl, David Easton, Jean Blondel, Allan Ball, etc. have studied and classified political regimes. Let us examine some of these.

Edward Shils in his book *Political Development* in New States presented a five-fold classification of modern political systems:

- i) Political democracy as in Britain and USA,
- ii) Tutelary democracy - states which are not democratic but try to copy the ways of political democracy,
- iii) Modernising oligarchy - states where the power is in the hands of a few civilians who rule with the help of armed forces or vice-versa,
- iv) Totalitarian oligarchy of either Communist or Fascist type, and
- v) Traditional Oligarchy - states which are ruled by dynastic rulers and are associated with traditional religious beliefs.

David Apter has laid emphasis on the developing societies. He talks about the type of government they have and the value system they have inherited. In this context he talks about three types of political systems:

- i) Modernising autocracy,
- ii) Military oligarchy, or
- iii) Some patterns of both.

S.E. Finer evolved certain new basis for his mode of classification. According to him, in all the political systems, the essence is that a few rule over the many i.e. those who formulate policies and implement them are very few. In this context, he talks about three types of political systems :

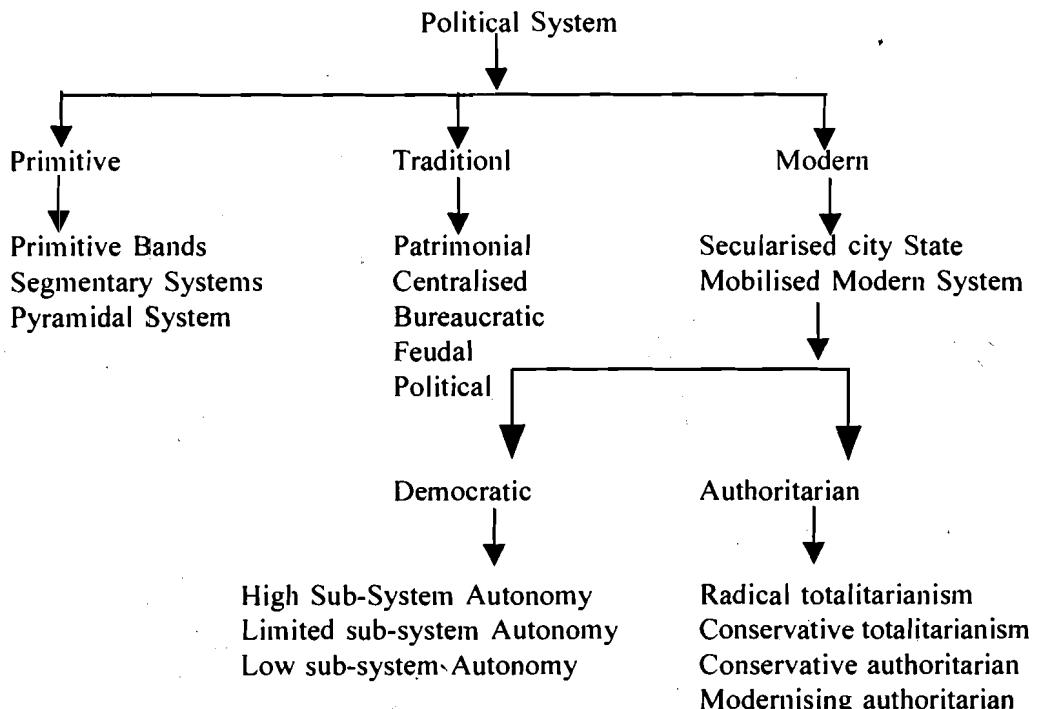
- i) Liberal-democratic such as the liberal-capitalist states of Europe and America,
- ii) Totalitarian system such as prevalent in the communist states,
- iii) Autocracies and oligarchies, i.e. the political systems in which the political activity of the military is persistent. These are the systems which are neither liberal democratic nor totalitarian. These are prevalent in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America where the military is the decisive factor and is an independent political factor, often a decisive factor.

Jean Blondel provides a triple basis for his model of classification of political systems:

- i) Nature of political system,
- ii) Social philosophy and policies, and
- iii) Political ideology and the autonomy of the sub-systems.

On this basis, he classifies two types of political systems under each category: a) Monarchy and Democracy, b) Traditional and Modern, and c) Liberal and Totalitarian.

Almond and Powell have also given a triple classification of political systems based upon structural differences and functions, and cultural secularisation. They are : a) Primitive, b) Traditional, and c) Modern. The primitive system based upon tribal rule could be of three types : primitive bands, segmentary system or the pyramidal systems. The traditional political systems can also be divided into three categories : patrimonial system, centralised bureaucratic systems and feudal political systems. These are the types of systems based primarily on agriculture, dominated by clergy and feudal lords and lack of industrialisation. The mobilised modern systems are those based upon **structuralisation** as well as cultural secularisation. They can be democratic as well as authoritarian. We can understand Almond's classification through the following table.



Almond and Powell have also classified the political systems on the basis of political culture. Depending upon the nature of allegiance, apathy or alienation of the people towards the political system, the political culture can be of three types: parochial, subjective or participative. On this basis, they classified four types of political regimes : i) Anglo American, ii) Continental European, iii) Non Western, and iv) Totalitarian.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) The twin factors which led to the emergence of contemporary classification system are :

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- 2) Describe the basis and classification of governments as given by S.E. Finer and Jean Blondel.

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13.6 DIVISION OF POWER AS THE BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION

As explained above, modern political regimes are classified on the basis of territorial distribution of powers also, i.e. how the powers of the government are distributed between the centre and the various administrative regions. On this basis we can identify: Unitary and Federal, the salient features of which are discussed below.

13.6.1 Unitary Government

A political regime in which the entire power is centralised in one government is a unitary government. It is based on the principle of geographical centralisation of power. The supreme authority is concentrated in a single organ or a set of organs established at and operating from a common centre. According to Finer, a unitary government is one in which all the authority and powers are lodged in a single centre whose will and agents are legally omnipotent over the whole area.

Similarly, according to Blondel, 'in a unitary state, only the central body is legally independent and other authorities are subordinate to the central government.' The essence of a unitary state is that the sovereignty is undivided.

The Constitution of a unitary state does not admit any other law-making body. It can legislate on all subjects and administer them without reservation. It does not, however, mean that the government can take arbitrary decisions. Even in a unitary state system, the country is divided into several provinces for the sake of administration but what is important to remember is that they do not enjoy any autonomy. The powers of the provinces are delegated from the centre which can be taken away whenever desired by the centre. Thus the two essential qualities of the unitary state are : the supremacy of the central parliament, and absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

13.6.2 Federal Government

Federalism is a form of government where the powers are distributed between the central and provincial governments and both have their separate and well defined areas of authority. Here, the totality of government power is divided and distributed by the national constitution between a central government and those of the individual states.

A federal government has an agreement and there are certain essential features that ensure its proper working. They are : i) a written constitution, ii) division of powers, and iii) independence of judiciary.

Firstly, the federal government is the creation of agreement which takes place as a result of a constitution in which the powers of the federal government and the federating units and the details of their rights are listed. This constitution is expected to be written and rigid enough so that neither centre nor the federating units may change it at their own will. Also the constitution is sovereign in the sense that both centre and the units are subordinate to it.

Secondly, an indispensable quality of the federal government is the distribution of powers of government between central government and the federating units. Normally, the subjects of national importance such as defence, foreign affairs, railways, communications, finance are entrusted to the central government whereas subjects like education, health, agriculture etc. are looked after by the provincial units. The powers may also be distributed in one of the two ways: either the constitution states the powers that the federal authority shall have and leave the remainder to the units, or it states those powers the federating units shall possess and leave the remainder to the federal authority. For example, in the American federation the constitution defines the powers of the federal authority and leaves the rest to the federating units. In Canada, it is the reverse i.e. the constitution prescribes only the powers of the federating units and leave the rest to the central government. However, in India both the powers of the centre and the units have been listed.

Thirdly, there should be an independent institution to settle the disputes with regard to the jurisdiction of the centre and the units and among the units. Such an institution can only be the Supreme Court whose function is to see that the constitution is respected in so far as it distributes the governmental powers between the contracting parties and the federal authority *which by their contract they establish authority to run the administration.* In a completely federalised state, this court is absolutely supreme in its power to decide in cases of conflict between the federal authority and the state authorities.

Check Your Progress 4

Note:i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) The two essential characteristics of a unitary state are:

a)

b)

2) The essential features of a federal state are:

a)

b)

c)

13.7 LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONSHIP AS THE BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION

Political regimes have also been classified on the basis of the relationship between the legislature and executive departments of the government. In this context, historically two forms have been popular: one in which the legislature and executive work together and the executive is responsible to the legislature for all its acts, and two in which they work separately within their own defined spheres. While the former is called Parliamentary form, the latter is known as Presidential form of government.

13.7.1 Parliamentary Government

The parliamentary form of government is the result of historical evolution in Great Britain. It is also known as 'Cabinet government', or even 'Prime Ministerial government'. The chief characteristic of this type of government is that the executive is a part of the legislature and is responsible to it for all its policies and acts.

There are two types of executive in the parliamentary government : nominal and the real. The head of the state is the nominal head whose functions are chiefly formal and ceremonial and whose political influence is limited. This head of the state may be a monarch or a president. The real executive is the Prime Minister who together with his cabinet is a part of the legislature, selected by the members of the legislature and can be removed by the legislature through a motion of 'no confidence'. The real executive is responsible for the formulation of policies. It performs all the administrative functions in the name of the titular head.

13.7.2 Presidential Government

The presidential system is based upon the doctrine of separation of powers. It means that the legislature and the executive are kept apart. According to Garner, it is a system of government in which the executive (including both the head of the state and his ministries) is constitutionally independent of legislature in respect to the duration of its tenure and not responsible to the legislature for its political policies. The chief executive is the real executive as well as the head of the government. He is elected by the people for a definite period. Since the executive is not a part of the legislature it cannot be removed from the office by

the legislature except through the legal process of impeachment. The executive cannot dissolve the legislature nor can it call for a general election. Usually the executive and the legislature are elected for fixed terms.

However, in order to keep the three organs of the government interconnected, a device of checks and balances is adopted so that the President may not become a dictator. Constitutional devices are invented so that each organ acts as a check on the other two organs and thereby act as a sort of balancer to the others. This form of government evolved in the United States of America and was later adopted by many countries of Latin America and Europe with some modifications.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How does the legislature check executive excesses in a parliamentary form of government?

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- 2) How does Presidential form of government differs from the Parliamentary government?

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13.8 LET US SUM UP

The classification of political regimes is as old as the study of politics itself. As we saw, numerous attempts have been made to classify the regimes, define the concepts, specify the basis of classification. During the Greek period, the basis of classification was very limited and revolved around the number of rulers and quality of rule. In the medieval ages, attempts were made by Bodin, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Kant, etc. to improve upon the Aristotelian classification but they could not carry farther.

The second classification came on the scene with the rise of modern nation-state. The American and French revolutions gave a blow to monarchy and brought about the republican and democratic forms. They also clearly demarcated the different organs of the government viz. legislature, executive, judiciary. The American Constitution clarified the concept of federation, separation of powers and introduced the presidential form of government. Jellinick, Burgess, Marriot, Leacock, M.C. Strong, etc. adopted modern forms of classifications which categorised government into Limited Monarchy, Democratic Republic, Parliamentary, Presidential, Unitary and Federal. But such a classification was based upon the institutions of state and governments developed in Europe and America. After the second world war, a host of colonial countries got independence. They had diverse political structures. A number of communist/socialist states that came into being around this time had different notions of democracy, political parties, parliament, etc. These developments led to a number of new classifications ranging from primitive and traditional forms of

governments to modern liberal and totalitarian ones. These classifications were devised by writers like Edward Shils, David Apter, Almond and Powell, David Easton, etc. Thus there is a great variety of governments in the twentieth century but it is difficult to reach any universal classification of political regimes.

13.9 KEY WORDS

- Monarchy** : A form of political regime in which the supreme and final authority is in the hands of a single person wearing a crown, irrespective of the fact that his office is hereditary or elective. It is the will of one person which ultimately prevails in all matters of government.
- Aristocracy** : It is a form of political regime by the best citizens. It is a form of government in which relatively small proportion of people determine the policies. It can be a combination of priests, soldiers, professionals, landowners, men of wealth of all or a few of them. In aristocracy, power is exercised by a few.
- Democracy** : It is difficult to define democracy in a few words. It is a form of government in which the power is ultimately vested in the people. It is associated with high level of political participation by the people, provision of civil and political liberties, and meaningful and extensive competition among the citizens and groups for political power.
- Authoritarianism** : A form of government which is opposed to democracy. Here, the authority is vested in the hands of a dictator, a military junta or an absolute monarch. The ruler is not accountable to the people nor he is bound by any constitution.
- Totalitarianism** : Believes in the totalist ideology, a single party state, a secret police, overall control and a government monopoly over the economic, cultural and information structure of the society. There is no difference between the state and the society.

13.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Ball, A.R., 1971, *Modern Politics and Government*, Macmillan, London.

Blondel, Jean, 1970, *Comparative Government : A Reader*, Macmillian, London.

Gabriel and Powell, 1964, *Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach*, Vakils, Jeffers and Simons.

Gena, C.B., 1978, *Comparative Politics and Political*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

Robert Dahl, 1964, *Modern Political Analysis*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey,

13.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Aristotle applied two basis for classification: Quality and Quantity. By quality he meant whether a regime is true or perverted, that is, whether the rulers ruled for the welfare of the people or served their own vested interests. By quantity, he meant the number of persons i.e. whether a government is ruled by one, few or many. By applying these two basis, Aristotle identified six types of governments.
- 2) Aristotle's classification provides six types of governments - three normal and three perverted. Monarchy is the rule of one person with supreme virtue. Its perverted form is tyranny where the ruler is the symbol of force, deceit, and selfishness. Aristocracy is the rule of few representing a mixture of virtue and wealth. Oligarchy, on the other hand, represents greed for wealth only. Polity is a rule of many representing martial and medium virtues, and power resting with the middle class people. While its perverted form i.e. democracy represents the principle of equality without discrimination with power vested in the hands of numerous poor.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) According to Leacock modern governments can be classified as Democratic or Absolute Monarchy. The Democratic state can be divided into Limited Monarchy and a Republic. On the basis of the relation with the executive and the legislature, and the concentration or distribution of power within the states, the limited monarchy and the republic can be further classified as unitary or federal and parliamentary or presidential. For example, India is a republic, it is parliamentary democracy and a federal government while England is limited monarchy, unitary and parliamentary democracy.
- 2) They are the result of the rise of sovereign nation-state, evolution of liberal constitutional democratic states in Europe and America. They are based upon the nature of the constitution, concentration or distribution of power within the state, relation of the executive with the legislature, nature and extent of civil liberties, and degree of public participation. There is no agreement on a universal or scientific classification. All modern classification are based on the institutions of state, government and its organs.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) In the post Second World War period, a large number of countries having diversecultural and social and political structures emerged as sovereign states. Some of themhad different notions of democracy, parliament, party system, federalism etc. These factors led political scientist, the writers to evolve new models of classification which would cover the post-colonial states.
- 2) Finer's basis is that in all political regimes, a few rule over the many. On this basis he identified three types of political systems: i) liberal democratic such as in liberal capitalist countries of Europe and America, ii) totalitarian systems such as prevalent in the communist states of USSR, China, Cuba etc. and the iii) autocracies and oligarchies such as regimes in some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America where military or the traditional authorities are the decisive factors.

Blondel provides three basis for his model of classification: i) nature of political system, ii) social philosophy and policies and iii) political ideology and the autonomy of the sub system. On the basis, he classifies two types of political systems under each category. Depending upon the nature of political system, the government can be monarchy or democracy; its social philosophy and policies can be traditional or modern, and its political ideology can be liberal or totalitarian.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Supremacy of the central parliament, and absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.
- 2) A written constitution, division of powers between the central government and the federating units, and an independent judiciary to disputes between the central government and the federating units or among the federating units.

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) The executive is a part of the legislature and is immediately and legally responsible to the legislature for its policies. The legislature can remove the government (i.e. the executive) through a motion of 'no confidence' in it, and can compel the executive to dissolve the parliament and go for fresh elections.
- 2) The presidential government is a system of government in which the executive (head of the state and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of legislature in respect of duration of its tenure and is not responsible to it for policies. Since the executive is not a part of the legislature and cannot be removed from the office except through impeachment. Executive and legislature are elected for fixed terms and are governed by the constitution. The system works on the theory of 'checks and balances'.

UNIT 14 DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Government, Political System and Political Regime
- 14.3 The Purpose of the Classification of Political Regimes
- 14.4 Evolution of Democratic Regimes
- 14.5 Democratic Regimes in the Developed States
- 14.6 Democratic Regimes and the Developing States
- 14.7 The Nature of Authoritarian Regimes
 - 14.7.1 Characteristics of Authoritarian Regimes
 - 14.7.2 Authoritarian Regimes in the post-Second World War Period
- 14.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 14.9 Some Useful Books
- 14.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

14.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit examines contemporary democratic and authoritarian forms of government, a broad classification of political systems/regimes that has been adopted since the inter-War period. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- distinguish the terms government, political system and political regime;
- explain the evolution of democratic regimes;
- analyse the nature, forms and characteristics of modern democratic regimes;
- identify the features of authoritarian regimes; and
- analyse the forms of authoritarian regimes established in the post-Second World War period.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

As we saw in the last unit, classification as well as characterisation of the various forms of political regimes began with Aristotle, the Greek philosopher of 4th century BC. In his attempts to describe the political regimes then in existence, he coined the terms 'democracy', 'oligarchy' and 'tyranny'. Comparative political theorists working in the context of modern nation states continue to use these terms to describe modern political regimes.

Contemporary political systems/regimes are broadly categorised as democratic or authoritarian. As we shall see, this categorisation was a response to the events of historical significance in the 20th century—the emergence of Stalinist Russia, Fascist Italy and Spain and Nazi Germany. Before we proceed to examine the nature and evolution of modern democratic and authoritarian forms of government, it is necessary to address to a theoretical issue of critical significance. This relates to the different connotations of the terms government, political system and political regime.

14.2 GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL REGIME

Though the terms government, political system and political regime are used interchangeably yet there are differences. Government refers to institutional process through which collective and usually binding decisions are made and implemented. The core functions of government are law making (legislation), law implementation (execution) and law interpretation (adjudication) which are performed by its three organs namely legislature, executive and judiciary.

A political regime or political system, however, is to be analysed in a much broader perspective in the sense that they encompass not only the organs of the government and the political institutions of the state, but also the structures, processes and values through which these interact with the civil society. It follows that different political regimes have tended to prioritise different sets of criteria. Among the parameters, most commonly used to classify the nature of political regimes, are the following:

Who rules?: Does the process of political participation involve only elite, or does it involve the people as a whole?

How is compliance achieved?: Is the political regime obeyed as a result of the use of coercion, or through consensus, bargaining and compromise?

Is the political power of the regime centralised or fragmented? : What kind of mechanisms are needed to ensure separation of powers and checks and balances exist within the political regime?

How is government power acquired and transferred?: Is a regime open and competitive, or is it monolithic?

What is the relationship between the state and the individual?: What is the nature of distribution of rights and responsibilities between government and the citizens?

What is the nature of political economy?: Is the political economy geared to the market or to State's regulation and planning?

Within what limits and scope the political regime operates?: Whether it is a limited or unlimited Government and what is the proper extent of democratic rule?

Under which conditions and constraints?: What are the socio-economic and cultural problems coming in the way of the functioning of the political regime?

How stable is a political regime? Has a particular regime survived over a considerable period of time, and has it shown the capacity to respond to new demands and challenges?

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) How would you differentiate between government and the political regimes?

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14.3 PURPOSE OF THE CLASSIFICATION

The process of classification of political regimes serves three purposes: First, classification of a political regime is an enabling exercise as far as the understanding of politics and government is concerned as it involves the issues related to them mentioned in the second section. Second, the process of classification facilitates a meaningful evaluation of a particular political regime which leads to a better governance; Third, apart from involving the normative issues, the process helps in tackling the questions at the concrete level like ‘should the transition to liberal democratic regime in the former communist countries from people’s democratic regime be welcomed?’ ‘Should developing countries favour a ‘guided’ democratic regime on the pattern of South East Asian countries?’ etc.

14.4 EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

The term democracy is an ancient political term whose meaning is derived from the Greek words demos (people) and Kratia (rule or authority). Hence it means ‘rule by the people’. The Word demokratia was first used by the Greeks towards the middle of the fifth century to denote the political regimes of their City States. The usage was part of the ‘classical’ classification of regimes that distinguished rule by one (monarchy), several (aristocracy or oligarchy) and the many (democracy).

The advocates of democracy have always debated the question as to who should compose the demos. Both the classical Greece as well as in modern times the citizen body has always excluded some individuals as unqualified. When Athenian democracy was at its height in the fifth century BC, only a small minority of the adult population of Athens comprised the ‘demos’, or those able to participate in the political process. It is only in the twentieth century that universal suffrage and other citizenship rights were extended to all, or almost all, permanent residents of a country. For instance, universal adult franchise was introduced in Germany in 1919. A year later it was introduced in Sweden. France introduced universal adult franchise only in 1945, just a couple of years ahead of India..

Along with the changing notion of what properly constitute the people, the conceptions as to what it means for the people to rule have also changed. The political institutions and the systems have evolved in the contemporary democratic regimes primarily to facilitate ‘rule by the people’. The ideas about political life that lend legitimacy to these institutions and systems enshrined in them are radically different from the democratic regimes of classical Greece, the Roman Republic, or the Italian republics of the middle ages and early Renaissance. Thus with the winning of universal suffrage, the democratic theory and practice turned to issues of democratic nation building as there was shift of the locus of democracy from the small scale of the city-state to the large scale of the modern nation state.

The assertion of national independence got reformulated in democratic terms as democratic regimes came to be identified with the right of collective self-determination. Consequently even where the ‘new’ post-colonial regimes could not ensure self-government, they nevertheless called themselves democratic on the strength of their experiences of anti-colonial struggle. In the similar vein, one can refer to the people’s democratic regimes of the second and third worlds which asserted their democratic legitimacy in the language of economics,

pointing to their collective ownership of capital production and distribution, work for all under planned economy, while neglecting the political and legal rights, multi-party electoral system and parliamentary politics. The democratic regimes in the western countries relied on traditional political and legal language, emphasised electoral and civic rights, democratic constitution and institutions and the formal liberty and equality of the political system.

The above brief historical sketch of the evolution of democratic regimes shows that democracy has been subjected to marked ambivalence and intense philosophical and ideological debates. It acquires distinct characteristics depending on the nature of the countries they are based : East or West, developed or developing ones.

14.5 DEMOCRATIC REGIMES IN THE DEVELOPED STATES

The liberal democratic regimes in the developed states have been categorised as polyarchical regimes by Robert Dahl in his work '**Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition**'. The term 'Polyarchy' has been preferred to 'liberal democracy' by the western comparative political theorists primarily because of two reasons. First, liberal democracy as a concept has been treated mostly as a political ideal than a form of regime, and is thus invested with broader normative implications. Second, the usage of the concept of 'polyarchy' tends to acknowledge that the democratic regimes in the developed countries, mostly western, still fall short, in significant ways, of the goal of democracy as theorised in political theory.

The liberal democratic or polyarchical regimes are to be found in the states of North America, Western Europe and Australia. However, there are states like Japan and South Africa who also exhibit the same characteristics. Some of these characteristics may be identified in a brief manner as given below:

- These democratic regimes represent political institutions and practices which include universal suffrage. Elections of representatives for a specified period makes them directly responsible to people. These regimes also provide equal opportunities to the citizens to compete for public office. The political parties and the political leaders enjoy the rights to compete publicly for support. Free and fair elections are the basis of the formation of governments. A competitive party system is supplemented by the pressure groups and the lobbying organisations. These pressure groups influence the conduct of the government by mobilising the people.
- The democratic regimes reflect a high level of tolerance of opposition that is sufficient to check the arbitrary inclination of the government. The existence of alternative sources of information independent of the control of the government and of one another is helpful in this regard. Institutionally guaranteed and protected civil and political rights are further strengthened by the presence of the new social movements. It all results into a vigorous and democratically conscious civil society.
- The democratic regimes accept the presence of political cleavages due to diversity in the civil society. As such political conflicts are seen as an inevitable aspect of political life. Political thought and practice, enshrined in these democratic regimes accept conflict as a normal and not aberrant feature.
- Modern democratic regimes are distinguished by the existence, legality and legitimacy of a variety of autonomous organisations and associations which are relatively independent in relation to government and to one another.

- These democratic regimes derive their underpinnings from the western liberal individualistic tradition of political thought. Thus besides guaranteeing the individual rights they also support free competitive market society. The cultural and ideological orientation of these regimes likewise is also derived from western liberalism.
- The democratic regimes in the developed World are not considered all alike. Some of them tend to favour centralisation and majority rule whereas others favour fragmentation and pluralism. Thus the comparative political theorists like Lijphart distinguishes these regimes between 'majority' democratic regimes and the 'pluralist' democratic regimes.

The 'majority' democratic regimes are organised along parliamentary lines in accordance with the Westminster model. Such democratic regimes are to be found in United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Israel. Some of the significant features these regimes share are single party government, a lack of separation of powers between the executive and the legislature, a simple plurality or first past the post electoral system, unitary or quasi-federal government, legislative supremacy, etc.

The pluralist democratic regimes based on the US model represent the separation of power and checks and balance. The provisions of the Constitution allow institutional fragmentation. The states like Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland which are divided by deep religious, ideological, regional, linguistic and cultural diversities have adopted such regimes which are also called the consociational democratic regimes. These regimes promote the value of bargaining and power sharing which can ensure consensus. The common features these regimes share are coalition Government, a separation of power between the legislature and executive, an effective bicameral system, a multiparty system, Proportional representation, federalism or devolution of political power, a Bill of rights, etc.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

i) What are the features of the 'pluralist' democratic regimes?

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14.6 DEMOCRATIC REGIMES AND THE DEVELOPING STATES

A number of newly independent states of Africa and Asia emerged from colonial rule after the Second World War. Decolonisation brought forth the hope that the modernising political elite of the 'new' states might successfully transform the nationalist, anti-colonial movements into democratic Government and thereby advance the gigantic task of nation building and State building. Most of these States, however, suffered from severe handicaps, some in the shape of objective conditions like lack of literacy and industrial development and others because of their traditional cultures like lack of democratic experience. Thus even when

most of these Asian and African post-colonial states adopted democratic form of regimes, many of these regimes developed authoritarian tendencies. Many states in the developing world alternate between democratic and authoritarian forms of regime. Pakistan is such an example. Then, while some regimes maintain the democratic form, they are authoritarian in actual working.

A major obstacle to the success of the democratic regimes in the developing states has been the deep ethnic divisions along the linguistic, tribal and religious lines - affecting their civil societies. These ethnic groups remain at different stages of socio-economic and political development. The ethnic diversities are naturally reflected in political organisations and form the basis of political mobilisation on the part of the ethnic groups for the fulfilment of their demands in a resource-scarce economy. The political regimes in the face of the increased level of political participation by the wider groups with their increased expectations find it necessary to introduce measures that would co-ordinate and control these groups and their demands. Often such measures are the beginnings of the authoritarian measures. Participation explosion has forced most of the democratic regimes into authoritarian military or bureaucratic regimes in the States of Latin America.

Another major problem before the democratic regimes in the developing States has been that of under development as the dependency theorists have put it. This calls for strong initiatives on the part of the regime. Thus the democratic regimes in the East and South East Asian states are oriented more around economic goals than the political ones. Their overriding economic priority has been to boost growth and deliver prosperity, rather than to enlarge individual freedom in the western sense of civil liberty. This essentially practical concern is evident in political economies of these countries i.e. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia. Second, in these countries of East and South East Asia, there has been broad support for strong regimes. Powerful ruling parties tend to be tolerated, and there is general respect and faith in the ability of the regime to guide and regulate the decisions of private as well as public bodies, and draw up strategies for national development. Third, these Asian democratic regimes command legitimacy based on Confucian values which stress on loyalty, discipline and duty. All the above three factors qualify the democratic regimes of East and South East Asian States as they reflect implicit and sometimes explicit authoritarian tendencies.

People's democratic regimes in the Asian states like China have not been formal democracies in terms of competition, accountability and political liberties. However, unlike the erstwhile communist party regimes in Eastern Europe, these regimes have been noted for the extensive participation as citizens have got used to voting periodically in local elections.

Islam, as Samuel P. Huntington has argued in his work '**Clash of Civilisations**' has had a profound effect on politics in the States of North Africa, the middle East and parts of South and South East Asia. As a consequence of the challenge to the existing regimes in the last two decades by the pro-urban poor militant Islamic groups, 'new' democratic regimes have been constructed or reconstructed on Islamic lines. Iran, Sudan and Pakistan among others are the pertinent examples.

Such Islamic democratic regimes have been considered by the western comparativists as illiberal on two counts. First, these regimes violate the distinction between private and public realms, in that they take religious rules and precepts to be the guiding principles of both personal life and political conduct. Second, these regimes invest political authority with potentially

unlimited power, because temporal power is derived from spiritual wisdom. As such these regimes cannot claim to be based solely on the popular consent or follow the constitutional framework. It would be apt to note, in this context, that Islam has been found compatible with the political pluralism followed by the 'guided' democratic regime in such countries like Pakistan and Malaysia. In essence, however, authoritarian tendencies have remained in the Islamic regimes even if it may not be correct to call them 'fundamentalist' in character.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) List out the major obstacles to the success of the democratic regimes in the developing states.
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14.7 THE NATURE OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Democratic and authoritarian regimes may be distinguished both in terms of their objectives as well as means to achieve them. Authoritarian regimes decide what is good for individuals. The ruling elite impose their values on society irrespective of its members' wishes. Authoritarian refers to a form of government which insists on unqualified obedience, conformity and coercion. It is in essence negation of democracy.

When power is based on consent, respected willingly, and recognised by wider masses, it is legitimate and binding. This is called authority. Authority is power raised in a moral or ethical level. Authority involves legitimate exercise of power, and in that sense it arises 'from below'. Democratic regimes uphold this type of authority and are authoritative. However, when a regime exercises authority regardless of popular consent and with the help of force, it can be called authoritarian. As such authoritarianism is a belief in, or practice of, government 'from above'.

The practice of government 'from above' is also associated with monarchical absolutism, traditional dictatorships, most single party regimes, and most forms of military regimes. They all are authoritarian in the sense that they are concerned with the repression of opposition and political liberty.

Authoritarian regimes are distinguished from the totalitarian regimes. Totalitarian regimes depict modern dictatorship in terms of a model government by complete centralisation and uniform regimentation of all aspects of political, social and intellectual life and in these respects transcending by far the earlier manifestations of absolute or autocratic or despotic or tyrannical regimes and their capacity to control and mobilise the masses. In this sense totalitarianism is truly a phenomenon of twentieth century. The term has been applied to the three radical dictatorial regimes of the inter-war period: Italian Fascism, German National Socialism and Stalinism in Russia.

It follows that though totalitarian regimes are authoritarian - all authoritarian regimes are not necessarily totalitarian. No doubt the authoritarian regimes are

concerned with the repression of opposition and political liberty. However, unlike the totalitarian regimes, these regimes do not aim to achieve far more radical goal of obliterating the distinction between the state and civil society. Authoritarian regimes tend to tolerate a significant range of economic, religious and other freedoms.

14.7.1 The Characteristics of Authoritarian Regimes

In the authoritarian regimes the techniques of decision by public discussion and voting are largely or wholly supplanted by the decision of those in authority.

- The authoritarian regimes exercise sufficient power to dispense with any constitutional limitations.
- Those in power in an authoritarian regime claim to derive their authority not necessarily and always from the consent of the governed but from some special quality that they claim to possess.
- Based on force, authoritarian regimes are likely to use violence against the citizens who do not receive any importance in the governance. Power is controlled, change of government or even of leaders, is not smooth and peaceful under authoritarian regimes. Such changes take place either by means of coup d'etat or as a result of revolutions. Coup has been a normal feature as far as the authoritarian regimes in Africa are concerned.
- Authoritarian regimes are likely to employ force also in their relations with other countries. Since institutions of such regimes are not based on the participation of the people, and are not accountable to people, the moderating influence of public opinion is not effective. As such the authoritarian regimes do not help the cause of international peace.
- The authoritarian regimes are characterised by low and limited political mobilisation. Depoliticisation of the mass of the citizens falls into the intent of the ruling elite, fits with their mentality, and reflects the character of the components of the limited pluralism supporting them.
- Contrary to the democratic regimes which represent almost unlimited pluralism in institutionalised form, the authoritarian regimes represent limited pluralism. The limitation of pluralism may be legal or de facto, implemented more or less effectively, confined to strictly political groups or extended to interest groups.
- Moreover, political power is not legally accountable through such groups to the citizens, even when, it might be quite responsive to them. This is in contrast to democratic regimes, where the political forces are formally dependent on the support of constituencies.

14.7.2 Authoritarian Regimes in the post-Second World War Period

Authoritarian regimes have been mostly established in the developing states of Latin America, the Middle East Africa and South East Asia. Developed states of the West like Spain, Portugal and Greece, however, have also experienced it in the post World War period. These regimes-more than political, economic, cultural or ideological factors-have been dependent on the use of military power and systematic repression. Democratic institutions-both formal and informal-have been either weakened or abolished and the political and legal rights have been non-existent.

These military regimes have been mostly under the control of a junta comprising of the officers of the three wings of armed forces like in Argentina during 1978-1983 or in present day Myanmar. However, there are other forms of regimes where a military backed personalised dictatorship is established. In such cases a single individual acquires pre-eminence within the junta or regime, often being bolstered by a cult of personality drawing on charismatic authority. The military regimes headed by Colonel Papadopoulos in Greece, General Pinochet in Chile, General Abacha in Nigeria, General Zia-Ul-Haq in Pakistan, Ft. Lt. Jerry Rawlings in Ghana, Sergeant Samuel Doe in Liberia are among the pertinent examples. Still other forms of such regime is one where the civil regime survives primarily due to the backing of armed forces. In such cases military often prefers to rule behind the scenes and exercise power covertly through a civilianised leadership. Zaire under Mobutu, who came to power in a military coup in 1965, but later allowed the army to withdraw progressively from active politics by ruling through the popular movement of the revolution in the sixties can be cited as an example and so is the case of Egypt which experienced transition from military regimes to authoritarian civil rule under Gamal Nasser and Anwar Sadat, both military figures, in the 1960's and 1970's.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is the difference between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes?

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- 2) State three main characteristics of the authoritarian regimes.

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14.8 LET US SUM UP

Government in its broadest sense represents any mechanism through which ordered rule is maintained, its central feature being its ability to make collective decisions and implement them. A political regime, or system, however, involve not only the mechanisms of government and institutions and instructions of the state, but also the structures and processes through which these interact with the society.

Classification of political regimes enable us in the understanding and evaluation of politics and government. It also helps us in analysing the problems of a particular regime.

The inter-war period saw the alteration in the nature of classifying the regimes. Broadly speaking, two kinds of regimes, democratic and authoritarian can be universally accepted.

Post Second World War period saw the emergence of 'three worlds' classification of political regimes. The first world liberal capitalist, 'Second World' communist and 'Third World' 'new' democratic regimes were found to have material and ideological differences.

In the developed states, the democratic regimes are polyarchal in the sense that they operate through institutions and political processes of modern representative democracy which force the rulers to take into account the interests, aspirations and rights of the citizens.

In the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the democratic regimes have been under considerable constraints due to ethnic diversities and socio-economic backwardness. Role of religion like Confucianism and Islam has provided a uniqueness to the political regimes of some developing states.

Authoritarian regimes are anti-democratic in the sense that such regimes limit democracy, liberty and law. Such regimes insist on unqualified obedience, conformity and coercion. Authoritarianism can be distinguished from totalitarian in the sense that the former does not seek to obliterate the distinction between the state and civil society.

Authoritarian regimes during the post-second World War period, whether in the developing or developed countries, have been primarily established with either the covert or overt role of military.

14.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Bodganor, Vernon (1987) (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions*, Blackwell Reference, Oxford

Heywood, Andrew (1997), *Politics*, Macmillan, London.

Millar, David, (1987) (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, Blackwell Reference, Oxford.

14.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) While the former refers to the institutional process through which collective and binding decisions are made, the latter is a much broader term involving structures, processes and values through which the political institutions interact with civil society.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) These promote values of bargaining and power sharing through institutional arrangements like checks and balances among different organs of the government, multiparty system, and division or devolution of power.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) High levels of political participation in the context of deep ethnic divisions, the problems of underdevelopment and the need for strong initiatives of the regimes.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Totalitarian regimes are characterised by complete centralisation and uniform regimentation of political, social, economic and intellectual life. The distinction between state and civil society are obliterated. Authoritarian regimes tolerate some amount of pluralism and do not seek to control all aspects of an individual's life.
- 2) Based on force, law and limited political mobilisation, absence of constitutional accountability etc.

UNIT 15 CIVILIAN AND MILITARY REGIMES

Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Civil-Military Relations
 - 15.2.1 India
 - 15.2.2 Russia
 - 15.2.3 Nigeria
 - 15.2.4 Iraq
 - 15.2.5 Pakistan
 - 15.2.6 United States
 - 15.2.7 China
- 15.3 Military Regimes: Meaning and Features
 - 15.3.1 Types of Military Regimes
 - 15.3.2 Strategies of Rulership
- 15.4 Military in Politics: the Consequences
- 15.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 15.6 Keywords
- 15.7 Some Useful Books
- 15.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

15.0 OBJECTIVES

The relationship of super-ordination and subordination existing between the armed forces and the lawfully constituted public authorities of the state is another important basis for classification of governments. This unit focuses on military regimes in the developing world. It also examines the nature of civil-military relationships prevailing under different forms of governments. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain different patterns of civil-military relations;
- Describe military regimes and their features;
- Identify various types of military regimes; and
- Describe the consequences of military rule for society, economy and polity.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The military is a powerful institution in contemporary society of states. Irrespective of the form of government, the military is expected to be subservient to the executive and assist it when called upon. On its part, the executive is expected to cater to the genuine requirements of the armed forces and give them their due. In other words, the civilian executive and the military are expected to perform their respective duties and not encroach upon one other's space and, thus, not impede the smooth functioning of the other. However, among the newly emerged countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there has been a wide prevalence of the military's intervention in politics. More than half of these newly established states have witnessed military coups. Despite the current wave of democracy sweeping across East Europe, military governments continue to flourish in most developing countries. In our own neighbourhood, the military regime in Myanmar has been unwilling to surrender power, and Pakistan once

again came under military dictatorship, in the year 1999. The relationship of super-ordination and subordination existing between the armed forces and the lawfully constituted public authorities has, therefore, emerged as an important basis for classification of political systems. We will first examine the patterns of civil-military relations by taking countrywise studies of varied governments. Later, we will examine the features of military regimes and the impact that military rule had in the developing part of the world.

15.2 CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

The terms civil-military relations in a broad sense is used to refer to the attitudes and behaviour, which the general public and the members of the armed forces of society exhibit towards each other. In a narrower and, specifically, a political sense, it refers to the relationship of super-ordination and subordination existing between the armed forces and the lawfully constituted public authorities of the state. However, the distinction between the two terms, civil and military, has not been applicable in practice. There have been societies in which the ruler and the tribesmen were also war leader and the armed hoard. Similarly, in the feudal monarchies of Europe, the barons were both the warriors and political leaders. It is only in the late 18th century, particularly after the French Revolution, that the loyalty of the officer corps to their dynastic sovereign, or even to elected authorities, was replaced by loyalty to the nation. This development, combined with the development of the officer corps into a career-oriented institution with distinct life styles, training, social status and material interests made possible the divergence of outlook between the armed forces and the government of the day. The nature and content of the discussion on civil-military relations varies from one political system to the other. In other words, civil-military relations vary from one country to the other and the issues of concern differ at different points of time. Let us examine, civil-military relations in a select group of countries with varied political systems and identify the range of civil-military relations prevailing in the present times.

15.2.1 India

In India, the world's largest democracy, there has been the established tradition of the apolitical nature of the military since the country gained Independence from British colonial rule. For a long time since Independence, the military had practically been a neglected arm of the state. It was more or less totally excluded from any decision making in matters of foreign and security policies. This had had the negative effect of the country suffering humiliation at the hands of the People's Liberation Army of China in the 1962 War. Matters had altered since then, but the military is not accorded any significant role in the affairs of the state.

The relationship between the civilian leadership and the military has not always been smooth. There have been occasions in the Indian case when the military had entered into a tug with its political masters. These have, however, been limited both in their number as well as scope. By far, the best known example is that of the then head of the Indian Army, General Thimmayya tendering his resignation to the then Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, hours before his Pakistani counterpart was due to arrive in Delhi. Several years later, a detachment of the Army had been moved from its peacetime location without the required permission from the civilian leadership anticipating a serious law and order problem. Much later, as late as in December 1999, the Chief of the Naval Staff, then Admiral Vishnu Bhagawat, was sacked for 'compromising national security and wilfully disobeying the orders of his Defence Minister. A lesser-known instance is that of

the then Chief of Army Staff, General S. F. Rodrigues, calling some countries names and then there was a demand in the Indian Parliament for his removal because he had made a political statement. The crisis soon blew over and the General remained in office.

The sacking of Admiral Bhagwat is, by far, the most controversial episode in the gamut of civil-military relations in India. The actual dismissal and the days preceding the dismissal witnessed an acrimonious slanging match between the military and civilian arms of the government. It had prompted a debate on the subject in the country. Though the results of the debate are yet to manifest themselves in concrete terms, it had provided the occasion to seriously probe the limits to civilian, either of the leaders or of the bureaucracy, control over matters concerning the day-to-day functioning of the Armed Forces. It was argued at that time that the civilian arm should define policy and strategic objectives and it was for the military to implement them. Interference in the day-to-day running of the Armed Forces would imperil discipline and gnaw at its professionalism. The debate had also suggested the creation of the post of a Joint Chief of Staff to provide inputs to the Cabinet in framing strategic policies.

15.2.2 Russia

In **Russia**, the most important of all the successor states of the Soviet Union, the military preferred to stay away from assuming any role political role or running the day-to-day affairs of the state. It has been suggested by a noted scholar that the Russian military suffers from the 'Tbilisi syndrome', and hence, stays away from politics. At a place called Tbilisi in Russia, the Army was called in to perform internal security duties and act against civilians in the year 1989. This had earned great disrepute for the military and it was at the receiving end in the media campaign. Also, the military was asked to move in on two other occasions to perform internal security duties. However, on these occasions, too, the actions of the military were severely criticised. Therefore, the Russian military exhibits 'great reluctance' to assume any role in matters of internal security. Not only this, as much as the military is anchored in the society to which it belongs, political changes and evolving orientations do get reflected in the military, too. This holds a serious threat to the professional character of the Armed Forces, as there is always the potential for the military splitting on political lines. Hence, if the military intervened in the internal politics of Russia, one scholar explains, it was because it was ordered to discharge internal security duties by the legitimate civilian leadership, which it did with 'great reluctance'.

15.2.3 Nigeria

In **Nigeria**, which was ruled by the military for nearly three decades, the highest priority of the democratic government that had assumed office there was reducing, if not altogether eliminating, the role and influence of the armed forces in the affairs of the country. Having been in power for such a long duration, and for a larger part of its post-Independence existence, the military became a supreme power. The balance in civil-military relations rested more on the side of the military. The military was more or less a law unto itself. It was the military that decided the course of the country.

In fact, the earlier democratic interregnum and the present democratic dispensation, both owe their existence to the blessings of the military. Having played a significant role in the coming to power of the present civilian government, the military has not simply disappeared from the political scene. In any case, given its prolonged political role, it commands sizable influence. To elaborate, several former military leaders found an elected position in the new

dispensation, including the President himself. The military as an interest group wields considerable influence. Therefore, to satisfy this constituency, huge amounts had to be allocated to the armed forces in the annual budget.

15.2.4 Iraq

In Iraq, a conformed dictatorship, the President is both the civilian head of the government and the commander-in chief of the armed forces in the rank of a Field Marshal. President Saddam Hussein maintains absolute control over the military and has skilfully employed it to pursue political aims. The purging of the military that Saddam Hussein had undertaken soon after he came to power and also subsequently, in recent times, and the 'Kurdish Campaigns' are a case in point.

Hussein's party, the Baath Party had successfully organised a coup in 1963 and seized political power in Iraq. The avowed objective of the party is to create an 'ideology-based army'. Not only this, enlistment into the armed forces is a tightly controlled affair, and only party cadres were permitted to make it into the Services. Besides, the party established control over the military through appointing civilians to key military positions. It is over such a dispensation that Saddam Hussein gained control, posited himself in the seat of power and presided over the military and its affairs. His increasing participation in military affairs also enabled him to rein the military to implement his policies as well as to establish control over it, though there were sections in the military that were not favourably disposed either towards his accession to power or its consolidation by him.

Through his foresight, Saddam Hussein established control over the military. Even as he was rising in the party hierarchy, Hussein pleaded for and secured the appointment of trusted friends and relatives to important military positions. To illustrate, his cousin was appointed Defence Minister even before Saddam Hussein became the President. These appointees provided immense support to the Hussein regime and had, in a sense, also contributed to his establishing control over the military as well as the country.

15.2.5 Pakistan

Pakistan is an illustration of a country that has been under military rule for a larger part of its existence, and has once again slipped into the control of the armed forces in the year 1999. On October 12 that year, General Pervez Musharraf seized executive power in a bloodless coup dethroning the elected Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, who was imprisoned and later sent into exile in Saudi Arabia. There were no demonstrations against the coup, nor was anger expressed. The people of Pakistan, 'generally speaking', were rather unmoved, if not pleased, that the reign of the incumbent Prime Minister came to an end.

The Musharraf regime lost no time in suspending the Constitution as well as in securing the loyalty of the judiciary. The sitting Judges of the highest Court of the land, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, were, within days after the coup, asked to once again swear an 'oath of allegiance' under the new military dispensation. Subsequently thereafter, they had granted legal sanction to the act of the coup per se and its continuance. The military administration, however, assured that it would restore democracy within three years from the date of the coup, that is, before October 2002.

According to one scholar, the 1999 coup is different from the earlier ones in that the regime had not taken to imposing martial law, unlike during the earlier

instances when it usurped power in Pakistan. Earlier, Pakistan was directly governed by the military between the years 1958-62, 1969-71, 1977-85. And, it was indirectly ruled by the military between the years 1962-69, 1971-72 and 1985-88.

The consequence of long spells of military has been that democratic tradition failed to gain ground. A Pakistani scholar notes, “persistent military rule [in Pakistan] has undermined democratic values, norms and institutions that promote democracy, i.e. political parties autonomous groups, and a free and responsible press... Each military intervention met the needs of particular interest groups at a given moment... [Resultantly], these particular interests spawned powerful groups within the government that threatened democratic norms and values, and violated the legal and constitutional procedures.”

As a result of the domineering role that the military plays, and because of civilian political institutions being weak in Pakistan, elected civilian Prime Ministers neither had the ability nor the desire to bridle the military. At least privately, the military made no secret of its ability and willingness to seize power if the Generals so desired. Consequent to the death in an air crash of military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq, elections were held and a civilian government took office. The then army chief, General Mirza Aslam Beg, disclosed subsequently that restoring democracy was a gift that the Army bestowed upon the citizens of Pakistan, but had put the civilian leadership on a constant watch.

Importantly, the military plays a decisive role in the political affairs of the country when competing elements of the civilian leadership are not in a position to come to terms with one another. For instance, the then President of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmad Leghari, and the Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, entered into tug with one another. Then, Leghari dismissed Benazir. But, subsequently he, too, had to go. Though the military did not publicly play any role, it is widely believed that it had acted from behind the scenes.

15.2.6 United States of America

In the **United States of America** there prevails a sound system of checks and balances. The American leaders who drafted the Constitution in the late 18th century did not vest the control over the military in any one single political institution, but had separated it between two key offices. While the President of the country is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces, it is Congress (that is, the legislature) that wields power on matters relating to organisation, financial allocations and the right to declare war. Through this, they sought to remove the scope for the military emerging as a powerful institution, and at the same time ensured civilian control over military.

Over a period of time, as the American military establishment increased in size the role it was required to perform, too, has enlarged. With the United States emerging as a global power, the nature of civil-military relations, too, had witnessed some shifts. Thus, according to some scholars, during the period till and immediately after the Vietnam War, the civilian leadership had exercised tremendous influence over the military in decision-making.

Such a trend nearly continued into the mid-Eighties when Ronald Reagan was the President. During this time the might of the American armed forces was steadfastly enriched and large amounts of funds were allotted to the armed forces. There was, as some scholars note, more of convergence of interests and, therefore, civil-military relations were generally harmonious.

However, in recent times, the military in the United States has come to assume a greater role than ever before in security decision-making. Offering an explanation for the shift, two American scholars said, "the recent increase of military influence in national security decision-making has been caused by qualitative changes over time in the experience levels of key senior civilian and military officials".

15.2.7 China

In **China**, a country guided by Marxist ideology, the Communist Party of China controls the affairs of the state. The military is at once a part of the ruling structures and yet under the firm control of the Party. The military and the Party were closely inter-linked, at least in the earlier years. Mao Tse Tung had drawn a clear line of distinction between the military and the Party and said 'the Party must always control the military', though he had also said that 'political power grows out of the barrel of the gun'. Over a period of time, the military has acquired 'professionalism' and this had, on occasion, brought it into a conflicting role with the Party, though it is the Party that still controls the military. In other words, the military has not always remained totally subservient to the Party.

The military was often a member of the highest decision making structures in the country, like in the Standing Committee of the Politburo. However, it should also be noted that in the year 1987 the military was not represented on the Standing Committee, for the reason that reforms initiated during that time sought to draw a clear line of distinction between the Party, the government and the military. Having realised during the events that unfolded later—the 1989 demonstrations against the policies of the Party—that military did not evince expected levels of enthusiasm in performing internal security duties assigned to it, the military was, subsequently, in 1992, made a member of the Standing Committee. One analyst has observed that there is a greater interdependence between the Party and the military at the higher levels than at the lower levels of the hierarchy.

Whether the military would go on to acquire significant influence over the Party, meaning political power, is a matter of debate among several analysts. The debate commenced especially after the military was initially included in the economic modernisation drive and was asked to take up tasks that would eventually contribute to the country's treasury. In 1998, the military was asked to cease all business operations as it had been found that it was increasingly getting out of civilian control. Not only this, among other things, there were also allegations of corruption and hoarding against the military, besides having provided the inspiration to the police forces and the judiciary, too, to undertake business activity. There is also the view that having taken-up business activity the military has, to an extent, suffered professionalism.

From these case studies, we see that there are three broad categories of civil-military relations.

First, from the Indian and the American example, we can identify a civil-military relationship in which the armed forces are depoliticised to a large extent and in which the military is entirely subservient instrument of the political incumbents of the day, irrespective of who they are or what their views are. Our case studies also bring out that this form of civil-military relationship need not preclude the military from exercising very considerable political influence, providing only that the civil authorities have the final say.

Second, in countries like China and Iraq we have seen that there exists a symbiotic relationship between the armed forces and the ruling party. This pattern

of civil-military relationship is prevalent in all Marxist states and in a number of others where an ideological single or hegemonic party holds rule. The former Soviet Union and Myanmar are good examples of this type.

Finally, in Pakistan and Nigeria, we have seen that the military had overthrown the lawful governments and installed its own members as rulers. Military regimes or states in which the armed forces have a final say in all political decisions are largely restricted to the developing and modernising part of the world, although a few European states-Spain (1920s and 1930s), Portugal (1920s and 1970s) and Greece (late 1960s and mid-1970s) came under military rule. The wide prevalence of military rule in the Third World can be gauged from the fact that in the five decades since the Second World War, about 56 percent of the Third World states (excluding the communist states and mini-state with a population below 10 lakhs) had undergone at least one military coup de etat. In Latin America, civilian governments have been restored in Ecuador (1978), El Salvador (1980), Bolivia (1982), Guatemala (1985), Honduras (1986), and Paraguay (1993), but military governments persist in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Here the military coup de etat has almost become an alternative to elections as a means of changing governments. Until 1990, there have been 64 successful coups (and many more unsuccessful coups) in twenty-five African countries. Let us examine the meaning and features of military regimes in detail.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
 ii) Try to answer in your own words
 iii) Check the answers with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is 'Tbilisi syndrome'?

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- 2) What is the nature of civil-military relationship in states guided by Marxist ideology?

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- 3) How did the prolonged absence of political activity affect Pakistan polity?

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15.3 MILITARY REGIMES: MEANING AND FEATURES

As we observed earlier, military regimes are states where members of the armed forces make the top political decisions exclusively or predominantly. Although

the term covers the cases where an alien army of occupation rules a conquered state (as the Allied military governments in Germany and Italy during the second world war), the term, military regime, is frequently used with reference to states whose military forces have supplanted a former civilian government and rule in their own name.

Military governments usually have large civilian component-bureaucrats, managers, politicians and technocrats. Some scholars therefore argue that the dichotomy between military and civilian rulers can hardly be sustained. Amos Perlmutter, for instance, has argued that 'modern military regimes are not purely military in composition. Instead they are fusionist, that is, they are military-civil regimes'. But the presence of civilian technocrats and political renegades in the governing council does not blur the distinction between military and civilian regimes. Civilian advisors joining the military government, it should be noted, hold office on the sufferance of the military rulers. Moreover, in a military regime, it is the military ruler and his advisors from the armed forces who play the predominant role in all 'decisions of decisive consequence'. Thus military regime emerges as a distinct sub-type of authoritarianism.

Military regimes differ from other forms of authoritarianism in terms of origin or legitimacy or range of governmental penetration into the society or in combinations of all these factors. Modern military regimes differ from the civilian autocratic regimes in their sources of legitimacy. The civilian dictators in the Third world derive their legitimacy from their leadership in the independence struggle or from the leadership of the single parties founded by them or from some rigged election. They retain their power by maintaining 'a vertical network of personal and patron-client relations'. Military rulers also resort to this strategy of rulership, but their regimes suffer from an innate sense of lack of legitimacy.

Military regimes should also be distinguished from totalitarian regimes. One can identify three differences between the two. First, totalitarian regimes claim legitimacy on the basis of their ideologies, which, they state, are higher and nobler forms of democracy. Military regimes on the other hand, do not generally espouse elaborate and guiding ideologies. Secondly, unlike military regimes, which come into being as a result of intervention by the armed forces in politics, totalitarian dictators seize power by organising armed political parties. Once in power, totalitarian dictators establish the supremacy of their parties over all organisations, including the armed forces. Finally, military regimes allow limited pluralism, though there is no responsible government. Totalitarian regimes on the other hand, try to control the whole society through the single-party system and widespread use of terror.

15.3.1 Types of Military Regimes

Broadly speaking, different military regimes can be distinguished by the place the military hold in the decision making structure of the state and or by what they do with the power they wield.

The role played by the military in top decision-making varies. We can broadly distinguish two types here. First, there is the military-junta type in which the supreme policy making organ is a junta or command council of officers representing the three services (army, navy and the air force). The military junta usually appoints a civilian cabinet to administer under its authority. Parties and legislatures are suppressed or else only a single official party is permitted. Often parties and legislatures are nominal and subservient artefact of the military executive. The military, as represented by its senior officers, plays the active and supreme role in policy making in the military junta type of regime. Secondly,

there is the presidential type in which the military play a supportive role rather than a creative or active role. Here the cabinet is formed largely or wholly from civilian rather than military personnel. In Zaire for instance, the army's role is supportive of the president, while the official party is largely nominal. In Iraq and Syria, however, the local Ba'ath parties are true vanguard parties, in a symbiotic relationship with the officer corps. Here the military's role is not limited to being supportive, but extends to play a more active role. However, the existence of the party enables the president to arbitrate, and so exert independent leadership over both civilian and military sectors.

Military regimes can also be distinguished by the way they wield power. Some military governments confine themselves to supervising or 'patrolling' the society. In Thailand, for instance, the largely military cabinets permit the civil service a wide autonomy in running affairs, and preside over what is on the whole a free wheeling economy. In Ghana and Nigeria, however, the governments go further: they direct a national programme, but they leave the civil service to administer it. Finally, there are those military regimes, such as those in Burma and in Indonesia, in which the armed forces not only exert supreme authority in policymaking but also play a large part in actual administration.

15.3.2 Strategies of Rulership

Despite these differences, one can discern strategies of rulership that are common to military regimes. The first strategy of rulership of military rulers is to manage their 'constituency', that is, to keep their hold on the armed forces. The military leaders group seeks to establish its dominance over the whole army. The establishment of this dominance often requires the use of ruthless violence to suppress the opposition factions within the armed forces.

Crude and ruthless violence is also resorted to terrorise the population into total subjugation. As repression becomes a part of the strategy of rulership, military rulers develop an elaborate network of intelligence services to monitor the aggregation and articulation of protest. General Zia-ul Huq in Pakistan, for instance, developed an Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate with nearly one-lakh employees for surveillance of politicians as well as officers.

Violence and intelligence surveillance are, however, negative strategies of rulership. Military rulers adopt positive strategies to keep the armed forces satisfied. Increasing the salaries and other allowances and prerequisites of the members of the armed forces does this. Military rulers almost invariably increase the defense budgets soon after take over. Once raised, defense allocations usually remain at high levels in subsequent years.

15.4 MILITARY IN POLITICS: THE CONSEQUENCES

In the 1950s and 60s, when armed communist cadres threatened the countries of Southeast Asia, Western capitalist countries, came to see the military as an important institution to fight and defeat the onward march of armed communists. Social scientists, particularly those in the United States, keen on making their studies policy relevant, overestimated the role of the military in the modernisation of the developing countries. Lucian Pye, M. Halpern and J.J. Johnson for instance, developed theoretical models depicting the military as a highly modern force, capable of transferring its organisational and technical skills to fields of government and administration. However, these expectations were belied by several studies done later. Most empirical studies conducted on military

regimes in the developing countries revealed that they had a negative or at best, no unique effect on social and economic modernisations.

The performance of the military regimes in the sphere of political development has been more disastrous than in the sphere of economic development. It was argued that in the developing countries, which are mostly divided on religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional lines, the military alone can bring about the national integration that is a prerequisite for political development. The performance of military regimes till date does not support this hypothesis. It was the military dictatorship in Pakistan in the 1950s and 60s that produced the first successful secessionist movement in the Third World. In a similar fashion, the process of Nigerian disintegration started after the coup of January 1966 when the military launched a ruthless attack on prominent military and political figures. The military presided over the civil war in Nigeria for two years with combat deaths running into hundreds of thousands. Similarly, the Sudanese military rulers have been fighting the guerrillas in the southern part of the country since 1958.

In fact, military intervention in politics, in most cases creates a vicious circle that perpetuates the conditions of political underdevelopment, which initially must have brought the military into power. As Huntington has argued, the key factor in political development is the growth of durable political institutions. The primary resources for developing political institutions in any country are the political skills of its politicians. The political skills needed for developing a viable and self-sustaining political system involve, among others, ideological commitment, the capacity to respond to new challenges, and the arts of administration, negotiation, representation and bargaining. These skills can be acquired only in the hard school of the public life.

Military regimes however, restrict the free flow of political process. In order to retain their power, military leaders prevent the aggregation and articulation of protest. Often their first acts in office are to impose censorship on the press and ban political activity. Political leaders either move into a self-imposed exile or are forced into exile into far-off countries. With would-be politicians failing to acquire political skills, civilian democratic traditions fail to take root. Among the military regimes in the developing countries, in one-third of the cases, civilian governments have been restored. In most cases of civilian restoration, civilian leaders, that is, politicians have failed. They have demonstrated their inability to match their official performance with the expectations of the people. While this is partly due to the intractable of the problems faced by these nations, to a large measure this is due to absence of political skills in the civilian leaders resulting from the preceding period of military rule. This provides scope for the military to intervene in politics once again asserting the vindication of their self-fulfilling prophesy of the 'inevitable failure of the self-seeking politicians'. Thus, the chain of political underdevelopment gets perpetuated.

The political role of the military also corrodes the military vitality of the armed forces. Several armies have been compromised by their political role expansion and suffered humiliating defeats at the hands of other armies encouraged only to excel in professionalism. In the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, the Syrian army's performance suffered immeasurably because of fratricidal feuds among its officers. The Iraqi army was similarly debilitated by internal political strife. The political role expansion of the Egyptian armed forces, similarly robbed its professionalism. More professional Israeli armed forces inflicted a quick and humiliating defeat on the Egyptian army. Armed forces in Uganda, which first acted as an instrument of Idi Amin's terror and brutality simply disintegrated when faced with poorly equipped Tanzanian troops and an Ugandan exile force in 1979. Argentina's armed forces, spoiled by politics, were easily defeated by Britain in the Falklands war.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Try to answer in your own words.

iii) Check the answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) In what ways do military dictatorship differs from totalitarian dictatorship?

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2) According to Huntington, a key factor in the political development is

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3) What are the typical strategies of rulership adopted by military regimes?

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15.5 LET US SUM UP

A military regime is a usurper of political power through force. Unlike most civilian forms of government, a military government is characterised by absence of legitimacy.

We have seen that the soldier-politicians seem incapable of furthering major socio-economic developments in the countries they rule. The military's performance in the field of political development has been even more dismal. Military regimes accentuate the problems of political development with which the civilian regimes were initially faced, and they deprive the would-be civilian politicians of the opportunity to acquire much needed political skills, thus perpetuating the chain of political underdevelopment. The role expansion of the military also robs the armed forces of its professionalism, resulting in external and internal security vulnerabilities.

A harmonious relationship between the executive and the military is essential for a healthy all round development of a country. Civil-military relations in countries having different forms of government are varied. While in some countries the military had remained subservient to the civilian leadership, in some others, it had many a time organised a coup and had overthrown elected governments. However, even in countries where it had assiduously remained loyal to the government of the day, there have been instances when it had differed with the civilian leadership. There is more or less a general agreement among scholars that in the present times the balance in civil-military relations has somewhat tilted more towards the military than ever before.

15.6 KEYWORDS

Executive	: The law implementing and administrative wing of the government
Coup d' etat	: Usurping political power by overthrowing a government
Subservient	: Subordinate
Democratic interregnum	: Brief spells of rule by elected civilian leaders in a country habituated to military rule

15.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) When the Russian army was called to perform internal security duties and act against civilians in Tbilisi, it was not welcomed by wider sections of the society. Since then the Russian army has been reluctant to perform internal security duties.
- 2) Marxist regimes are characterised by a symbiotic relationship between the armed forces and the ruling party.
- 3) Political institutions became weak. In the absence of political skills that can be acquired through participation in political activities, civilian leaders demonstrate a lack of ability to deal with issues confronting the nation. Moreover, the armed forces remain powerful as a pressure group, often directing civilian rulers from behind.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Totalitarian regimes are different from military regimes in the sense that they are guided by ideology, come to power by organising armed political parties and seek to control all aspects of an individual's life.
- 2) The growth of durable political institutions.
- 3) In order to manage the armed forces and political opposition, military rulers resort to ruthless violence and surveillance on press and political activities. They also increase salaries and other allowances and prerequisites of the members of the armed forces.