



EIILM UNIVERSITY
S I K K I M

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Subject: COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Credits: 4

SYLLABUS

Comparative methods and Approaches, Nature, Scope And Utility Of Comparative Study Of Politics, Comparative Method And Strategies Of Comparison, Institutional Approach, Systems Approach, The Political Economy Approach, National Movement and Anti-Colonial Struggles, Ideology, Social Bases and Programmes of National Movements, Patterns of Anti-Colonial Struggles, Dynamics of State Formation in Colonial Era

Society, Economy and State, Social Structures and Stratification, Class Formation, Social Bases of State Power, Development Strategies, Classification of Political Regimes, Modes of Classification of Political Regimes, Democratic and Authoritarian Regimes, Civilian and Military Regimes, Secular and Theocratic Regimes

Institutions and Forms of Government, Organs of Government: Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, Unitary and Federal Systems: Patterns and Trends in Federal System, Republicanism

Patterns of Political Participation And Representation, Party Systems, Pressure Groups, Electoral Process, Social Movements, Trade Union Movement, Peasants, Women's Movement, Environment, Human Rights Movements

Globalization and the Developing World, Globalization: Background and Features Impact Of Globalization on Developing Societies, Globalization and the Response of the Developing Countries

Suggested Readings:

1. Shruti Kapila, Faisal Devji, Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavad Gita and Modern India, Cambridge University Press
2. Thomas Pantham, Kenneth L Deutsch, Political Thought In Modern India, Sage Publications (CA)
3. Bipin Chandra, Ideology and politics in modern India, Har-Anand Publications
4. Anupama Rao, A. Rao, The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India, University of California Press

Chapter 1

Comparative Methods and Approaches

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Nature, scope and utility of comparative study of politics
- The political economy approach
- Systems approach
- Institutional approach
- Comparative method and strategies of comparison
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Understand the comparative politics.
- Explain the nature and Scope of comparative study.
- Understand various attributes of political economy as a concept.
- Explain the meaning, genesis and historical background of this systems approach.
- Understand where from it derives its tools of comparison.
- Explain the comparative methods.

NATURE, SCOPE AND UTILITY OF COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICS

Comparative Study of Politics: Nature and Scope

That comparative politics is distinguished from other disciplines which also use the comparative method, through its specific subject matter, language, and perspective. In that case, we might well inquire the question, is there at all a separate field of *comparative political analysis*, or is it a *sub-discipline subsumed within the superior discipline of Political Science*. The three characteristics of subject matter, language, vocabulary, and perspective, we necessity keep in mind, are inadequate in establishing the distinctiveness of comparative politics within the broad discipline of Political Science, mainly because *comparative politics shares the subject matter and concerns of Political Science*, i.e. democracy, constitutions, political parties, social movements etc. Within the discipline of Political Science therefore the specificity of comparative political analysis is marked out through its *conscious use of the comparative method to answer questions which might be of common interest to political scientists*.

Comparisons: Identification of Relationships

This stress on the *comparative method* as defining the character and scope of comparative political analysis has been maintained through some

scholars in order to dispel frequent misconceptions in relation to the relative politics as involving the study of 'foreign countries' i.e., countries other than your own. Under such an understanding, if you were learning a country other than your own, you would be described comparatives. More often than not, this misconception implies merely the gathering of information in relation to the individual countries with little or at the mainly implicit comparison involved. The distinctiveness of comparative politics, mainly comparatives would argue, lies in a *conscious and systematic* use of comparisons to study two or more countries with the purpose of *identifying*, and eventually *explaining differences* or *similarities* flanked by them with respect to the scrupulous phenomena being analyzed. Comparative political analysis is though, not basically in relation to the identifying similarities and differences. The purpose of by comparisons, it is felt through many scholars, is going beyond 'identifying similarities and differences' or the 'compare and contrast approach', to ultimately study political phenomena in a superior framework of relationships. This, it is felt, would help deepen our understanding and broaden the stages of answering and explaining political phenomena.

Comparative Politics and Comparative Government

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

It may, though, be pointed out that for extensive comparative politics concerned itself with the study of governments and regime kinds, and confined itself to learning western countries. The augment in numbers and variety of unit/cases that could be brought into the gamut of comparison was accompanied also through the urge to formulate abstract universal models, which could explain political phenomena and procedures in all the units. Simultaneous to the augment and diversification of cases to be studied was also an expansion in the sphere of politics therefore as to allow the examination of politics as a total organization, including not merely the state and its organizations but also individuals social groupings, political parties, interest groups, social movements etc.

Sure characteristics of organizations and political procedure were especially in focus for what was seen as their usefulness in explaining political procedures, e.g., political socialization, patterns of political civilization, techniques of interest articulation and interest aggregation, styles of political recruitment, extent of political efficacy and political apathy, ruling elites etc. These systemic studies were often built approximately the concern with nation-structure i.e., providing a politico-cultural identity to a population, state-structure i.e., providing institutional structure and procedures for politics and modernization i.e., to initiate a procedure of transform beside the western path of growth. The attendance of divergent ideological poles in world politics, the rejection of western imperialism through mainly newly liberated countries, the concern with maintaining their separate identity in the form of the non-aligned movement and the sympathy in the middle of mainly countries with a socialist path of growth, slowly led to the irrelevance of mainly modernization models for purposes of global/big stage comparisons. Whereas the fifties and sixties were the era where attempts to explain political reality were made by the construction of big level models, the seventies saw the assertion of Third World-ism and the rolling back of these models. The Eighties saw the constriction of the stages of comparison with studies based on

areas or smaller numbers of units became prevalent. With globalization, though, the imperatives for big stage comparisons increased and the field of comparisons has diversified with the proliferation of non-state, 'non-governmental actors and the increased interconnections flanked by nations with economic linkages and information technology revolution.

Comparative Politics: A Historical Overview

The nature and scope of comparative politics has varied just as to the changes which have occurred historically in its subject matter. The subject matter of comparative politics has been determined both through the *geographical legroom* which has constituted its field as well as the *dominant ideas* regarding social reality and transform which formed the approaches to comparative studies. Similarly, it dissimilar historical junctures the thrust or the primary concern of the studies kept changing.

The Origins of Comparative Study of Politics

In its earliest incarnation, the comparative study of politics comes to us in the form of studies done through the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle studied the constitutions of 150 states and *classified* them into a *typology of regimes*. His classification was presented in conditions of both descriptive and normative categories i.e., he not only *called* and *classified* regimes and political systems in conditions of their kinds e.g., democracy, aristocracy, monarchy etc., he also distinguished them on the foundation of sure *norms of good governance*. On the foundation of this comparison he divided regimes into good and bad—ideal and perverted. These Aristotelian categories were acknowledged and taken up through Romans such as Polybius and Cicero who measured them in formal and legalistic conditions. Concern with comparative study of regime kinds reappeared ' in the 15th century with Machiavelli.

The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

The preoccupation with philosophical and speculative questions regarding the 'good order' or the 'ideal state' and the use, in the procedure, of abstract and normative vocabulary, persisted in comparative studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries signified the era when *liberalism* was the reigning ideology and European countries enjoyed dominance in world politics. The 'rest of the world' of Asia, Africa and Latin America were either European colonies or under their sphere of power as ex-colonies. Comparative studies throughout this era man Finer's *Theory and Practice of Contemporary Governments* and Carl J. Friedrich's *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, Roberto Michels, *Political Parties* and M.Duverger, *Political Parties* were mainly concerned with a comparative study of organizations, the sharing of power, and the connection flanked by the dissimilar layers of government. These studies were Eurocentric, i. e, confined to the study of organizations, governments, and regime kinds in European countries like Britain, France, and Germany. It may therefore be said that these studies were in information not genuinely comparative in the sense that they excluded from their analysis a big number of countries. Any generalization derived from a study confined to a few countries could not legitimately claim having validity for the rest of the world. It may be accentuated here that exclusion of the rest of the world was symptomatic of the dominance of Europe in world politics—a dominance—which though, was on the wane, and shifting slowly to North America. All modern history had Europe at its centre, obliterating the rest of the world whose histories were bound with and destined to follow the trajectories already followed through the advanced countries of the West. Therefore the works manifest their rootedness in the normative values of western liberal democracies which accepted with it the baggage of racial and civilizational superiority, and assumed a prescriptive character for the colonies/former colonies.

The Second World War and After

In the nineteen thirties the political and economic situation of the world changed. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, brought into world politics, Socialism, as an ideology of the oppressed and, as a critical alternative to western liberalism and capitalism. With the end of the Second World War a number of important growths had taken lay, including the waning of European hegemony, the emergence, and entrenchment of United States of America as the new hegemon in world politics and economy, and the bifurcation of the world into two ideological camps viz. capitalism and socialism.

The majority of the 'rest of the world' had, through the time the Second World War ended, liberated itself from European imperialism. For an era after decolonization the notions of growth, modernization, nation-structure, state-structure etc., evinced a degree of legitimacy and even popularity as 'national slogans' in the middle of the political elite of the 'new nations'. Ideologically, though, these 'new nations', were no longer compelled to tow the western capitalist path of growth. While socialism had its share of sympathizers in the middle of the new ruling elite of the Asia, America, and Latin America, quite a number of newly self-governing countries made a conscious decision to aloofness themselves from both the power blocs, remaining non-aligned to either. A number of them evolved their own specific path of growth akin to the socialist, as in the case of Ujjama in Tanzania, and the mixed-economy model in India which was a blend of both capitalism and socialism.

It may be worth remembering that the comparative study of governments till the 1940s was predominantly the *study of organizations*, the legal-constitutional principles regulating them, and the manner in which they functioned in western liberal-democracies. In the context of the growths, a powerful critique of the institutional approach appeared in the transitional of

1950s. The critique had its roots in behavioralism which had appeared as a new movement in the discipline of politics aiming to give scientific rigor to the discipline and develop a science of politics. Recognized as the behavioral movement, it was concerned with developing an enquiry which was quantitative, based on survey techniques involving the examination of empirical facts separated from values, to give value-neutral, non-prescriptive, objective observations and explanations. The behaviouralists attempted to study social reality through seeking answers to questions like 'why people behave politically as they do and why as a result, political procedures, and systems function as they do'. It is these '*why* questions' concerning *differences in people's behaviors* and their implications for *political procedures* and *political systems*, which changed the focus of comparative study from the legal-formal characteristics of organizations. Therefore in 1955 Roy Macridis criticized the existing comparative studies for privileging formal organizations in excess of non-formal political procedures, for being descriptive rather than analytical, and case-study oriented rather than genuinely comparative. Harry Eckstein points out that the changes in the nature and scope of comparative politics in this era illustrates sensitivity to the changing world politics urging the need to re-conceptualize the notion of politics and develop paradigms for big-level comparisons. Rejecting the then traditional and approximately exclusive emphasis on the western world and the conceptual language which had been urbanized with such limited comparisons in mind, Gabriel Almond and his colleagues of the American Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics sought to develop a theory and a methodology which could encompass and compare political systems of all types - primitive or advanced, democratic or non-democratic, western or non western.

The broadening of concerns in a geographic or territorial sense was also accompanied through a broadening of the sense of politics itself, and in

scrupulous, through a rejection of what was then perceived as the traditional and narrowly defined emphasis on the study of formal political organizations. The notion of politics was broadened through the emphasis on 'realism' or politics 'in practice' as distinguished from mere 'legalism'. This incorporated in its scope the functioning of less formally structured agencies, behaviors and procedures e.g. political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behavior, attitudes etc. With the deflection of attention from studies of formal organizations, there was simultaneously a decline in the centrality of the notion of the state itself. The emergence of a big number of countries on the world scenes necessitated the growth of frameworks which would facilitate comparisons on a big level. This led to the emergence of inclusive and abstract notions like the political organization. This notion of the 'organization' replaced the notion of the state and enabled scholars to take into explanation the 'extra-legal', 'social' and 'cultural' organizations which were crucial to the understanding of non-western politics and had the added advantage of including in its scope 'pre-state'/'non-state' societies as well as roles and offices which were not seen as overtly linked with the state. Also, with the transform of emphasis to actual practices and functions of organizations, the troubles of research came to be defined not in conditions of what legal powers these organizations had, but what they actually did, how they were related to one another, and what roles they played in the creation and execution of public policy. This led to the emergence of structural-functionalism, in which sure functions were called as being necessary to all societies, and the execution and performance of these functions were then compared crossways a diversity of dissimilar formal and informal structures.

While the universal frameworks of systems and structures-functions enabled western scholars to study a wide range of political systems, structures, and behaviors, within a single paradigm, the appearance of 'new nations' provided to western comparatives an opportunity to study what they perceived

as economic and political transform. Wiarda points out that it was in this era of the sixties that mainly modern scholars of comparative politics came of age. The 'new nations' became for mainly of these scholars [ironically] 'livelihood laboratories' for the study of social and political transform. Wiarda describes those 'exciting times' which offered unique opportunities to study political transform, and saw the growth of new methodologies and approaches to study them. It was throughout this era that some of the mainly innovative and exciting theoretical and conceptual approaches were advanced in the field of comparative politics: study of political civilization, political socialization, developmentalism, dependency and interdependency, corporatism, bureaucratic-authoritarianism and later transitions to democracy etc.

This era saw the mushrooming of universalistic models like Easton's political organization, Deutsch's social mobilization and Shils' centre and margin. The theories of modernization through Apter, Rokkan, Eisenstadt and Ward and the theory of political growth through Almond, Coleman, Pye and Verba also claimed universal relevance. These theories were claimed to be applicable crossways cultural and ideological boundaries and to explain political procedure everywhere.

The growth of comparative political analysis in this stage coincided with the international involvement of the United States by military alliances and foreign aid. Mainly research in this era was not only funded through research foundations, it was also geared to the goals of US foreign policy. The mainly symbolic of these were the Project Camelot in Latin America and the Himalayan Project in India. This era was heralded through the appearance of works like Apter's study on Ghana. Published in 1960, *Politics of Developing Regions* through Almond and Coleman sharply defined the character of the new 'Comparative Politics Movement'. The publication of a new journal in the US entitled *Comparative Politics* in 1969 reflected the height of this trend.

'Developmentalism' was possibly the dominant conceptual paradigm of this time. To a considerable extent, the interest in developmentalism emanated from US foreign policy interests in 'developing' countries, to counter the appeals of Marxism-Leninism and steer them towards a non-communist method to growth.

The 1970s and Challenges to Developmentalism

Towards the 1970s, developmentalism came to be criticized for favoring abstract models, which flattened out differences in the middle of specific political/social/cultural systems, in order to study them within a single universalistic framework. These criticisms accentuated the ethno-centricism of these models and focused on the Third World in order to work out a theory of underdevelopment. They stressed the need to concentrate on solutions to the backwardness of developing countries. Two largest challenges to developmentalism which arose in the early 1970s and gained widespread attention were corporatism.

Dependency theory criticized the dominant model of developmentalism for ignoring international market and power factors in growth. It was particularly critical of US foreign policy and multinational corporations and suggested, contrary to what was held true in developmentalism that the growth of the already-industrialized nations and that of the developing ones could not go jointly. Instead, dependency theory argued, that the growth of the West had approach on the shoulders and at the cost of the non- West. The thought that the diffusion of capitalism promotes underdevelopment and not growth in several sections of the world was embodied in Andre Gundle Frank's Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Walter Rodney's How Europe Underdeveloped Africa and Malcolm Caldwell's The Wealth of Some Nations. Marxist critics of the dependency theory, though, pointed out that the nature of use by surplus extraction should not be seen basically on national rows but, as section of a

more intricate pattern of alliances flanked by the metropolitan bourgeoisie of the core/centre and the indigenous bourgeoisie of the margin/satellite as they operated in a worldwide capitalist organization. The corporatist approach criticized developmentalism for its Euro- American ethno-centricism and indicated that there was alternative organic, corporatist, often authoritarian methods to organize the state and state-community relations.

The 1980s: The Return of the State

Throughout the later 1970s and into the 1980s, still reflecting the backlash against Developmentalism, a number of theories and subject matters appeared into the field of comparative politics. These incorporated bureaucratic-authoritarianism, indigenous concepts of transform, transitions to democracy, the politics of structural *adjustment*, *neo-liberalism* and privatization. While some scholars saw these Approaches growths as undermining and breaking the unity of the field which was being dominated through developmentalism, others saw them as adding healthy variety, providing alternative approaches and covering new subject regions. Almond, who had argued in the late 1950s that the notion of the state should be replaced through the political organization, which was adaptable to scientific inquiry, and Easton, who undertook to construct the parameters and concepts of a political organization, sustained to argue well into the 1980s on the importance of political organization as the core of political study. The state, though, received its share of attention in the 60s and 70s in the works of bureaucratic-authoritarianism in Latin America, especially in Argentina in the works of Guillermo O'Donnell e.g., *Economic Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. Ralph Miliband's *The State in Capitalist Community* had also kept the interest alive. With Nicos Poulantzas's *State, Power, Socialism*, and political sociologists Peter Evans, Theda Skocpol, and others bringing the State Back In, focus was sought to be restored onto the state.

***The Late Twentieth Century: Globalization and Emerging Trends/
Possibilities***

- *Scaling Down of Systems*

Much of the growth of comparative political analysis in the era 1960s to 1980s can be seen as an ever widening range of countries being incorporated as cases, with more variables being added to the models such as policy, ideology, governing experience, and therefore on. With the 1980s, though, there has been a move absent from common theory to emphasis on the relevance of context. In section, this tendency reflects the renewed power of historical inquiry in the social sciences, and especially the emergence of a 'historical sociology' which tries to understand phenomena in the extremely broad or 'holistic' context within which they happen. There has been a shying absent from models to a more in-depth understanding of scrupulous countries and cases where more qualitative and contextualized data can be assessed and where explanation can be taken of specific institutional conditions or scrupulous political cultures. Hence we see a new emphasis on more culturally specific studies countries, and nationally specific countries, and even institutionally specific countries. While emphasis on 'grand systems' and model structure diminished, the stress on specific contexts and cultures has meant that the level of comparisons was brought down. Comparisons at the stage of 'smaller systems' or areas, though, remained e.g., the Islamic world, Latin American countries, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia etc.

Civil Community and Democratization Approach brought into currency the notion of the 'end of history'. 'The End of History?', which was urbanized later into the book *The End of History and the Last Man*, Francis Fukuyama argued that the history of ideas had ended with the recognition and triumph of liberal democracy as the 'final form of human government'. The

'end of history', invoked to stress the predominance of western liberal democracy, is in a method reminiscent of the 'end of ideology' debate of the 1950s which appeared at the height of the cold war and in the context of the decline of communism in the West. Western liberal scholars proposed that the economic advancement made in the industrialized societies of the west had resolved political troubles, e.g., issues of freedom and state power, workers rights etc., which are assumed to accompany industrialization. The U.S. sociologist, Daniel Bell in scrupulous, pointed in his work of Political Ideas in the 1950s, that in the light of this growth there was an ideological consensus, or the suspension of a require for ideological differences in excess of issues of political practice. In the nineteen eighties, the thought of the 'end of history' was coupled with another late nineteen eighties phenomenon —globalization. Globalization refers to a set of circumstances, scientific, technical, economic and political, which have connected jointly the world in a manner therefore that occurrences in one section of the world are bound to affect or be affected through what is happening in another section. It may be pointed out that in this global world the focal point or the centre approximately which measures move worldwide is still western capitalism. In the context of the therefore described triumph of capitalism, the approaches to the study of civil community and democratization that have gained currency provide importance to civil community defined in conditions of defense of individual rights to enter the contemporary capitalist world.

There is, though, another important trend in the approach which seeks to lay questions of civil community and democratization as its primary focus. If there are on one hand studies conforming to the modern interest of western capitalism seeking to develop market democracy, there are also a number of studies which take into explanation the resurgence of people's movements seeking autonomy, right to indigenous civilization, movements of tribal, dalits, lower castes, and the women's movement and the environment movement.

These movements reveal a terrain of contestation where the interests of capital are in clash with people's rights and symbolize the language of transform and liberation in a period of global capital. Therefore concerns with issues of identity, environment, ethnicity, gender, race, etc. have provided a new dimension to comparative political analysis.

- *Information Collection and Diffusion*

An important aspect and determinant of globalization has been the unprecedented growths in the field of information and communication technology viz., the Internet and World Wide Web. This has made the manufacture, collection and analysis of data easier and also assured their faster and wider diffusion, worldwide. These growths have not only enhanced the availability of data, but also made possible the emergence of new issues and themes which extend beyond the confines of the nation-state. These new themes in turn form a significant/influential aspect of the political environment of the modern globalized world. The global network of social movement's institutions, the global network of activists is one such important aspect. The diffusion of ideas of democratization is a significant outcome of such networking. The Zapatista rebellion in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas used the Internet and the global media to communicate their thrash about for rights, social justice and democracy. The concern with issues concerning the promotion and defense of human rights which is dependent on the collection and dissemination of information has likewise become pertinent in the modern world.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

Political Economy: An Introduction

Political economy was the original term used for learning manufacture, buying, and selling, and their relations with law, tradition, and government, as well as with the sharing of national income and wealth. *Political economy* originated in moral philosophy. It urbanized in the 18th century as the study of the economies of states, *polities*, hence the term *political* economy.

In the late 19th century, the term *economics* came to replace *political economy*, coinciding with publication of an influential textbook through Alfred Marshall in 1890. Earlier, William Stanley Jevons, a proponent of mathematical ways applied to the subject, advocated *economics* for brevity and with the hope of the term becoming "the recognized name of a science."

Today, *political economy*, where it is not used as a synonym for economics, may refer to extremely dissimilar things, including Marxian analysis, applied public-choice approaches emanating from the Chicago school and the Virginia school, or basically the advice given through economists to the government or public on common economic policy or on specific proposals. A rapidly rising mainstream literature from the 1970s has expanded beyond the model of economic policy in which planners maximize utility of a representative individual toward examining how political forces affect the choice of economic policies, especially as to distributional conflicts and political organizations. It is accessible as a region of study in sure colleges and universities.

Etymology

Originally, *political economy* meant the study of the circumstances under which manufacture or consumption within limited parameters was organized in the nation-states. In that method, political economy expanded the emphasis of economics, which comes from the Greek *oikos* and *nomos*; therefore political economy was meant to express the laws of manufacture of wealth at the state stage, presently as economics was the ordering of the house.

The phrase first emerged in France in 1615 with the well recognized book through Antoine de Montchrétien: *Traité de l'économie politique*. French physiocrats, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and German philosopher and social theorist Karl Marx were some of the exponents of political economy.

In the United States, political economy first was taught at the College of William and Mary; in 1784, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was a required textbook.

Current Approaches

In its modern meaning, *political economy* refers to dissimilar, but related, approaches to learning economic and related behaviors, ranging from the combination of economics with other meadows to the use of dissimilar, fundamental assumptions that challenge earlier economic assumptions:

Political economy mainly commonly refers to interdisciplinary studies drawing upon economics, law, and political science in explaining how political organizations, the political environment, and the economic organization—capitalist, socialist, or mixed—power each other. The Journal of Economic Literature classification codes associate political economy with three subareas: the role of government and/or power relationships in resource allocation for each kind of economic organization, international political economy, which studies economic impacts of international relations, and economic models of political procedures. The last region, derived from public choice theory and dating from the 1960s, models voters, politicians, and bureaucrats as behaving in largely self-interested methods, in contrast to a view ascribed to earlier economists of government officials trying to maximize individual utilities from some type of social welfare function.

Economists and political scientists often associate political economy with approaches by rational-choice assumptions, especially in game theory, and in examining phenomena beyond economics' average remit, such as government failure and intricate decision-creation in which context the term "positive political economy" is general. Other "traditional" topics contain analysis of such public-policy issues as economic regulation, monopoly, rent-seeking, market defense institutional corruption, and distributional politics. Empirical analysis comprises the power of elections on the choice of economic policy, determinants and forecasting models of electoral outcomes, the political business cycles, central-bank independence, and the politics of excessive deficits.

A recent focus has been on modeling economic policy and political organizations as to interactions flanked by mediators and economic and political organizations, including the seeming discrepancy of economic policy and economists' recommendations by the lens of transaction costs. From the mid-1990s, the field has expanded, in section aided through new cross-national data sets that allow tests of hypotheses on comparative economic systems and organizations. Topics have incorporated the breakup of nations, the origins and rate of transform of political organizations in relation to economic development, growth, backwardness, reform, and transition economies, the role of civilization, ethnicity, and gender in explaining economic outcomes, macroeconomic policy, and the relation of constitutions to economic policy, theoretical and empirical.

New political economy may treat economic ideologies as the phenomenon to explain, per the traditions of Marxian political economy. Therefore, Charles S. Maier suggests that a political economy approach: "interrogates economic doctrines to disclose their sociological and political premises....in sum, [it] regards economic ideas and behavior not as frameworks for analysis, but as beliefs and actions that necessity themselves be explained." This approach informs Andrew Gamble's *The Free Economy and the Strong State*, and Colin Hay's *The Political Economy of New Labour*. It also informs much work published in *New Political Economy* an international journal founded through Sheffield University scholars in 1996.

International political economy rising approaches to the actions of several actors. In the US, these approaches are associated with the journal *International Organization*, which, in the 1970s, became the leading journal of international political economy under the editorship of Robert Keohane, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Stephen Krasner. They are also associated with the journal *The Review of International Political Economy*. There also is a more critical school of IPE, inspired through Karl Polanyi's work; two biggest figures are Matthew Watson and Robert W. Cox.

Anthropologists, sociologists, and geographers use *political economy* in referring to the regimes of politics or economic values that emerge primarily at the stage of states or local governance, but also within smaller social groups and social networks. Because these regimes power and are convinced through the organization of both social and economic capital, the analysis of dimensions lacking an average economic value of gender, of religions often attract on the concepts used in Marxian critiques of capital. Such approaches expand on neo-Marxian scholarship related to growth and underdevelopment postulated through André Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein.

Historians have employed *political economy* to explore the methods in the past that persons and groups with general economic interests have used politics to effect changes beneficial to their interests.

Related Disciplines

Because political economy is not a unified discipline, there are studies by the term that overlap in subject matter, but have radically dissimilar perspectives:

Sociology studies the effects of persons' involvement in community as members of groups, and how that changes their skill to function. Several sociologists start from a perspective of manufacture-determining relation from Karl Marx. Marx's theories on the subject of political economy are contained in his book, *Das Kapital*.

Political science focuses on the interaction flanked by organizations and human behavior, the method in which the former forms choices and how the latter transform institutional frameworks. Beside with economics, it has made the best works in the field through authors like Shepsle, Ostrom, Ordeshook, in the middle of others.

Anthropology studies political economy through investigating regimes of political and economic value that condition tacit characteristics of socio-cultural practices through means of broader historical, political, and sociological procedures; analyses of structural characteristics of transnational procedures focus on the interactions flanked by the world capitalist organization and regional cultures.

Psychology is the fulcrum on which political economy exerts its force in learning decision-creation, but as the field of study whose assumptions model political economy.

History documents transform, by it to argue political economy; historical works have political economy as the narrative's frame.

Human geography is concerned with politico-economic procedures, emphasizing legroom and environment.

Ecology deals with political economy, because human action has the greatest effect upon the environment, its central concern being the environment's suitability for human action. The ecological effects of economic action spur research upon changing market economy incentives.

International relations often use political economy to study political and economic growth.

Cultural studies studies social class, manufacture, labor, race, gender, and sex.

Communications examines the institutional characteristics of media and telecommunication systems. Communication, the region of study which focuses on characteristics of human communication, pays

scrupulous attention to the relationships flanked by owners, labor, consumers, advertisers, structures of manufacture, the state, and power relationships embedded in these relationships.

Modernization Theory: Growth As Modernization

Modernization theory is a theory used to explain the procedure of modernization within societies. The theory seems at the internal factors of a country while assuming that, with assistance, "traditional" countries can be brought to growth in the similar manner more urbanized countries have. Modernization theory attempts to identify the social variables which contribute to social progress and growth of societies, and seeks to explain the procedure of social development. Modernization theory is subject to criticism originating in the middle of socialist and free-market ideologies, world-systems theorists, globalization theory and dependency theory in the middle of others. Modernization theory not only stresses the procedure of transform but also the responses to that transform. It also seems at internal dynamics while referring to social and cultural structures and the version of new technologies.

Earliest Expressions of the Theory

Historically, the thought of modernization is comparatively new. Its vital principles can be derived from the Thought of Progress, which appeared in the 18th century Age of Enlightenment with the thought that people themselves could develop and transform their community. French philosopher Marquis de Condorcet was involved in the origins of the theory with the concept that technical advancements and economical changes can enable changes in moral and cultural values. Condorcet was the first to create the economic-social growth relationship and that there can be continuous progress and improvement in human affairs. With that said, new advancements and improvements would require to stay pace with a constantly changing world. Furthermore, he encouraged technical procedures to help provide people

further manage in excess of their environments, arguing that technical progress would eventually spur social progress. In addition to social structure and the development of societies, the French sociologist Émile Durkheim urbanized the concept of functionalism which stresses the interdependence of the organizations of a community and their interaction in maintaining cultural and social unity. His mainly well-known work is *The Division of Labour in Community*, which called how social order was to be maintained in a community and how primitive societies might create the transition to more economically advanced industrial societies. Durkheim suggested that in a capitalist community, with an intricate division of labour, economic regulation would be needed to uphold order. He stressed that the biggest transition from a primitive social order to a more advanced industrial community could otherwise bring crisis and disorder. Durkheim furthermore urbanized the thought of social development, which designates how societies and cultures develop in excess of time—much like a livelihood organism—essentially saying that social development is like biological development with reference to the growth of its components. Like organisms, societies progress by many levels usually starting at a simplistic stage and then developing into a more intricate stage. Societies adapt to their nearby environments, but they interact with other societies which further contribute to their progress and growth. Contemporary sociology evolved in section as a reaction to the troubles associated with modernity, such as industrialization and the procedure of 'rationalization'.

State Theory

Internal situations in societies immediately affect the procedures of modernization. A state in which favorites are rewarded and governmental corruption is prevalent reasons the state to suffer in conditions of modernization. This can repress the state's economic growth and productivity and lead money and possessions to flow out to other countries with more

favorable investment environments. Such mechanisms slow the procedure of modernization and lead to require sorting out internal conflicts therefore as to aid the procedure of modernization.

State theory is said to be mixed with internal politics, and that each country will have its own unique pathway to growth. For a country to become more urbanized it is said that continuity both inside and outside the country is essential. The State theory essentially implies that in order for modernization to grow and for societies to become more urbanized the state necessity be tamed and power to arbitrarily seize private property curtailed. From the taming of the state, a capitalist economy can bigger arise, resulting in increased productivity supporting the internal modernization of community.

Globalization and Modernization

Globalization can be defined as the integration of economic, political and social cultures and is related to the spreading of modernization crossways borders. It theorizes the growth of a global economy in the sense that the world is moving in the direction of more efficient use of possessions and the means of manufacture.

Mass tourism could not have urbanized without air travel. Annual trans border tourist arrivals rose to 456 million through 1990 and are expected to double again, to 937 million per annum, through 2010. Communication is another biggest region that has grown due to modernization. Communication industries have enabled capitalism to spread during the world. Telephony, television broadcasts, news services and online service providers have played a crucial section in globalization.

With the several evident positive attributes to globalization there are also negative consequences. Economic growth can often initially highlight the disparities flanked by a community's rich and it's poor. In biggest municipalities of developing countries there exist pockets where technologies of the modernized world—computers, cell phones and satellite television—

exist right alongside stark poverty. This often begets an acute awareness of those in community initially or chronically left behind through economic progress.

Globalization has several advocates some of which are globalists, transformationalists and traditionalists. Globalists are globalization modernization theorists therefore are so extremely positive in relation to the concept. They argue that globalization is good for everyone as there are benefits for all including vulnerable groups such as women and children. This is done because globalization is typically western and it's the western values which are transmitted so allowing women to rights they wouldn't have had before, such as reproduction rights.

Technology

New technology is a biggest source of social transform. Since modernization deals with social transform from agrarian societies to industrial ones, it is significant to seem at the technical viewpoint. New technologies do not transform societies through it. Rather, it is the *response* to technology that reasons transform. Regularly, technology will be established but not put to use for an extremely extensive time. Take for instance the skill to extract metal from rock. It was not presently a new technology at one time, but one that had profound implications for the course of societies. It was always there, but went unused for a great era of time. As Neil Postman has said, "technical transform is not additive; it is ecological. A new technology does not merely add something; it changes everything". People in community are always coming up with new ideas and bigger methods of creation life easier and more enjoyable. Technology creates it possible for a more innovated community and broad social transform. What becomes of this is a dramatic transform by the centuries that has evolved socially, industrially, and economically, summed up through the term modernization. Cell phones, for instance, have changed lives of millions during the world. This is especially true in Africa

and other sections of the Transitional East where there is a low cost communication infrastructure. So, widely dispersed populations are linked, it facilitates other business's communication in the middle of each other, and it gives internet access, which also provides greater value in literacy. In addition to technology being a great social and economic advancement, it also grants these more dependent societies to become more modernized despite internal conflicts or repressive governments, allowing them to reap the benefits of such technical advancements.

During the world new technology has also helped people recover after the impact of natural disasters. In Sri Lanka after the 2004 tsunami several people lost their livelihoods. A new technology in the coir industry has helped them get back on their feet. This new technology has brought the indigenous industry into the contemporary age. Coir products are made from fibrous husks of the coconut. By a decorticator, workers can extract coir fiber in a single day. In the past they had to soak the coconut husks in salt water for 6–8 months until they are soft sufficient to be separated through hand. This project is being funded through USAID.

Contributors

In the middle of the scientists who contributed much to this theory are Walt Rostow, who in his *The Levels of Economic Development: A Non-Communist Manifesto* concentrates on the economic organization face of the modernization, trying to illustrate factors needed for a country to reach the path to modernization in his Rostovian take-off model. David Apter concentrated on the political organization and history of democracy, researching the relationship flanked by democracy, good governance and efficiency and modernization. Seymour Martin Lipset in "Some Social Requisites of Democracy" argued that economic growth sets off a series of profound social changes that jointly tend to produce democracy. David McClelland approached this subject from the psychological perspective, with

his motivations theory, arguing that modernization cannot happen until a given community values innovation, striving for improvement and entrepreneurship. Alex Inkeles likewise makes a model of *contemporary personality*, which requires being self-governing, active, interested in public policies and cultural matters, open for new experiences, rational and being able to make extensive-term plans for the future. Edward Said's "Orientalism" interprets modernization from the point of view of societies that are quickly and radically transformed.

Modernization and Traditional Community

Modernization theorists often saw traditions as obstacles to economic development. Furthermore, while modernization might deliver violent, radical transform for traditional societies it was idea worth the price. Critics insist that traditional societies were often destroyed without ever gaining promised advantages if, in the middle of other things, the economic gap flanked by advanced societies and such societies actually increased. The net effect of modernization for some societies was so the replacement of traditional poverty through a more contemporary form of misery, just as to these critics. Others point to improvements in livelihood standards, physical infrastructure, education and economic opportunity to refute such criticisms.

Growth as Underdevelopment and Dependency

Dependency theory arose in the late fifties and the sixties as an extended critique of the modernization perspective. This school of idea is largely associated with the work of Andre Gunder Baran argued that the economic relationships that lived flanked by western Europe and the rest of the world were based on clash and use. 'The former took section in 'outright plunder or in plunder thinly veiled as trade, seizing and removing tremendous

wealth from the lay of their penetration'. The result was transfer of wealth from the latter to the former.

He applied his critique to both modernization theory and orthodox Marxism, replacing their dualism through a theory that argued that the world has been capitalist since the sixteenth century, with all sectors drawn into the world organization based on manufacture for market. The ties of dominance and dependence, Frank argues, run in a chain-like fashion during the global capitalist organization, with metropolises appropriating surplus from satellites, their cities removing surplus from the hinterland and similarly.

Frank's central argument is that making of 'First' world and the 'Third' world is a result of the similar procedure. Just as to the dependency perspective the modern urbanized capitalist countries were never underdeveloped as the Third world, but were rather undeveloped.

Underdevelopment, instead of being caused through the peculiar socio-economic structures of the Third World countries, is the historical product of the relations which have obtained flanked by underdeveloped satellites and urbanized metropolises. In short, growth and underdevelopment are two sides of the similar coin, two poles of the similar procedure metropolitan capitalist growth on a world level makes the 'growth of underdevelopment' in the Third world. Latin America's mainly backward regions were precisely those regions which had once been mainly strongly connected to the metropole. Organizations such as plantations and haciendas, regardless of their internal appearance, have since the conquest been capitalist shapes of manufacture connected to the metropolitan market. Economic growth was experienced in Latin America only in those times when the metropolitan linkages were weakened - the Napoleonic Wars, the depression of the 1930s and the two World Wars of the twentieth century - and it came to an end precisely as the

metropolises recovered from these disruptions and recovered their links to the Third world.

Dependency theory was indeed a powerful advance in excess of modernization theory, but it suffered from peculiar weaknesses of its own. First of all, it suffered from a sure historical character, viewing transform within the Third world countries as an outcome of its undifferentiated dependent status. As Colin Leys put it, dependency theory "...concentrates on what happens to the underdeveloped countries at the hand of imperialism and colonialism, rather than on the total historical procedure involved, including the several shapes of thrash about against imperialism and colonialism which grow out of the circumstances of underdevelopment." Secondly, dependency theory tends to be economist. Social classes, states and politics seem as derivatives of economic forces and mechanisms and often receive extremely little attention. Classes, class projects and class struggles seem neither as the prime movers of historical transform nor the prime foci of analytic attention. Thirdly, critics have alleged that the concept of growth is obscure in dependency theory. Given that it is regularly argued that 'growth' occurs in the Third world when the metropolitan/satellite linkages are weakened, does 'growth' imply autarchy? Since 'growth' is an attribute of capitalist growth in the metropolises, is the debate in the ultimate analysis again in relation to the Third world's skill to replicate this path? Finally, the assumptions of the dependency theory, fail to give explanations for the several therefore-described 'economic miracles' of the Third world? Therefore, while marking an advance beyond the myths of modernization, dependency theory did not fully escape its imprint. While modernization theory argued that 'diffusion' brought development, dependency theory would look to argue in a same vein that dependence brought stagnation.

World Organization Analysis

World-systems theory the world-systems perspective is a multidisciplinary, macro-level approach to world history and social transform that stresses that the world-organization should be the primary unit of social analysis.

World-organization refers to the inter-local and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-margin countries and the margin countries. Core countries focus on higher ability, capital-rigorous manufacture, and the rest of the world focuses on low-ability, labor-rigorous manufacture and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the organization is dynamic, in section as a result of revolutions in transport technology, and individual states can gain or lose the core status in excess of time. For a time, some countries become the world hegemon; during last few centuries throughout which time the world organization has extended geographically and intensified economically, this status has passed from the Netherlands, to the United Kingdom and mainly recently, to the United States.

Immanuel Wallerstein has urbanized the best-recognized adaptation of world-systems analysis, beginning in the 1970s. Wallerstein traces the rise of the world organization from the 15th century, when European feudal economy suffered a crisis and was transformed into a capitalist one. Europe utilized its advantages and gained manage in excess of mainly of the world economy, presiding in excess of the growth and spread of industrialization and capitalist economy, indirectly resulting in unequal growth.

Wallerstein's project is regularly misunderstood as world-systems "theory," a term that he uniformly rejects. For Wallerstein, world-systems analysis is above all a mode of analysis that aims to transcend the structures of knowledge inherited from the 19th century. This comprises, especially, the divisions within the social sciences, and flanked by the social sciences and

history. For Wallerstein, then, world-systems analysis is a “knowledge movement” that seeks to discern the “totality of what has been paraded under the labels of the... human sciences and indeed well beyond.” “We necessity invent a new language,” Wallerstein insists, to transcend the illusions of the “three supposedly distinctive arenas” of community/economy/politics. This trinitarian structure of knowledge is grounded in another, even grander, modernist architecture – the alienation of biophysical worlds from social ones. “One question, so, is whether as suggested, be able to justify something described social science in the twenty-first century as a separate sphere of knowledge.” Important work through several other scholars has been done since then.

Origins

- *Powers and Biggest Thinkers*

World-systems theory traces appeared in the 1970s. Its roots can be established in sociology, but it has urbanized into a highly interdisciplinary field. World-systems theory was aiming to replace modernization theory. Wallerstein criticized modernization theory due to:

- Its focus on the state as the only unit of analysis,
- Its assumption there is only a single path of evolutionary growth for all countries,
- Its disregard of transnational structures that constrain regional and national growth.

Three biggest precursors of world-systems theory are: the Annales school, Marxist, and dependence theory. The Annales School custom convinced Wallerstein in focusing on extensive-term procedures and geo-ecological areas as unit of analysis. Marxist theories added:

- A stress on social clash,
- A focus on the capital accumulation procedure and
- Competitive class struggles,
- A focus on a relevant totality,
- The transitory nature of social shapes, and

A dialectical sense of motion by clash and contradiction.

World-systems theory was also significantly convinced through dependency theory - a neo-Marxist account of growth procedures. Other powers on the world-systems theory approach from scholars such as Karl Polanyi, Nikolai Kondratiev and Joseph Schumpeter.

Wallerstein sees the growth of the capitalist world-economy as detrimental to a big proportion of the world's population. Wallerstein views the era since the 1970s as an "age of transition," one that will provide method to a future world-organization whose configuration cannot be determined in advance.

World-systems thinkers contain Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein with biggest contributions through Christopher Chase-Dunn, Beverly Silver, Volker Bornschier, Janet Abu Lughod, Thomas D. Hall, Kunibert Raffer, Theotonio dos Santos, Dale Tomich, Jason W. Moore, and others. In sociology, a primary alternative perspective is world polity theory as formulated through John W. Meyer.

- *Dependency Theory*

World-systems analysis builds upon, but also differs fundamentally from, the proposition of dependency theory. While accepting world inequality, the world market, and imperialism as fundamental characteristics of historical capitalism, Wallerstein broke with dependency theory's central proposition. For Wallerstein, core countries do not use poor countries for two vital causes. First, core capitalists use workers in all zones of the capitalist world-economy, and so the crucial redistribution flanked by core and margin is surplus value, not "wealth" or "possessions" abstractly conceived. Second, core states do not use poor states—as dependency theory proposes—because capitalism is organized approximately an inter-local and transnational division of labor rather than an international division of labor. Throughout the Industrial Revolution, for instance, English capitalists exploited slaves in the cotton

zones of the American South, a peripheral area within a semi-peripheral state. Fernando Henrique Cardoso called the largest tenets of dependency theory as follows:

There is a financial and technical penetration of the margin and semi-margin countries through the urbanized capitalist core countries
This produces an unbalanced economic structure within the peripheral societies and in the middle of them and the centers
This leads to limitations upon self-continued development in the margin
This favors the appearance of specific patterns of class relations
These need modifications in the role of the state to guarantee the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a community, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance

Dependency and world organization theory propose that the poverty and backwardness of poor countries are caused through their peripheral location in the international division of labor. Since the capitalist world organization evolved, the distinction flanked by the central and the peripheral nations has grown and diverged. In recognizing a tripartite pattern in division of labor, world-systems analysis criticized dependency theory with its bimodal organization of only cores and peripheries.

- *Wallerstein*

The best recognized adaptation of the world-systems approach has been urbanized through Immanuel Wallerstein, who is seen as one of the founders of the intellectual school of world-systems theory.

Wallerstein notes that world-systems analysis calls for an unidisciplinary historical social science, and contends that the contemporary disciplines, products of the 19th century, are deeply flawed because they are not separate logics, as is manifest for instance in the de facto overlap of analysis in the middle of scholars of the disciplines.

Wallerstein offers many definitions of a world-organization. He defined it, in 1974, briefly, as:

An organization is defined as a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems.

He also offered a longer definition:

...a social organization, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it jointly through tension and tear it separately as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the aspects of an organism, in that it has a life-span in excess of which its aspects transform in some compliments and remain stable in others. One can describe its structures as being at dissimilar times strong or weak in conditions of the internal logic of its functioning.

In 1987, Wallerstein's, defines world-organization as:

...not the organization of the world, but an organization that is a world and which can be, mainly often has been, situated in a region less than the whole globe. World-systems analysis argues that the units of social reality within which we operate, whose rules constrain us, are for the mainly section such world-systems stems that once lived on the earth. World-systems analysis argues that there have been therefore distant only two diversities of world-systems: world-economies and world empires. A world-empire is big bureaucratic structures with a single political center and an axial division of labor, but multiple cultures. A world-economy is a big axial division of labor with multiple political centers and multiple cultures. In English, the hyphen is essential to indicate these concepts. "World organization" without a hyphen suggests that there has been only one world-organization in the history of the world.

Wallerstein characterizes the world organization as a set of mechanisms which redistributes surplus value from the *margin* to the *core*. In his terminology, the *core* is the urbanized, industrialized section of the world, and the *margin* is the "underdeveloped", typically raw materials-exporting, poor section of the world; the *market* being the means through which the *core* exploits the *margin*.

Separately from these, Wallerstein defines four temporal characteristics of the world organization. *Cyclical rhythms* symbolize the short-term fluctuation of economy, while *secular trends* mean deeper

extensive run tendencies, such as common economic development or decline. The term *contradiction* means a common controversy in the organization, generally regarding some short term vs. extensive term trade-offs. For instance the problem of under consumption, wherein the drive-down of wages increases the profit for the capitalists on the short-run, but considering the extensive run, the decreasing of wages may have a crucially harmful effect through reducing the demand for the product. The last temporal characteristic is the *crisis*: a crisis occurs, if a constellation of conditions brings in relation to the end of the organization.

In Wallerstein's view, there have been three types of society's crossways human history: mini-systems or what anthropologists call bands, tribes, and small chiefdoms, and two kinds of world-systems - one that is politically unified and the other, not. World-systems are superior, and ethnically diverse. Contemporary community, described the "contemporary world-organization" is of the latter kind, but unique in being the first and only fully capitalist world-economy to have appeared, approximately 1450 - 1550 and to have geographically expanded crossways the whole planet, through in relation to the 1900. Capitalism is a organization based on competition flanked by free producers by free labor with free commodities, 'free' meaning it's accessible for sale and purchase on a market.

- *Research Questions*

World-systems theory asks many key questions:

How is the world-organization affected through changes in its components etc?

How does the world-organization affect its components?

To what degree, if any, does the core require the margin to be underdeveloped?

What reasons world-systems to transform?

What organization may replace capitalism?

Some questions are more specific to sure subfields; for instance, Marxists would concern themselves whether world-systems theory is a useful or unhelpful growth of Marxist theories.

Aspects

World-systems analysis argues that capitalism, as a historical social organization, has always integrated a diversity of labor shapes within a functioning division of labor. Countries do not have economies, but are section of the world-economy. Distant from being separate societies or worlds, the world-economy manifests a tripartite division of labor with core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral zones. In core zones businesses, with the support of states they operate within, monopolize the mainly profitable activities of the division of labor.

There are several methods to attribute a specific country to the core, semi-margin, or margin. By an empirically based sharp formal definition of "power" in a two-country connection, Piana in 2004 defined the "core" as made up of "free countries" dominating others without being dominated, the "semi-margin" while at the similar time dominating others, and "margin" as the countries which are dominated. Based on 1998 data, the full list of countries in the three areas—jointly with a discussion of methodology—can be established.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries marked a great turning point in the growth of capitalism in that capitalists achieved state-societal power in the key states which furthered the industrial revolution marking the rise of capitalism. World-systems analysis contends that capitalism as a historical organization shaped earlier, that countries do not "develop" in levels, but rather the organization does, and these measures have a dissimilar meaning as a stage in the growth of historical capitalism; namely the emergence of the three ideologies of the national developmental mythology ugh levels if they pursue the right set of policies:

Conservatism,
Liberalism, and
Radicalism.

Proponents of world-systems analysis see the world stratification organization the similar method Karl Marx viewed class and of productions and Max Weber viewed class d occupational ability stage in the manufacture procedure. The core nations primarily own and manage the biggest means of manufacture in the world and perform the higher-stage manufacture tasks. The margin nations own extremely little of the world's means of manufacture nations and give less-skilled labor. Like a class organization with a nation, class positions in the world economy result in an unequal sharing of rewards or possessions. The core nations receive the greatest share of surplus manufacture, and margin nations receive the least. Furthermore, core nations are generally able to purchase raw materials and other goods from non-core nations at low prices, while challenging higher prices for their exports to non-core nations. Chirot lists the five mainly significant benefits coming to core nations from their power of margin nations:

- Access to a big quantity of raw material
- Cheap labor
- Enormous profits from direct capital investments
- A market for exports
- Skilled professional labor by migration of these people from the non-core to the core.

The unique qualities of the contemporary world-organization contain its capitalistic nature, its truly global nature, and that it is a world-economy that has not become politically unified into a world-empire.

- *Core Nations*

- The mainly economically diversified, wealthy, and powerful
- Have strong central governments, controlling long bureaucracies and powerful militaries
- Have more intricate and stronger state organizations that help control economic affairs internally and externally

Have a enough tax foundation therefore these state organizations can give infrastructure for a strong economy
Highly industrialized; produce manufactured goods rather than raw materials for export
Increasingly tend to specialize in information, fund and service industries
More often in the forefront of new technologies and new industries.
Examples today contain high-technology electronic and biotechnology industries. Another instance would be assembly-row auto manufacture in the early 20th century.
Has strong bourgeois and working classes
Have important means of power in excess of non-core nations
Comparatively self-governing of outside manage

During the history of the contemporary world-organization there has been a group of core nations competing with one another for access to the world's possessions, economic dominance, and hegemony in excess of margin nations. Occasionally, there has been one core nation with clear dominance in excess of others. A core nation is dominant in excess of all the others when it has a lead in three shapes of economic dominance in excess of an era of time:

Productivity dominance allows a country to produce products of greater excellence at a cheaper price compared to other countries.

Productivity dominance may lead to *trade dominance*. Now, there is a favorable balance of trade for the dominant nation since more countries are buying the products of the dominant country than it is buying from them.

Trade dominance may lead to *financial dominance*. Now, more money is coming into the country than going out. Bankers of the dominant nation tend to receive more manage of the world's financial possessions.

Military dominance is also likely after a nation reaches these three rankings. Though, it has been posited that during the contemporary world-organization, no nation has been able to use its military to gain economic dominance. Each of the past dominant nations became dominant with fairly small stages of military spending, and began to lose economic dominance with military expansion later on. Historically, cores were established in the north-west Europe, although later in other sections of the world.

- *Margin Nations*

Least economically diversified

Have comparatively weak governments

Have comparatively weak organizations with little tax foundation to support infrastructure growth

Tend to depend on one kind of economic action, often on extracting and exporting raw materials to core nations

Tend to be least industrialized

Are often targets for investments from multinational corporations from core nations that approach into the country to use cheap unskilled labor for export back to core nations

Has small bourgeois and big peasant classes

Tend to have a high percentage of their people that are poor and uneducated.

In excellence tends to be extremely high because of a small upper class that owns mainly of the land and has profitable ties to multinational corporations

Tend to be extensively convinced through core nations and their multinational corporations. Several times they are forced to follow economic policies that favor core nations and harm the extensive-term economic prospects of margin nations.

Historically, peripheries were established outside Europe, for instance in Latin America and today in Sub-Saharan Africa.

- *Semi Periphery Nations*

Semi periphery nations are those that are midway flanked by the core and margin. They tend to be countries moving towards industrialization and a more diversified economy. Those areas often have comparatively urbanized and diversified economy, but are not dominant in international trade. They are not as subject to outside manipulation as peripheral societies; but just as to others they have "peripheral-like" relations to the core. While in the sphere of power of some cores semi peripheries also tend to exert their own manage in excess of some peripheries. Further, semi-peripheries act as buffers flanked by cores and peripheries, therefore "partially deflect the political pressures which groups primarily situated in peripheral regions might otherwise direct against core-states" and stabilize the world-organization.

Semi-peripheries can approach into subsistence both from developing peripheries, and from declining cores.

Historically, an instance of a semi-margin would be Spain and Portugal, who fell from their early core location, but still control to retain power in Latin America. Those countries imported silver and gold from its American colonies, but then had to use it to pay for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France. In the 20th, nations like the "settler colonies" of Australia, Canada and New Zealand had a semi-peripheral status. In the 21st century, nations like China, India, Brazil and South Africa are generally measured semi-margin.

Interpretation of the World History

Before the 16th century, Europe was dominated through feudal economies. European economies grew from mid-12th to 14th century, but from 14th to mid 15th century, they suffered from a biggest crisis. Wallerstein explains this crisis as caused through:

- Stagnation or even decline of agricultural manufacture, rising the burden of peasants,
- Decreased agricultural productivity caused through changing climatological circumstances,
- An augment in epidemics,
- Optimum stage of the feudal economy has been reached in its economic cycle; the economy moved beyond it and entered a depression era.

As a response to the failure of the feudal organization, Europe embraced the capitalist organization. Europeans were motivated to develop technology to explore and trade approximately the world, by their larger military to take manage of the trade routes. Europeans exploited their initial small advantages, which led to an accelerating procedure of accumulation of wealth and power in Europe.

Wallerstein notes that never before had an economic organization encompassed that much of the world, with trade links crossing therefore several political boundaries. In the past, geographically big economic systems

lived, but were mostly limited to spheres of power of big empires; growth of the capitalism enabled the world economy to extend beyond individual states. International division of labor was crucial in deciding what relationships exist flanked by dissimilar areas, their labor circumstances and political systems. For classification and comparison purposes, Wallerstein introduced the categories of core, semi-margin, margin, and external countries. Cores monopolized the capital-rigorous manufacture, and the rest of the world could only give labor and raw possessions. The resulting in excellence reinforced existing unequal growth.

There have only been three periods in which a core nation has dominated in the contemporary world-organization, with each lasting less than one hundred years. In the initial centuries of the rise of Europe, Northwest Europe constituted the core, Mediterranean Europe the semi periphery, and Eastern Europe and the Western hemisphere the margin. Approximately 1450, Spain and Portugal took the early lead when circumstances became right for a capitalist world-economy. They lead the method in establishing overseas colonies. Though, Portugal and Spain lost their lead primarily due to becoming overextended with empire structure. It became too expensive to control and protect several colonial territories approximately the world.

The first nation to gain clear dominance was the Netherlands in the 17th century, after their revolution led to a new financial organization several historians believe revolutionary. An impressive shipbuilding industry also contributed to their economic dominance by more exports to other countries. Eventually, other countries began to copy the financial ways and efficient manufacture created through the Dutch. After the Dutch gained its dominant status, the average of livelihood rose, pushing up manufacture costs.

Dutch bankers began to go outside of the country seeking profitable investments, and the flow of capital moved, especially to England. Through the end of the 17th century, clash in the middle of core nations increased as a result of the economic decline of the Dutch. Dutch financial investment helped

England gain productivity and trade dominance, and Dutch military support helped England to defeat the French, the other country competing for dominance at the time.

In the 19th century, Britain replaced the Netherlands as the hegemon. As a result of the new British dominance, the world-organization became comparatively stable again throughout the 19th century. The British began to expand all in excess of, with several colonies in the New World, Africa, and Asia. The colonial organization began to lay a strain on the British military, and beside with other factors, led to an economic decline. Again, there was a great trade of core clash after the British lost their clear dominance. This time it was Germany, and later Italy and Japan providing the new threat.

Industrialization was another ongoing procedure at that time, resulting in the diminishing importance of the agricultural sector. In the 18th century, England was Europe's leading industrial and agricultural producer; through 1900, only 10% of England's population was working in the agricultural sector.

Through 1900, the contemporary world-organization was much dissimilar than it was 100 years earlier. Mainly of the margin societies had already been colonized through one of the older core nations. In 1800, the old European core claimed 35% of the world's territory, but through 1914 it claimed 85% of the world's territory. Now, if a core nation wanted margin regions to use as had done the Dutch and British, these margin regions would have to be taken from another core nation. This is what Germany, and then Japan and Italy, began to do early in the 20th century. The contemporary world-organization became geographically global at that time, and even the mainly remote areas of the world have all been integrated into the global economy.

While these countries were moving into core status, therefore was the United States. The American civil war led to more power for Northern industrial elites, who were now bigger able to pressure the government for

policies favorable to industrial expansion. Like the Dutch bankers, British bankers were putting more investment toward the United States. Like the Dutch and British, the U.S. had a small military budget compared with other industrial nations at the time.

The U.S. began to take the lay of the British as the new dominant nation after World War I. With Japan and Europe in ruins after World War II, the U.S. was able to control the contemporary world-organization more than any other country in the history of the world-organization. After World War II, the U.S. accounted for in excess of half of the world's industrial manufacture, owned two-thirds of the gold reserves in the world, and supplied one-third of the world's exports. Though, since the end of the Cold War, the future of the US hegemony has been questioned and just as to some scholars its hegemonic location has been in decline for a few decades. Through the end of the 20th century, the core of the wealthy industrialized countries was collected of Europe, but also some other countries, such as United States or Japan. The semi periphery comprised several states that have been extensive self-governing, but did not achieve Western stages of power, and poor, former colonies of the West shaped the margin.

Criticisms

World-systems theory has attracted criticisms from its rivals; notably for being too focused on economy and not sufficient on civilization, and for being too core-centric and state-centric. Critique of the world-systems approach comes from four directions: from the positivists, the orthodox Marxists, the state autonomists, and the culturalists. The positivists criticize the approach as too prone to generalization, lacking quantitative data and failing to put forth a falsifiable proposition. Orthodox Marxists discover the world-systems approach deviating too distant from orthodox Marxist principles, such as not giving sufficient weight to the concept of social class. The state autonomists criticize the theory for blurring the boundaries flanked

by state and businesses. Further, the positivists, the orthodox Marxists and the state autonomists argue that state should be the central unit of analysis. Finally, the culturalists argue that world-systems theory puts too much importance on the economy and not sufficient on the civilization. In Wallerstein's own languages:

"In short, mainly of the criticisms of world-systems analysis criticizes it for what it explicitly proclaims as its perspective. World-systems analysis views these other manners of analysis as defective and/or limiting in scope and calls for unthinking them."

One of the fundamental conceptual troubles of the world organization theory is that the assumptions which describe its actual conceptual units are social systems. The assumptions which describe these require to be examined as well as how they are related to each other and how one change into another. The essential argument of the world organization theory is that in the sixteenth century a capitalist world economy urbanized which could be called as a world organization.

The following is a theoretical critique concerned with the vital claims of world organization theory: "There are today no socialist systems in the world-economy any more than there are feudal systems because there is only one world organization. It is a world-economy and it is through definition capitalist in form."

Robert Brenner has pointed out that the prioritization of the world market means the neglect of regional class structures and class struggles: "They fail to take into explanation either the method in which these class structures themselves emerge as the outcome of class struggles whose results are incomprehensible in conditions merely of market forces." Robert Brenner: Director of the Center for Social Theory and Comparative History at UCLA

Another criticism is that of reductionism made through Theda Skocpol. She believes the interstate organization is distant from being an easy superstructure of the capitalist world economy: "The international states

organization as a transnational structure of military competition was not originally created through capitalism. During contemporary world history, it symbolizes an analytically autonomous stage of transnational reality-interdependent in its structure and dynamics with world capitalism, but not reducible to it." Theda Skocpol: American Sociologist and Political Scientist at Harvard University

New Growths

New growths in world-systems research contain studies on the cyclical procedures, the consequences of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the roles of gender and the civilization, studies of slavery and incorporation of new areas into the world-organization, and the precapitalist world-systems. Arguably the greatest source of renewal in world-systems analysis since 2000 has been the synthesis of world-organization and environmental approaches. Key figures in the "greening" of world-systems analysis contain Andrew K. Jorgenson, Stephen Bunker, Richard York, and Jason W. Moore.

- ***Time Era***

Wallerstein traces the origin of today's world-organization to the "extensive 16th century". Janet Abu Lughod argues that a pre-contemporary world organization long crossways Eurasia lived in the 13th Century prior to the formation of the contemporary world-organization recognized through Wallerstein. Janet Abu Lughod contends that the Mongol Empire played a significant role in stitching jointly the Chinese, Indian, Muslim and European areas in the 13th century, before the rise of the contemporary world organization. In debates, Wallerstein contends that her organization was not a "world-organization" because it did not entail integrated manufacture networks, but was instead a huge trading network.

Andre Gunder Frank goes further and claims that a global-level world organization that comprises Asia, Europe and Africa has lived since the 4th millennium BCE. The center of this organization was in Asia, specifically

China. Andrey Korotayev goes even further than Frank and dates the beginning of the World Organization formation to the 10th millennium BCE, connecting it with the start of the Neolithic Revolution in the Transitional East. The center of this organization was originally in West Asia.

- *Current Research*

Wallerstein's theories are widely established during the world. In the United States, one of the hubs of world-systems research is at the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems and Civilizations, at Binghamton University. In the middle of the mainly significant related periodicals are the Journal of World-Systems Research, published through the American Sociological Association's Part on the Political Economy of the World Organization; and the Review, published the Braudel Center.

Articulation of Manners of Manufacture

In any specific community or country, *dissimilar* manners of manufacture might emerge and exist alongside each other, connected jointly economically by trade and mutual obligations. Therefore, for instance, urban capitalist industry might co-exist with rural peasant manufacture for existence and easy swap and tribal hunting and gathering. Old and new manners of manufacture might combine to form a hybrid economy.

Though, Marx's view was that the expansion of capitalist markets tended to dissolve and displace older methods of producing in excess of time. A capitalist community was a community in which the capitalist mode of manufacture had become the dominant one. The civilization, laws and customs of that community might though preserve several traditions of the preceding manners of manufacture. Therefore, although two countries might both be capitalist, being economically based largely on private enterprise for profit and wage labour, these capitalisms might be extremely dissimilar in social

character and functioning, reflecting extremely dissimilar cultures, religions, social rules and histories.

Elaborating on this thought, Leon Trotsky famously called the economic growth of the world as a procedure of *uneven and combined growth* of dissimilar co-existing societies and manners of manufacture which all power each other. This means that historical changes which took centuries to happen in one country might be truncated, abbreviated or telescoped in another. Therefore, for instance, Trotsky observes in the opening chapter of his history of the Russian Revolution of 1917 that "Savages throw absent their bows and arrows for rifles all at once, without traveling the road which place flanked by these two weapons in the past. The European colonists in America did not begin history all in excess of again from the beginning", etc. Therefore, old and new techniques and cultures might combine in novel and unique admixtures, which cannot be understood other than through tracing out the history of their emergence.

Class Analysis

Class analysis is research in sociology, politics and economics from the point of view of the stratification of the community into dynamic classes. It implies that there is no universal or uniform social outlook, rather that there are fundamental conflicts that exist inherent in community. Mainly recognized examples are the theory of Karl Marx and Max Weber's three-component theory of stratification.

Barrington Moore and Political Growth

In a non-Marxist sense, class analysis is a theory of political growth, in which political regimes and systems are said to be formed through the social class structure of the country. The largest advocate for this theory is political scientist Barrington Moore, Jr.. In Moore's theory, Great Britain slowly attained stable democratic governance, compared to neighboring countries

such as France and Germany, is due to the rapid displacement of peasantry throughout the enclosure movement which fully transformed Britain into an advanced, industrial community with a strong bourgeois class, which Moore sees as indispensable for a lasting liberal democracy. In contrast, France had a big peasantry that is stationary on land yet politically volatile, leading to the alternating flanked by violent revolutions and monarchical reactions.

Globalization and Neo-Liberal Approach

The Problematic Character of Neo-liberalism

Neoliberalism seems to be problematic as a dominant theory for modern capitalism. The continuity and survival of the capitalist organization depends on its skill to bring vigorous capital accumulation, where the latter procedure is understood to contain not presently economic expansion but also technical progress. Vigorous capital accumulation permits growing profits to coexist with growing livelihood standards for a substantial section of the population in excess of the extensive-run. Though, it does not seem that neoliberalism promotes vigorous capital accumulation in modern capitalism. There are a number of causes why one would not anticipate the neoliberal model to promote rapid accumulation. First, it provides rise to a problem of insufficient aggregate demand in excess of the extensive run, stemming from the powerful tendency of the neoliberal regime to lower both real wages and public spending. Second, the neoliberal model makes instability on the macroeconomic stage through renouncing state counter-cyclical spending and taxation policies, through reducing the effectiveness of “automatic stabilizers” by shrinking social welfare programs, and through loosening public regulation of the financial sector. This renders the organization more vulnerable to biggest financial crises and depressions. Third, the neoliberal model tends to intensify class clash, which can potentially discourage capitalist investment. The historical proof confirms doubts in relation to the skill of the neoliberal

model to promote rapid capital accumulation. As suggested, seem at development rates of gross domestic product development rate gives at least a rough approximation of the rate of capital accumulation, while the labor productivity development rate tells us something in relation to the extent to which capitalism is developing the forces of manufacture via growing ratios of means of manufacture to direct labor, technical advance, and improved labor skills. Standard annual real GDP development rates for six leading urbanized capitalist countries in excess of two periods, 1950-73 and 1973-99. The first era was the heyday of state-regulated capitalism, both within those six countries and in the capitalist world-organization as an entire. The second era covers the period of rising neoliberal dominance. All six countries had significantly faster GDP development in the earlier era than in the later one.

While Japan and the biggest Western European economies have been comparatively depressed in the 1990s, the US is often portrayed as rebounding to great prosperity in excess of the past decade. Neoliberals often claim that US adherence to neoliberal policies finally paid off in the 1990s, while the more timid moves absent from state-interventionist policies in Europe and Japan kept them mired in stagnation. While GDP development improved slightly in 1990-99, it remained well below that of the period of state-regulated capitalism. Some analysts cite the information that GDP development accelerated after 1995, averaging 4.1% per year throughout 1995-99. Though, it is not meaningful to compare a short fragment of the 1990s business cycle expansion to the long run performance of the economy throughout 1948-73. While there was important improvement in productivity development in the 1990s, it remained well below the 1948-73 rates, despite the rapid spread of what should be productivity-enhancing communication and information-management technologies throughout the past decade.

The proof from GDP and labor productivity development rates supports the claim that the neoliberal model is inferior to the state regulationist model for key dimensions of capitalist economic performance. There is ample

proof that the neoliberal model has shifted income and wealth in the direction of the already wealthy. Though, the skill to shift income upward has limits in an economy that is not rising rapidly. Neoliberalism does not seem to be delivering the goods in the methods that matter the mainly for capitalism's extensive-run continuity and survival.

The Structure of Competition and Economic Policy

The procedures by which the dominant economic ideology and policies are selected in a capitalist organization are intricate and several-sided. No common rule operates to assure that those economic policies which would be mainly favorable for capitalism are automatically adopted. History suggests that one significant determinant of the dominant economic ideology and policy stance is the competitive structure of capitalism in a given period. Specifically, this level argues that periods of comparatively unconstrained competition tend to produce the intellectual and public policy dominance of liberalism, while periods of comparatively constrained, oligopolistic market relations tend to promote interventionist ideas and policies.

A relation in the opposite direction also exists, one which is often commented upon. That is, one can argue that interventionist policies promote monopoly power in markets, while liberal policies promote greater competition. This latter relation is not being denied here. Rather, it will be argued that there is a normally-overlooked direction of power, having important historical explanatory power, which runs from competitive structure to public policy. In the era when capitalism first became well recognized in the US, throughout 1800-1860, the government played a comparatively interventionist role. The federal government placed high tariffs on competing manufactured goods from Europe, and federal, state, and regional stages of government all actively financed, and in some cases built and operated, the new canal and rail organization that created a big internal market. There was no serious debate in excess of the propriety of public financing of

transportation improvements in that period -- the only debate was in excess of which areas would get the key subsidized routes.

Once capitalism had become well recognized in the US after the Civil War, it entered an era of cutthroat competition and wild accumulation recognized as the Robber Baron period. In this era a coherent anti-interventionist liberal location appeared and became politically dominant. Despite the enormous inequalities, the severe business cycle, and the outrageous and often unlawful behavior of the Goulds and Rockefellers, the thought that government should not intervene in the economy held sway by the end of the 19 century.

From roughly 1890 to 1903 a vast merger wave transformed the competitive structure of US capitalism. Out of that merger wave appeared giant corporations possessing important monopoly power in the manufacturing, mining, transportation, and communication sectors. US industry settled down to a more restrained form of oligopolistic rivalry. At the similar time, several of the new monopoly capitalists began to criticize the old Laissez Faire ideas and support a more interventionist role for the state. The combination of large business support for state regulation of business, jointly with same demands arising from a popular anti-monopoly movement based in the middle of small farmers and transitional class professionals, ushered in what is described the Progressive Period, from 1900-16. The structure of a regulationist state that was begun in the Progressive Period was completed throughout the New Trade period a few decades later, when once again both large business leaders and a vigorous popular movement supported an interventionist state. Both in the Progressive Period and the New Trade, large business and the popular movement differed in relation to the what kinds of state intervention were needed. Large business favored events to augment the continuity of the organization and to improve circumstances for profit-creation, while the popular movement sought to use the state to restrain the power and privileges of large business and give greater security for ordinary

people. The outcome in both cases was a political compromise, one weighted toward the interests of large business, reflecting the comparative power of the latter in American capitalism.

Small business has remained adamantly opposed to the large, interventionist state, from the Progressive Period by the New Trade down to the present. This division flanked by large and small business is chronicled for the Progressive Period in Weinstein. In the decade's immediately following World War II one can observe this division in the divergent views of the Business Roundtable, a large business organization which often supported interventionist programs, and the US Chambers of Commerce, the premier small business organization, which hewed to an antigovernment stance.

What explains this political variation flanked by big and small business? When big corporations achieve important market power and become freed from fear regarding their immediate survival, they tend to develop an extensive time horizon and pay attention to the necessities for assuring rising profits in excess of time. They approach to see the state as a potential ally. Having high and stable monopoly profits, they tend to view the cost of government programs as something they can afford, given their potential benefits. Through contrast, the typical small business faces a daily battle for survival, which prevents attention to extensive-run thoughts and which spaces a premium on avoiding the short-run costs of taxation and state regulation. This explains the radically dissimilar positions that large business and small business held concerning the proper state role in the economy for the first two-thirds of the twentieth century.

This extensive-standing division flanked by large business and small business emerged to vanish in the US starting in the 1970s. Big corporations and banks which had formerly supported foundations that advocated an active government role in the economy, such as the Brookings Institution, became large donors to neoliberal foundations such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Basis. As a result, such right-wing foundations,

which previously had to rely largely on contributions from small business, became extremely wealthy and influential. It was large business's desertion of the political coalition supporting state intervention and its shift to neoliberalism that rebuilt support for neoliberal theories and policies in the US, starting in the 1970s. With business now unified on economic policy, the shift was dramatic. Large grants became accessible for economics research having a neoliberal slant. The biggest media shifted their spin on political growths, and the phrase "government programs" now could not be printed except for with the word "bloated" before it.

This switch in the dominant economic model first showed up in the mid 1970s in academic economics, as the previously marginalized Chicago School spread its power distant beyond the University of Chicago. This was soon followed through a radical shift in the public policy arena. In 1978- 79 the previously interventionist Carter Administration began sounding the extremely neoliberal themes B deregulation of business, cutbacks in social programs, and common fiscal and monetary austerity B that were to become the centerpiece of Reagan Administration policies in 1981. What caused the radical transform in the political posture of large business concerning state intervention in the economy? This level argues that a biggest section of the account lies in the effects of the globalization of the world capitalist economy in the post-World War II era.

Globalization and Competition

Globalization is generally defined as an augment in the volume of cross-border economic interactions and resource flows, producing a qualitative shift in the relations flanked by national economies and flanked by nation-states and Rowthorn. Three types of economic interactions have increased considerably in past decades: merchandise trade flows, foreign direct investment, and cross-border financial investments. As suggested, briefly

analyze each, with an eye on their effects on the competitive structure of modern capitalism.

The ratio of merchandise exports to gross domestic product for selected years from 1820 to 1992, for the world and also for Western Europe, the US, and Japan. Capitalism brought a five-fold rise in world exports comparative to output from 1820-70, followed through another augment of almost three-fourths through 1913. After declining in the interwar era, world exports reached a new peak of 11.2% of world output in 1973, growing further to 13.5% in 1992. The 1992 figure was in excess of fifty per cent higher than the pre-World War I peak. Merchandise exports contain physical goods only, while GDP comprises services, several of which are not tradable, as well as goods. In the twentieth century the proportion of services in GDP has risen significantly. This ratio almost tripled throughout 1950-92, with merchandise exports growing to almost one-third of total goods output in the latter year. The 1992 figure was 2.6 times as high as that of 1913.

Western Europe, the US, and Japan all experienced important increases in exports comparative to GDP throughout 1950-92. All of them achieved ratios of exports to GDP distant in excess of the 1913 stage. Several analysts view foreign direct investment as the mainly significant form of cross-border economic interchange. It is associated with the movement of technology and organizational ways, not presently goods. This measure has more than doubled since 1975, although it is not much greater today than it was in 1913. Though, it is still comparatively low in absolute conditions, with foreign direct investment accounting for only 5.2 per cent of gross fixed capital formation in 1995.

Not all, or even mainly, international capital flows take the form of direct investment. Financial flows ties and deposits in foreign bank accounts are normally superior. One measure that takes explanation of financial as well as direct investment is the total net movement of capital into or out of a country. That measure designates the extent to which capital from one country

finances growth in other countries. Since net capital inflow or outflow is almost equal to the current explanation deficit or surplus, this designates the size of net cross-border capital flows. The ratio almost doubled from 1970-74 to 1990-96, although it remained well below the figure for 1910-14.

Cross-border *gross* capital movements have grown much more rapidly than cross-border *net* capital movements. In recent times an extremely big and rapidly rising volume of capital has moved back and forth crossways national boundaries. Much of this capital flow is speculative in nature, reflecting rising amounts of short-term capital that are moved approximately the world in search of the best temporary return. No data on such flows are accessible for the early section of this century, but the data for recent decades are impressive. Throughout 1980-95 cross-border transactions in bonds and equities as a percentage of GDP rose from 9% to 136% for the US, from 8% to 168% for Germany, and from 8% to 66% for Japan. The total volume of foreign swap transactions in the world rose from in relation to the \$15 billion per day in 1973 to \$80 billion per day in 1980 and \$1260 billion per day in 1995. Trade in goods and services accounted for 15% of foreign swap transactions in 1973 but for less than 2% of foreign swap transactions in 1995.

While cross-border flows of goods and capital are generally measured to be the best indicators of possible globalization of capitalism, changes that have occurred in excess of time within capitalist enterprises are also relevant. That is, the much-discussed rise of the transnational corporation corporation which has a substantial proportion of its sales, assets, and employees outside its house country. TNCs lived in the pre-World War I period, primarily in the extractive sector. In the post-World War II era several big manufacturing corporations in the US, Western Europe, and Japan became TNCs. The main TNCs are extremely international considered through the site of their activities. One study establish that the 100 main TNCs in the world had 40.4% of their assets abroad, 50.0% of output abroad, and 47.9% of employment abroad in 1996. While this shows that the main TNCs are significantly

international in their activities, all but a handful have retained a single national foundation for top officials and biggest stockholders. The top 200 TNCs ranked through output were estimated to produce only in relation to the 10 per cent of world GDP in 1995.

Through the secure of the twentieth century, capitalism had become significantly more globalized than it had been fifty years ago, and through some events it is much more globalized than it had been at the previous peak of this procedure in 1913. The mainly significant characteristics of globalization today are greatly increased international trade, increased flows of capital crossways national boundaries tall, and a biggest role for big TNCs in manufacturing, extractive activities, and fund, operating worldwide yet retaining in almost all cases a clear foundation in a single nation-state.

While the earlier wave of globalization before World War I did produce a capitalism that was significantly international, two characteristics of that earlier international organization differed from the current global capitalism in methods that are relevant here. First, the pre-world War I globalization took lay within a world carved up into a few great colonial empires, which meant that much of the therefore-described “cross-border” trade and investment of that earlier period actually occurred within a legroom controlled through a single state. Second, the high stage of world trade reached before World War I occurred within an organization based much more on specialization and division of labor. That is, manufactured goods were exported through the advanced capitalist countries in swap for primary products, unlike today when mainly trade is in manufactured goods. In 1913 62.5% of world trade was in primary products. Through contrast, in 1970 60.9% of world exports were manufactured goods, growing to 74.7% in 1994.

Some analysts argue that globalization has produced a world of such economic interdependence that individual nation-states no longer have the power to regulate capital. Though, while global interdependence does make difficulties for state regulation, this effect has been greatly exaggerated.

Nation-states still retain a good trade of potential power vis-à-vis capitalist firms, provided that the political will is present to exercise such power. For instance, even such a small country as Malaysia proved able to successfully impose capital controls following the Asian financial crisis of 1997, despite the opposition of the IMF and the US government. A state that has the political will to exercise some manages in excess of movements of goods and capital crossways its borders still retains important power to regulate business. The more significant effect of globalization has been on the political will to undertake state regulation, rather than on the technological feasibility of doing therefore. Globalization has had this effect through changing the competitive structure of capitalism. It seems that globalization in this era has made capitalism significantly more competitive, in many methods. First, the rapid development of trade has changed the situation faced through big corporations. In the US the rate of import penetration of domestic manufacturing markets was only 2 per cent in 1950; it rose to 8% in 1971 and 16% through 1993, an 8-fold augment since 1950.

Second, the rapid augment in foreign direct investment has in several cases placed TNCs' manufacture facilities in the house markets of their foreign rivals. Common Motors not only faces import competition from Toyota and Honda but has to compete with US-produced Toyota and Honda vehicles. Third, the increasingly integrated and open world financial organization has thrown the biggest banks and other financial organizations of the leading capitalist nations increasingly into competition with one another.

Globalization seems to be one factor that has transformed large business from a supporter to an opponent of the interventionist state. It has done therefore partly through producing TNCs whose tie to the domestic markets for goods and labor is limited. More importantly, globalization tends to turn large business into small business. The procedure of globalization has increased the competitive pressure faced through big corporations and banks, as competition has become a world-wide connection. Even if those who run

big corporations and financial organizations recognize require for a strong nation-state in their house foundation, the new competitive pressure they face shortens their time horizon. It pushes them toward support for any means to reduce their tax burden and lift their regulatory constraints, to free them to compete more effectively with their global rivals. While a regulationist state may look to be in the interests of large business, in that it can more effectively promote capital accumulation in the extensive run, in a highly competitive environment large business is drawn absent from supporting a regulationist state. Globalization has produced a world capitalism that bears some resemblance to the Robber Baron Period in the US. Giant corporations battle one another in an organization lacking well defined rules. Mergers and acquisitions abound, including some that cross national boundaries, but therefore distant few world industries have evolved the type of tight oligopolistic structure that would place the foundation for a more controlled form of market relations. Like the late 19 century US Robber Barons, today's big corporations and banks above all want freedom from political burdens and restraints as they confront one another in world markets.

The above interpretation of the rise and persistence of neoliberalism attributes it, at least in section, to the changed competitive structure of world capitalism resulting from the procedure of globalization. As neoliberalism gained power starting in the 1970s, it became a force propelling the globalization procedure further. One cause for stressing the row of causation running from globalization to neoliberalism is the time sequence of the growths. The procedure of globalization, which had been reversed to some extent through political and economic measures in the interwar era, resumed right after World War II, producing a significantly more globalized world economy and eroding the monopoly power of big corporations well before neoliberalism began its second coming in the mid 1970s. The rapid rise in merchandise exports began throughout the Bretton Woods era. Therefore too did the rising role for TNC's. These two characteristics of the current

globalization had their roots in the postwar period of state-regulated capitalism. This suggests that, to some extent, globalization reflects an extensive-run tendency in the capital accumulation procedure rather than presently being a result of the growing power of neoliberal policies. On the other hand, once neoliberalism became dominant, it accelerated the procedure of globalization. This can be seen mainly clearly in the data on cross-border flows of both real and financial capital, which began to grow rapidly only after the 1960s.

Other Factors Promoting Neoliberalism

The changed competitive structure of capitalism gives section of the account for the rise from the ashes of classical liberalism and its persistence in the face of widespread proof of its failure to deliver the goods. Though, three additional factors have played a role in promoting neoliberal dominance. These are the weakening of socialist movements in the industrialized capitalist countries, the demise of state socialism, and the extensive era that has elapsed since the last biggest capitalist economic crisis. There is legroom here for only some brief comments in relation to the additional factors.

The socialist movements in the industrialized capitalist countries have declined in strength significantly in excess of the past few decades. While Social Democratic parties have approach to office in many European countries recently, they no longer symbolize a threat of even important modification of capitalism, much less the specter of replacing capitalism with an alternative socialist organization. The regulationist state was always partly a response to the fear of socialism, a point illustrated through the emergence of the first biggest regulationist state of the period of mature capitalism in Germany in the late 19 century, in response to the world's first biggest socialist movement. As the threat coming from socialist movements in the industrialized capitalist countries has receded, therefore too has to stimulus to retain the regulationist state. The subsistence of a powerful bloc of Communist-run states with an

alternative “state socialist” socioeconomic organization tended to push capitalism toward a state regulationist form. It reinforced the fear in the middle of capitalists that their own working classes might turn against capitalism. It also had an impact on relations in the middle of the leading capitalist states, promoting inter-state unity behind US leadership, which facilitated the making and operation of a world-organization of state-regulated capitalism. The demise of state socialism throughout 1989-91 removed one more factor that had reinforced the regulationist state.

The occurrence of a biggest economic crisis tends to promote an interventionist state, since active state intervention is required to overcome a biggest crisis. The memory of a recent biggest crisis tends to stay up support for a regulationist state, which is correctly seen as a stabilizing force tending to head off biggest crises. As the Great Depression of the 1930s has receded into the far past, the belief has taken hold that biggest economic crises have been banished forever. This reduces the perceived require to retain the regulationist state.

SYSTEMS APPROACH

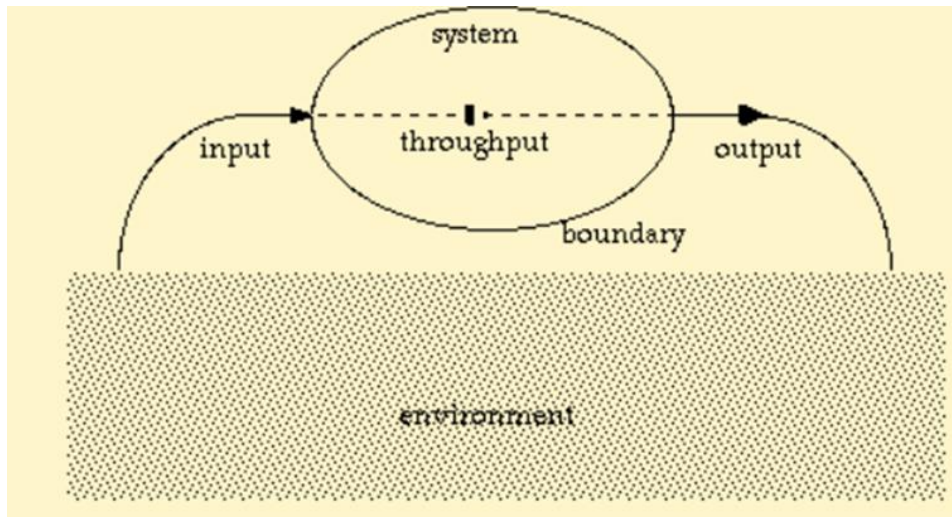
Introduction

The systems approach integrates the analytic and the synthetic method, encompassing both holism and reductionism. It was first proposed under the name of "Common Organization Theory" through the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy. von Bertalanffy noted that all systems studied through physicists are closed: they do not interact with the outside world. When a physicist creates a model of the solar organization, of an atom, or of a pendulum, he or she assumes that all masses, particles, forces that affect the organization are incorporated in the model. It is as if the rest of the universe does not exist.

This creates it possible to calculate future states with perfect accuracy, since all necessary information is recognized.

Though, as a biologist von Bertalanffy knew that such an assumption is basically impossible for mainly practical phenomena. Separate a livelihood organism from its surroundings and it will die shortly because of lack of oxygen, water and food. Organisms are open systems: they cannot survive without continuously exchanging matter and power with their environment. The peculiarity of open systems is that they interact with other systems outside of themselves. This interaction has two components: input, that what enters the organization from the outside, and output, that what leaves the organization for the environment. In order to speak in relation to the inside and the outside of an organization, we require being able to distinguish flanked by the organization itself and its environment. Organization and environment are in common separated through a frontier. For instance, for livelihood systems the skin plays the role of the frontier. The output of an organization is in common a direct or indirect result from the input. What comes out, requires to have gotten in first. Though, the output is in common quite dissimilar from the input: the organization is not presently a passive tube, but an active processor. For instance, the food, drink and oxygen we take in, leave our body as urine, excrements and carbon dioxide. The transformation of input into output through the organization is generally described throughput. This has given us all the vital components of an organization as it is understood in systems theory (See fig 1.1).

Fig 1.1 A System in Interaction with its Environment.

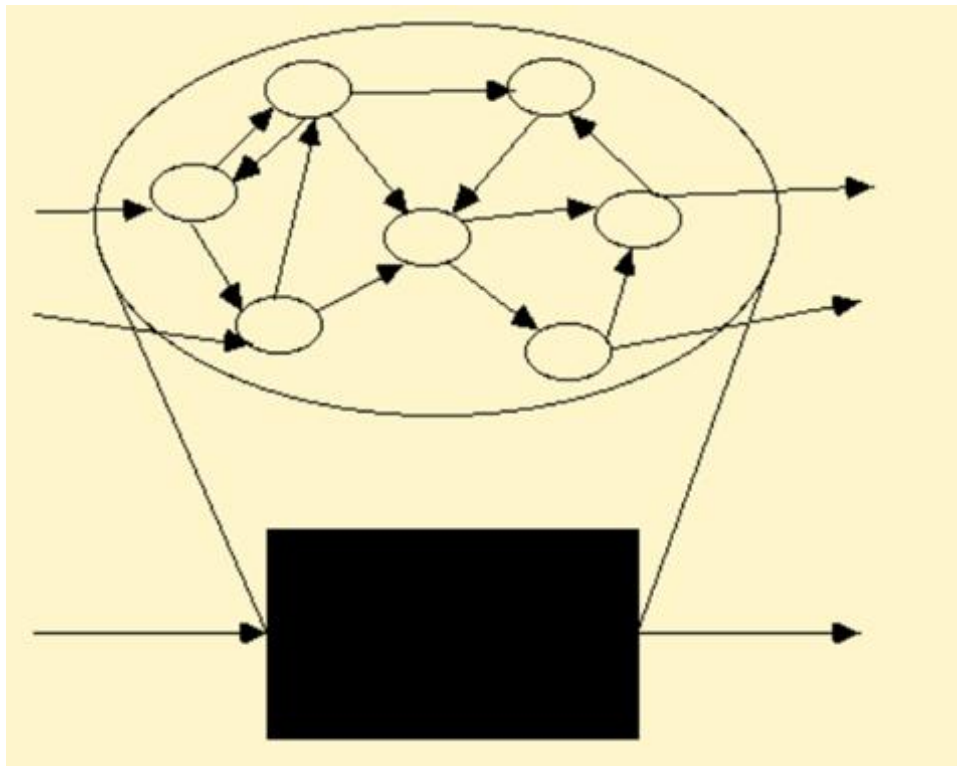


When we seem more closely at the environment of an organization, we see that it too consists of systems interacting with their environments. For instance, the environment of a person is full of other persons. If we now believe a collection of such systems which interact with each other, that collection could again be seen as an organization. For instance, a group of interacting people may form a family, a firm, or a municipality. The mutual interactions of the component systems in a method "glue" these components jointly into an entire. If these sections did not interact, the entire would not be more than the sum of its components. But because they interact, something more is added. With respect to the entire the sections are seen as subsystems. With respect to the sections, the entire is seen as a super system.

If we seem at the super system as an entire, we don't require being aware of all its sections. We can again presently seem at its total input and total output without worrying which section of the input goes to which subsystem. For instance, if we believe a municipality, we can measure the total amount of fuel consumed in that municipality, and the total amount of pollution generated, without knowing which person was responsible for which section of the pollution. This point of view considers the organization as a "black box", something that takes in input, and produces output, without us being able to see what happens in flanked by. internal procedures, we might

call it a "white box". Although the black box view may not be totally satisfying, in several cases this is the best we can get. For instance, for several procedures in the body we basically do not know how they happen. Doctors may observe that if they provide a patient a scrupulous medicine, the patient will react in a sure method, e.g. through producing more urine. Though, in mainly cases they have little thought in relation to the scrupulous mechanisms which lead from the reason to the effect. Obviously, the medicine triggers an intricate chain of interconnected reactions, involving dissimilar organs and sections of the body, but the only item that can be clearly recognized is the final result (See Fig. 1.2).

Fig 1.2 A System as a "White Box", Containing a Collection of Interacting Subsystems, and as a "Black Box", without Observable Components.



The black box view is not restricted to situations where we don't know what happens inside the organization. In several cases, we can easily see what happens in the organization, yet we prefer to ignore these internal details. For instance, when we model a municipality as a pollution producing organization, it does not matter which scrupulous chimney produced a scrupulous plume of smoke. It is enough to know the total amount of fuel that enters the municipality to estimate the total amount of carbon dioxide and other gases produced. The "black box" view of the municipality will be much simpler and easier to use for the calculation of overall pollution stages than the more detailed "white box" view, where we trace the movement of every fuel tank to every scrupulous structure in the municipality.

These two complementary views, "black" and "white", of the similar organization show a common principle: systems are structured hierarchically. They consist of dissimilar stages. At the higher stage, you get a more abstract, encompassing view of the entire, without attention to the details of the components or sections. At the lower stage, you see a multitude of interacting sections but without understanding how they are organized to form an entire. Just as to the analytic approach, that low stage view is all you require. If you know the precise state of all the organs and cells in the body, you should be able to understand how that body functions. Classical medicine is based on this reductionist view. Dissimilar alternative approaches to medicine have argued that such a view misses out the mainly significant item: the body is an entire. The state of your mind affects the state of your stomach which in turn affects the state of your mind. These interactions are not easy, linear reason and effect relations, but intricate networks of interdependencies, which can only be understood through their general purpose: maintaining the organism in good health. This "general purpose" functions at the stage of the entire. It is meaningless at the stage of an individual organ or cell.

One method to understand this is the thought of "downward causation". The laws governing the sections determine or reason the behavior of the

entire. This is "upward causation": from the lowest stage to the higher ones. In emergent systems, though, the laws governing the entire also constrain or "reason" the behavior of the sections.

This reasoning can be applied to mainly of the things that surround us. Although the behavior of a transistor in a computer chip is governed through the laws of quantum mechanics, the scrupulous arrangement of the transistors in the chip can only be understood by the principles of computer science. The structure of the DNA molecule, which codes our genetic information, is determined through the laws of chemistry. Yet, the coding rules themselves, specifying which DNA "triplet" stands for which amino acid, don't derive from chemistry. They constitute a law of biology. Each stage in the hierarchy of systems and subsystems has its own laws, which cannot be derived from the laws of the lower stage. Each law identifies a scrupulous kind of organization at its stage, which "downwardly" determines the arrangement of the subsystems or components at the stage below. When we say that the entire is more than the sum of its sections, the "more" refers to the higher stage laws, which create the sections function in a method that does not follow from the lower stage laws.

Although each stage in a hierarchy has its own laws, these laws are often same. The similar kind of organization can be established in systems belonging to dissimilar stages. For instance, all open systems necessarily have a frontier, an input, an output and a throughput function. The cells in our body require food and power in the similar method that the body as an entire requires food and power, even however the cells receive these substances in a dissimilar form. The material is dissimilar, but the function is the similar: to allow the cell or organism to grow, repair it, and react to adverse effects. Same functions can be seen at the stage of community, which also requires an input of "food" real produces and power, which it uses for self-repair and development. Closed systems at dissimilar stages have several characteristics in general as well. The binding forces which hold jointly the planets in the

solar organization, the atoms in a molecule, or the electrons in an atom, although physically dissimilar, have an extremely same function. The embeddings of systems in super system holds for all kinds of systems: societies consist of people which consist of organs, which consist of cells, which consist of organelles, which consist of macromolecules, which consist of molecules, which consist of atoms, which consist of nucleons, which consist of quarks.

Therefore we discover same structures and functions for dissimilar systems, self-governing of the scrupulous domain in which the organization exists. Common Systems Theory is based on the assumption that there are universal principles of organization, which hold for all systems, be they physical, chemical, biological, mental or social. The mechanistic world view seeks universality through reducing everything to its material constituents. The systemic world view, on the contrary, seeks universality through ignoring the concrete material out of which systems are made, therefore that their abstract organization comes into focus.

Systems Analysis

Systems analysis is the study of sets of interacting entities, including computer systems analysis. This field is closely related to necessities analysis or operations research. It is also "an explicit formal inquiry accepted out to help someone identify a bigger course of action and create a bigger decision than he might otherwise have made."

The conditions analysis and synthesis approach from Greek where they mean respectively "to take separately" and "to put jointly". These conditions are used in scientific disciplines from mathematics and logic to economics and psychology to denote same investigative procedures. Analysis is defined as the procedure through which we break down an intellectual or substantial entire into sections. Synthesis is defined as the procedure through which we combine separate elements or components in order to form a coherent entire. Systems

analysis researchers apply methodology to the analysis of systems involved to form an overall picture. Organization analysis is used in every field where there is a work of developing something. Analysis can also be defined as a series of components that perform organic function jointly.

Information Technology

The growth of a computer-based information organization comprises a systems analysis stage which produces or enhances the data model which itself is a precursor to creating or enhancing a database. There are a number of dissimilar approaches to organization analysis. When a computer-based information organization is urbanized, systems analysis would constitute the following steps:

- The growth of a feasibility study, involving determining whether a project is economically, socially, technologically and organizationally feasible.

- Conducting information-finding events, intended to ascertain the necessities of the organization's end-users. These typically span interviews, questionnaires, or visual observations of work on the existing organization.

- Gauging how the end-users would operate the organization computer hardware or software, what the organization would be used for and therefore on

Another view outlines a phased approach to the procedure. This approach breaks systems analysis into 5 phases:

- Scope Definition
- Problem analysis
- Necessities analysis
- Logical design
- Decision analysis

Use cases are a widely-used systems analysis modeling tool for identifying and expressing the functional necessities of an organization. Each use case is a business scenario or event for which the organization necessity gives a defined response. Use cases evolved out of substance-oriented

analysis; though, their use as a modeling tool has become general in several other methodologies for organization analysis and design.

Practitioners

Practitioners of systems analysis are often described up to dissect systems that have grown haphazardly to determine the current components of the organization. This was shown throughout the year 2000 re-engineering attempt as business and manufacturing procedures were examined as section of the Y2K automation upgrades. Employment utilizing systems analysis contains systems analyst, business analyst, manufacturing engineer, enterprise architect, etc.

While practitioners of systems analysis can be described upon to make new systems, they often vary, expand or document existing systems. A set of components interact with each other to accomplish some specific purpose. Systems are all approximately us. Our body is itself an organization. A business is also an organization. People, money, machine, market and material are the components of business organization that work jointly that achieve the general goal of the organization.

Systems Theory: An Evaluation

Systems theory is the interdisciplinary study of systems in common, with the goal of elucidating principles that can be applied to all kinds of systems at all nesting stages in all meadows of research. The term does not yet have a well-recognized, precise meaning, but systems theory can reasonably be measured a specialization of systems thinking, a generalization of systems science, and a systems approach. The term originates from Bertalanffy's common organization theory meadows, such as the action theory of Talcott Parsons and the social systems theory of Niklas Luhmann.

In this context the word *systems* is used to refer specifically to self-regulating systems, i.e., that are self-correcting by feedback. Self-regulating

systems are established in nature, including the physiological systems of our body, in regional and global ecosystems, and in climate—and in human studying procedures.

Modern ideas from systems theory have grown with diversified regions, exemplified through the work of biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy, linguist Béla H. Bánáthy, ecological systems with Howard T. Odum, Eugene Odum and Fritjof Capra, organizational theory and management with individuals such as Peter Senge, interdisciplinary study with regions like Human Resource Growth from the work of Richard A. Swanson, and insights from educators such as Debora Hammond and Alfonso Montuori. As a transdisciplinary, interdisciplinary and multi-perspective domain, the region brings jointly principles and concepts from ontology, philosophy of science, physics, computer science, biology, and engineering as well as geography, sociology, political science, psychotherapy and economics in the middle of others. Systems theory therefore serves as a bridge for interdisciplinary dialogue flanked by autonomous regions of study as well as within the region of systems science itself.

In this respect, with the possibility of misinterpretations, von Bertalanffy whispered a common theory of systems "should be a significant regulative device in science," to guard against superficial analogies that "are useless in science and harmful in their practical consequences." Others remain closer to the direct systems concepts urbanized through the original theorists. For instance, Ilya Prigogine, of the Center for Intricate Quantum Systems at the University of Texas, Austin, has studied emergent properties, suggesting that they offer analogues for livelihood systems. The theories of autopsies of Francisco Varela and Humberto Maturana are a further growth in this field. Significant names in modern systems science contain Russell Ackoff, Béla H. Bánáthy, Anthony Stafford Beer, Peter Checkland, Robert L. Flood, Fritjof Capra, Michael C. Jackson, Edgar Morin and Werner Ulrich, in the middle of others.

With the contemporary foundations for a common theory of systems following the World Wars, Ervin Laszlo, in the preface for Bertalanffy's book *Perspectives on Common Organization Theory*, maintains that the translation of "common organization theory" from German into English has "wrought a sure amount of havoc". The preface explains that the original concept of a common organization theory was "*Allgemeine Systemtheorie*", pointing out the information that "Theorie" presently as "Wissenschaft", "has a much broader meaning in German than the closest English languages 'theory' and 'science'". With these ideas referring to an organized body of knowledge and "any systematically presented set of concepts, whether they are empirical, axiomatic, or philosophical, "Lehre" is associated with theory and science in the etymology of common systems, but also does not translate from the German extremely well; "teaching" is the "closest equivalent", but "sounds dogmatic and off the spot". While several of the root meanings for the thought of a "common systems theory" might have been lost in the translation and several were led to consider that the systems theorists had articulated nothing but a pseudoscience, systems theory became the name used through early investigators for the interdependence of relationships created in institutions through defining a new method of thinking in relation to the science and scientific paradigms.

An organization from this frame of reference is collected of frequently interacting or interrelating groups of activities. For instance, in noting the power in organizational psychology as the field evolved from "an individually oriented industrial psychology to a systems and developmentally oriented organizational psychology," it was established that institutions are intricate social systems; reducing the sections from the entire reduces the overall effectiveness of institutions. This is dissimilar from conventional models that center on individuals, structures, departments and units separate in section from the entire instead of recognizing the interdependence flanked by groups of individuals, structures and procedures that enable an organization to

function. Laszlo explains that the new systems view of organized complexity went "one step beyond the Newtonian view of organized simplicity" in reducing the sections from the entire, or in understanding the entire without relation to the sections. The connection flanked by institutions and their environments became established as the foremost source of complexity and interdependence. In mainly cases the entire has properties that cannot be recognized from analysis of the constituent elements in separation. Béla H. Bánáthy, who argued—beside with the founders of the systems community—that "the benefit of humankind" is the purpose of science, has made important and distant-reaching contributions to the region of systems theory. For the Primer Group at ISSS, Bánáthy defines a perspective that iterates this view:

The systems view is a world-view that is based on the discipline of ORGANIZATION INQUIRY. Central to systems inquiry is the concept of ORGANIZATION. In the mainly common sense, organization means a configuration of sections linked and joined jointly through a web of relationships. The Primer group defines organization as a family of relationships in the middle of the members acting as an entire. Von Bertalanffy defined organization as "elements in standing connection".

Same ideas are establish in studying theories that urbanized from the similar fundamental concepts, emphasizing how understanding results from knowing concepts both in section and as an entire. In information, Bertalanffy's organism psychology paralleled the studying theory of Jean Piaget. Interdisciplinary perspectives are critical in breaking absent from industrial age models and thinking where history is history and math is math, the arts and sciences dedicated and separate, and where teaching is treated as behaviorist conditioning. The influential modern work of Peter Senge gives detailed discussion of the commonplace critique of educational systems grounded in conventional assumptions in relation to the learning, including the troubles with fragmented knowledge and lack of holistic studying from the "machine-age thinking" that became a "model of school separated from daily life." It is in this method that systems theorists attempted to give alternatives

and an evolved ideation from orthodox theories with individuals such as Max Weber, Émile Durkheim in sociology and Frederick Winslow Taylor in scientific management, which were grounded in classical assumptions. The theorists sought holistic ways through developing systems concepts that could be integrated with dissimilar regions.

The contradiction of reductionism in conventional theory is basically an instance of changing assumptions. The emphasis with systems theory shifts from sections to the organization of sections, recognizing interactions of the sections are not "static" and consistent but "dynamic" procedures. Conventional closed systems were questioned with the growth of open systems perspectives. The shift was from absolute and universal authoritative principles and knowledge to comparative and common conceptual and perceptual knowledge, still in the custom of theorists that sought to give means in organizing human life. Meaning, the history of ideas that proceeded was rethought not lost. Mechanistic thinking was particularly critiqued, especially the industrial-age mechanistic metaphor of the mind from interpretations of Newtonian mechanics through Enlightenment philosophers and later psychologists that laid the foundations of contemporary organizational theory and management through the late 19th century. Classical science had not been overthrown, but questions arose in excess of core assumptions that historically convinced organized systems, within both social and technological sciences.

Applications

- *Systems Biology*

Systems biology is a movement that draws on many trends in bioscience research. Proponents define systems biology as a biology-based inter-disciplinary study field that focuses on intricate interactions in biological systems, claiming that it uses a new perspective. Particularly from year 2000 onwards, the term is used widely in the biosciences, and in a diversity of

contexts. An often stated ambition of systems biology is the modeling and detection of emergent properties, properties of an organization whose theoretical account is only possible by techniques that fall under the remit of systems biology. The term systems biology is idea to have been created through Ludwig von Bertalanffy in 1928.

- *Systems Engineering*

Systems engineering is an interdisciplinary approach and means for enabling the realization and deployment of successful systems. It can be viewed as the application of engineering techniques to the engineering of systems, as well as the application of a systems approach to engineering efforts. Systems engineering integrates other disciplines and specialty groups into a team attempt, forming a structured growth procedure that proceeds from concept to manufacture to operation and disposal. Systems engineering considers both the business and the technological requires of all customers, with the goal of providing an excellence product that meets the user requires.

- *Systems Psychology*

Systems psychology is a branch of psychology that studies human behavior and experience in intricate systems. It is inspired through systems theory and systems thinking, and based on the theoretical work of Roger Barker, Gregory Bateson, Humberto Maturana and others. It is an approach in psychology, in which groups and individuals, are measured as systems in homeostasis. Systems psychology "comprises the domain of engineering psychology, but in addition is more concerned with societal systems and with the study of motivational, affective, cognitive and group behavior than is engineering psychology." In systems psychology "aspects of organizational behavior for instance individual requires, rewards, expectations, and attributes of the people interacting with the systems are measured in the procedure in order to make an effective organization".

History

Whether considering the first systems of written communication with Sumerian cuneiform to Mayan numerals, or the feats of engineering with the Egyptian pyramids, systems thinking in essence dates back to antiquity. Differentiated from Western rationalist traditions of philosophy, C. West Churchman often recognized with the I Ching as a systems approach distribution a frame of reference same to pre-Socratic philosophy and Heraclitus. Von Bertalanffy traced systems concepts to the philosophy of G.W. Leibniz and Nicholas of Cusa's *coincidentia oppositorum*. While contemporary systems are substantially more complicated, today's systems are embedded in history.

A significant step to introduce the *systems approach*, into difficult sciences of the 19th century, was the power transformation, through figures like James Joule and Sadi Carnot. Then, the Thermodynamic of this century, with Rudolf Clausius, Josiah Gibbs and others, built the *organization* reference model, as a formal scientific substance.

Systems theory as an region of study specifically urbanized following the World Wars from the work of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth E. Boulding, William Ross Ashby, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, C. West Churchman and others in the 1950s, specifically catalyzed through the cooperation in the Community for Common Systems Research. Cognizant of advances in science that questioned classical assumptions in the organizational sciences, Bertalanffy's thought to develop a theory of systems began as early as the interwar era, publishing "An Outline for Common Systems Theory" in the *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, through 1950. Where assumptions in Western science from Greek idea with Plato and Aristotle to Newton's *Principia* have historically convinced all regions from the difficult to social sciences, the original theorists explored the implications of twentieth century advances in conditions of systems.

Subjects like complexity, self-organization, connectionism and adaptive systems had already been studied in the 1940s and 1950s. In meadows like cybernetics, researchers like Norbert Wiener, William Ross Ashby, John von Neumann and Heinz von Foerster examined intricate systems by mathematics. John von Neumann exposed cellular automata and self-reproducing systems, again with only pencil and paper. Aleksandr Lyapunov and Jules Henri Poincaré worked on the foundations of chaos theory without any computer at all. At the similar time Howard T. Odum, the radiation ecologist, recognized that the study of common systems required a language that could depict energetic, thermodynamic and kinetics at any organization level. Odum urbanized common systems, or Universal language, based on the route language of electronics to fulfill this role, recognized as the Power Systems Language. Flanked by 1929-1951, Robert Maynard Hutchins at the University of Chicago had undertaken efforts to encourage innovation and interdisciplinary research in the social sciences, aided through the Ford Basis with the interdisciplinary Division of the Social Sciences recognized in 1931. Numerous scholars had been actively occupied in ideas before but in 1937 von Bertalanffy presented the common theory of systems for a conference at the University of Chicago.

The systems view was based on many fundamental ideas. First, all phenomena can be viewed as a web of relationships in the middle of elements, or an organization. Second, all systems, whether electrical, biological, or social, have general patterns, behaviors, and properties that can be understood and used to develop greater insight into the behavior of intricate phenomena and to move closer toward a unity of science. Organization philosophy, methodology and application are complementary to this science. Through 1956, the Community for Common Systems Research was recognized, renamed the International Community for Systems Science in 1988. The Cold War affected the research project for systems theory in methods that sorely disappointed several of the seminal theorists. Some began to recognize

theories defined in association with systems theory had deviated from the initial *Common Systems Theory* (GST) view. The economist Kenneth Boulding, an early researcher in systems theory, had concerns in excess of the manipulation of systems concepts. Boulding concluded from the effects of the Cold War that abuses of power always prove consequential and that systems theory might address such issues. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a renewed interest in systems theory with efforts to strengthen an ethical view.

Growths

- *Common Systems Research and Systems Inquiry*

Several early systems theorists aimed at finding a common systems theory that could explain all systems in all meadows of science. The term goes back to Bertalanffy's book titled "*Common Organization theory: Foundations, Growth, Applications*" from 1968. He urbanized the "allgemeine Systemlehre" first via lectures beginning in 1937 and then via publications beginning in 1946.

Von Bertalanffy's objective was to bring jointly less than one heading the organismic science that he had observed in his work as a biologist. His desire was to use the word *organization* for those principles that are general to systems in common. In GST, he writes:

...there exist models, principles, and laws that apply to generalized systems or their subclasses, irrespective of their scrupulous type, the nature of their component elements, and the relationships or "forces" flanked by them. It looks legitimate to inquire for a theory, not of systems of a more or less special type, but of universal principles applying to systems in common.

Ervin Laszlo in the preface of von Bertalanffy's book *Perspectives on Common Organization Theory*:

Therefore when von Bertalanffy spoke of Allgemeine Systemtheorie it was constant with his view that he was proposing a new perspective, a new

method of doing science. It was not directly constant with an interpretation often put on "common organization theory", to wit, that it is a "theory of common systems." To criticize it as such is to shoot at straw men. Von Bertalanffy opened up something much broader and of much greater significance than a single theory and has generally an ephemeral subsistence: he created a new paradigm for the growth of theories.

- *Cybernetics*

Cybernetics is the study of feedback and derived concepts such as communication and manages in livelihood organisms, machines, and organizations. Its focus is how anything procedures information, reacts to information, and changes or can be changed to bigger accomplish the first two tasks.

The conditions "systems theory" and "cybernetics" have been widely used as synonyms. Some authors use the term *cybernetic* systems to denote a proper subset of the class of common systems, namely those systems that contain feedback loops. Just as to Jackson, von Bertalanffy promoted an embryonic form of common organization theory it was not until the early 1950s it became more widely recognized in scientific circles.

Cybernetics arose more from engineering meadows and GST from biology. If anything it seems that although the two almost certainly mutually convinced each other, cybernetics had the greater power. Von Bertalanffy specifically creates the point of distinguishing flanked by the regions in noting the power of cybernetics: "Systems theory is regularly recognized with cybernetics and manages theory. This again is incorrect. Cybernetics as the theory of manage mechanisms in technology and nature is founded on the concepts of information and feedback, but as section of a common theory of systems;" then reiterates: "the model is of wide application but should not be recognized with 'systems theory' in common", and that "warning is necessary against its incautious expansion to meadows for which its concepts are not made.". Jackson also claims von Bertalanffy was informed through Alexander Bogdanov's three volumes *Tectology* that was published in Russia flanked by

1912 and 1917, and was translated into German in 1928. He also states it is clear to Gorelik that the "conceptual section" of common organization theory. The same location is held through Mattessich and Capra. Ludwig von Bertalanffy never even mentioned Bogdanov in his works, which Capra discovers "surprising".

Cybernetics, catastrophe theory, chaos theory and complexity theory have the general goal to explain intricate systems that consist of a big number of mutually interacting and interrelated sections in conditions of those interactions. Cellular automata, *artificial intelligence* (AI), and artificial life are related meadows, but they do not attempt to define common intricate systems. The best context to compare the dissimilar "C"-Theories in relation to the complex systems is historical, which emphasizes dissimilar apparatus and methodologies, from pure mathematics in the beginning to pure computer science now. Since the beginning of chaos theory when Edward Lorenz accidentally exposed an unknown attractor with his computer, computers have become an indispensable source of information. One could not imagine the study of intricate systems without the use of computers today.

- *Intricate Adaptive Systems*

Intricate adaptive systems are special cases of intricate systems. They are *intricate* in that they are diverse and collected of multiple, interconnected elements; they are *adaptive* in that they have the capability to transform and learn from experience. The term *intricate adaptive organization* was coined at the interdisciplinary Santa Fe Institute (SFI), through John H. Holland, Murray Gell-Mann and others. An alternative conception of intricate adaptive systems, methodologically at the interface flanked by natural and social science, has been presented through Kristo Ivanov in conditions of hyper systems. This concept intends to offer a theoretical foundation for understanding and implementing participation of "users", decisions makers, designers and affected actors, in the growth or maintenance of self-studying systems.

- *Biomatrix Systems Theory*

Throughout the 1990s, an interdisciplinary team of PhD students at the University of Cape City, South Africa, integrated the key concepts of the systems and related meadows, jointly with their unique theoretical contributions, into a coherent meta-theory described Biomatrix systems theory. The theory is also unique in having a graphic alphabet with which it can be explained visually.

INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The study of organizations has an extensive history beginning possibly with the philosophical explorations of the ideal state in Plato's *Republic*. In the section, which follows we shall effort an overview of the manner in which the institutional approach has evolved historically. We shall also, because we are primarily concerned with learning the approach within the field of comparative political analysis, concern ourselves especially with the historical moment at which the institutional approach assumed a comparative character. We may, though, as a matter of introduction, define here feature characteristics of the institutional approach which differentiate it from other approaches viz., the political systems approach, the political economy approach etc.

If the characteristics of the institutional approach were measured against each of these three counts, it may be seen as marked out through s of government and the nature of sharing of power, viz., constitutions, legal-formal organizations of government speculative and prescriptive/ normative vocabulary, in therefore distant as it has historically shown a preoccupation with abstract conditions and circumstances like 'the ideal state' and 'good order' perspective.

A catachrestic characteristic of this approach has also been its *ethnocentrism*. The biggest works which are seen as on behalf of the institutional, approach in comparative politics, have concerned themselves

only with governments and organizations in western countries. Implicit in this approach is therefore a belief in the primacy of western liberal democratic organizations. This belief not only sees western liberal democracy as the best form of government, it provides it also a 'universal' and 'normative' character. The 'universal' character of western liberal democracy, assumes that this form of government is 'not only the best, it is also universally applicable. The 'normativity' of western liberal democracies follows from this assumption. If it is the best form of governance which are also universally applicable, liberal democracies is the form of government which should be adopted everywhere. This prescribed norm i.e. liberal democracy, though, also gave scope to a significant exception. This exception unfolded in the practices of rule in the colonies and in the implications were specifically western in their origin and contexts and, it for democratic self-rule until such time as they could be trained for the similar under western imperialist rule.

The Institutional Approach: A Historical Overview

Possibly the oldest comparative study of governments was made through Aristotle who studied constitutions and practices in Greek municipality-states. Contrasting them with politics in the therefore described 'barbarian' states, Aristotle made a typology of governments distinguishing flanked by monarchies, oligarchies and democracy and flanked by these 'ideal' governments and their 'perverted' shapes. The study of comparative politics at this level was marked through what may be described an interrelation flanked by facts and values. At this level of its origins, a study of organizations did not effort to 'examine' the 'theory and practice' of government as accentuated through James Bryce in the late nineteenth century, to which as suggested, approach later in the course of this section. There was instead an overwhelming desire to explore 'ideal' states and shapes of governments. In other languages there was more emphasis on speculations i.e., on questions in

relation to the what 'ought' to be, rather than an analysis seeking explanations of what 'is' or what actually lived.

With Machiavelli in the sixteenth century and Montesquieu in the transitional of the eighteenth century, the emphasis on empirical details and facts in relation to the existing state of affairs came to be recognized. Montesquieu was, though, followed largely through constitutional lawyers, whose vocation determined that they concentrate more on the contents i.e., the theoretical framework of governments rather than the manner in which these frameworks unfolded in practice. Tocqueville, in several methods, was the forbearer of the study of 'theory and practice' of governments, which became the essence of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis in later years. Bagehot made another important contribution to the - growth of this element of the institutional approach in his study of the British Cabinet drawing significant points of comparison with the American Executive. It was, though, Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, who in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, made significant contributions to comparative study of organizations and through implication to the development of comparative governments as a separate branch of study.

The Institutional Approach and the Emergence of Comparative Government

- *The Contributions of Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski*

Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski's works towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century changed radically the contents of the institutional approach and thereby the nature and scope of comparative politics. Assessing their contributions Jean Blondel asserts that Bryce and Lowell were in information the true founders of comparative governments. The *American Commonwealth* and *Contemporary Democracies* were two important works of Bryce. In *Contemporary Democracies* Bryce

focuses on the *theory* of democracy and examined the working of the legislatures and their decline. Lowell's works *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* and *Public Opinion and Popular Government* where he undertakes separate studies of France, Germany, Switzerland etc. and a comparative study of referendums and its impacts respectively were equally significant. Likewise, Ostrogorski's study *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* which aimed to test the hypothesis, therefore to speak, of the 'democratic' or 'oligarchical' character of political parties was a pioneering work of the time. It is significant now to see exactly how these works augmented and in information changed the manner in which organizations were therefore distant being studied.

Theory and Practice of Governments

We mentioned that comparative study of governments tended to be philosophical speculative or mainly legal-constitutional i.e., they were either concerned with abstract notions like the 'ideal state', or with facts concerning the legal constitutional frameworks and structures of governments. Based on liberal constitutional theory they studied the formal institutional structures with emphasis on their legal powers and functions. The works shaped section of studies on 'Comparative Government' or 'Foreign Constitutions'. These works were seen to be relevant to the elites' efforts in institutional-structure in several countries. This is why in the newly self-governing countries institutionalism acquired some fascination.

Bryce and Lowell, though, accentuated that the existing studies were incomplete and partial. Such a study, they stressed, required not only a study of the theoretical bases or contexts of governments and governmental organizations but also an equal emphasis on the study of 'practices of government'. To focus presently on constitutions, as lawyers do, was insufficient as it would lead to ignoring the troubles of their operation and

implementation. On the other hand to focus exclusively on practice, without grounding it in its theoretical framework, would again be a partial study, as one may lose sight of the contexts within which the troubles of implementation emerge. It was therefore, primarily with Bryce and Lowell that the content of institutional approach in comparative political analysis came to be defined as a study of the 'theory and practice of government'.

Focus on 'Facts'

An important component of these studies was the concern to study 'practice' by an analysis of 'facts' in relation to the working of governments. To study practice one needed to find, collect and even 'amass' facts. Bryce was emphatic in his advocacy to foundation one's analysis on facts, without which, he said, 'data is mere speculation': 'facts, facts, facts, when facts have been supplied each of us tries to cause from them'. A biggest difficulty though, which collection of data concerning practices of governments encountered was the tendency in the middle of governments to hide facts than to reveal them. Facts were therefore hard to acquire because governments and politicians often hid facts or were unwilling to clarify what the real situation is. Nonetheless, this difficulty did not deter them from stressing the importance of collecting data in relation to the almost every aspect of political life, parties, executives, referendums, legislatures etc.

Technique

The search for facts also led Bryce and Lowell towards the use of quantitative indicators, on the foundation of the realization that in the study of government, qualitative and quantitative kinds of proof have to be balanced. Finally, though, Bryce and Lowell felt that conclusions could be firm only if they were based on as wide a range of facts as possible. So, their studies extended geographically to a big number of countries which, at the time, had organizations of a constitutional or close to constitutional character. It was,

though, with Ostrogorski's work that comparative political analysis began to focus on learning specific organizations on a comparative foundation. In 1902, Ostrogorski published a detailed study of political parties in Britain and America. Later, important works on the role of political parties was done through Michels and M. Duverger

Biggest criticisms of the institutional approach came in the 1950s from 'organization theorists' like Easton and Macridis who accentuated the structure of overarching models having a common/global application. They attempted to understand and explain political procedures in dissimilar countries on the foundation of these models.

Institutional Approach: A Critical Evaluation

It is motivating that criticisms of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis have approached in successive waves, in the early section of the twentieth century and then again in the nineteen fifties. There has been after each wave of criticism a resurgence of the approach in a replenished form. Before the study of organizations acquired a comparative character at the turn of the century, the approach was criticized, as mainly prescriptive and normative; regularities without looking for relationships; by which did on individual countries; stern European 'democracies'; structure; contributors within this framework were therefore absorbed with the study of organizations that differences in cultural settings and ideological frameworks were totally ignored while comparing, say, the upper chambers of the UK, USA and USSR; being incomplete/partial and theoretically, it was said they missed the substance of political life.

We saw, though, that with Bryce and his contemporaries the nature and content of the institutional approach underwent an important transform, acquiring in a limited method a comparative character, and attempting to

combine theoretical contexts with practices of governments. In the nineteen fifties the institutional approach as it urbanized with Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, came again under rising criticism through political scientists like David Easton and Roy Macridis. In his work *The Political Organization*, David Easton made a strong attack against Bryce's approach calling it 'mere factualism'. This approach, alleged Easton, had convinced American Political Science, in the direction of what he described 'hyper factualism'. While admitting that Bryce did not neglect 'theories', the latter's aversion to creation explanatory or theoretical models, had led, asserted Easton, to a 'surfeit of facts' and consequently to 'a theoretical malnutrition'. stem structure' as the foundation of Easton's 'systems approach' to learning political phenomena. It will not, so, be hard to understand why Easton felt that Bryce's approach had misdirected American Political Science onto a wrong path. Jean Blondel, though, defends the institutional approach from criticisms like those of Easton, directed towards its therefore described 'factualism'. Blondel would argue first that the charge of 'surfeit of facts' was misplaced because there were in information extremely few facts accessible to political scientists for a comprehensive political analysis. In reality extremely little was recognized in relation to the structures and activities of biggest organizations of mainly countries, particularly in relation to the communist countries and countries of the therefore described Third World. The need for collecting more facts therefore could not be neglected. This became all the more significant given the information that more often than not governments tended to hide facts rather than transmit them.

Secondly, the devaluation of the utility of facts concerning organizations and legal arrangements, through the supporters of a more global or systemic approach was, to Blondel, entirely misconstrued. Organizations and the legal framework within which they functioned shaped an important section of the whole framework in which a political phenomenon could be studied. Facts in relation to the former therefore had to be compared to facts in

relation to the other characteristics of the political life to avoid an incomplete study. Facts were, in any case needed for any effective analysis. No reasoning could be done without having 'facts' or 'data'. This coupled with the point that facts were hard to acquire made them integral to the study of political analysis.

In 1955 Roy Macridis pointed out require for a 'reorientation' in the comparative study of government. He accentuated that in its existing form comparative study has been 'comparative in name only'. Macridis called the orientation of institutional approach as 'non-comparative', 'parochial', 'static' and 'monographic'. A good proportion of work was moreover, he asserted, 'essentially descriptive'. This was because the analysis was historical or legalistic and so 'rather narrow'.

It was though, realized in the 1950s, and sustained to be the concern, that there remained actually a paucity of information from which valid generalizations could be made. There was therefore, asserts Blondel, a 'surfeit of models' rather than a 'surfeit of facts'. Blondel accentuated that structure models without grounding them in facts would result in misinformation. This misinformation, given that facts in relation to the some countries were harder to approach through, was likely to affect and at times reinforce preconceptions in relation to the countries. Therefore while script in relation to the Latin American Legislatures in 1971, W. H. Agor remarked that there was a tendency to assert that legislatures in that section of the world were extremely weak. Statements such as these, he said, were based on 'very impressionistic proof ' that is, in the absence of 'facts' consciously composed for the purposes of the study. Therefore the need for collecting and devising methods of collecting facts was stressed emphatically through followers of the institutional approach. The criticisms were, though, followed through works which had a more comparative focus and incorporated non-western countries. Further, there was also an effort to undertake studies comparing structures not

determined through legal-constitutional frameworks e.g. G. Sartori's work on Parties and Party Systems which incorporated in its scope in a limited method Communist countries and those of the Third World, and F.Castles' study of Pressure Groups and Political Civilization.

COMPARATIVE METHOD AND STRATEGIES OF COMPARISON

Comparative Method

In linguistics, the comparative method is a technique for learning the growth of languages through performing a characteristic-through-characteristic comparison of two or more languages with general descent from a shared ancestor, as opposed to the method of internal reconstruction, which analyzes the internal growth of a single language in excess of time. Ordinarily both ways are used jointly to reconstruct prehistoric phases of languages, to fill in gaps in the historical record of a language, to find the growth of phonological, morphological, and other linguistic systems, and to confirm or refute hypothesized relationships flanked by languages.

The comparative method was urbanized in excess of the 19th century. Key contributions were made through the Danish scholars Rasmus Rask and Karl Verner and the German scholar Jacob Grimm. The first linguist to offer reconstructed shapes from a proto-language was August Schleicher, in his *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, originally published in 1861. Here is Schleicher's account of why he offered reconstructed shapes:

In the present work an effort is made to set forth the inferred Indo-European original language face through face with its really existent derived languages. Besides the advantages offered through such a plan, in setting immediately before the eyes of the student the final results of the investigation in a more concrete form, and thereby rendering easier his insight into the nature of scrupulous Indo-European languages,

there is, I think, another of no less importance gained through it, namely that it shows the blamelessness of the assumption that the non-Indian Indo-European languages were derived from Old-Indian.

Demonstrating Genetic Connection

The comparative method aims to prove that two or more historically attested languages are descended from a single proto-language through comparing lists of cognate conditions. From them, regular sound correspondences flanked by the languages are recognized, and a sequence of regular sound changes can then be postulated, which allows the proto-language to be reconstructed. Relation is deemed sure only if at least an incomplete reconstruction of the general ancestor is feasible, and if regular sound correspondences can be recognized with chance similarities ruled out.

- ***Terminology***

Descent is defined as transmission crossways the generations: children learn a language from the parents' generation and after being convinced through their peers transmit it to the after that generation, and therefore on.

Two languages are *genetically related* if they descended from the similar ancestor language. For instance, Spanish and French both approach from Latin and so belong to the similar family, the Romance languages.

Though, it is possible for languages to have dissimilar degrees of relatedness. English, for instance, is related to both German and Russian, but is more closely related to the former than it is to the latter. Although all three languages share a general ancestor, Proto-Indo-European, English and German also share a more recent general ancestor, Proto-Germanic, while Russian does not. So, English and German are measured to belong to a dissimilar subgroup, the Germanic languages.

Shared retentions from the parent language are not enough proof of a sub-group. For instance, as a result of heavy borrowing from Arabic into Persian, Contemporary Persian in information takes more of its vocabulary from Arabic than from its direct ancestor, Proto-Indo-Iranian. The division of

related languages into sub-groups is more certainly accomplished through finding *shared linguistic innovations* from the parent language.

- *Origin and Growth of the Method*

Languages have been compared since antiquity. For instance, in the 1st century BC the Romans were aware of the similarities flanked by Greek and Latin, which they explained mythologically, as the result of Rome being a Greek colony speaking a debased dialect. In the 9th or 10th century, Yehuda Ibn Quraysh compared the phonology and morphology of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, but attributed this resemblance to the Biblical story of Babel, with Abraham, Isaac and Joseph retaining Adam's language, with other languages at several removes becoming more altered from the original Hebrew.

In publications of 1647 and 1654, Marcus van Boxhorn first called a rigid methodology for historical linguistic comparisons and proposed the subsistence of an Indo-European proto-language unrelated to Hebrew, but ancestral to Germanic, Greek, Romance, Persian, Sanskrit, Slavic, Celtic and Baltic languages. The Scythian theory was further urbanized through Andreas Jäger and William Wotton, who made first forays to reconstruct this primitive general language. In 1710 and 1723, Lambert ten Kate first formulated the regularity of sound laws, introducing in the middle of others, the term root vowel.

Another early systematic effort to prove the connection flanked by two languages on the foundation of parallel of grammar and lexicon was made through the Hungarian János Sajnovics in 1770, when he attempted to demonstrate the connection flanked by Sami and Hungarian e Finno-Ugric language family in 1799 through his countryman Samuel Gyarmathi, But the origin of contemporary historical linguistics is often traced back to Sir William Jones, an English philologist livelihood in India, who in 1786 made his well-known observation:

“The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and the shapes of grammar, than could perhaps have been produced through accident; therefore strong indeed, that no philologist could analyze them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some general source, which, possibly, no longer exists. There is a same cause, however not quite therefore supposing that both the Gothick and the Celtick, however blended with an extremely dissimilar idiom, had the similar origin with the Sanscrit; and the old Persian might be added to the similar family.”

The comparative method urbanized out of attempts to reconstruct the proto-language mentioned through Jones, which he did not name, but subsequent linguists named Proto-Indo-European flanked by the Indo-European languages recognized then were made through the German linguist Franz Bopp in 1816. However he did not effort a reconstruction, he demonstrated that Greek, Latin and Sanskrit shared a general structure and a general lexicon. Friedrich Schlegel in 1808 first stated the importance of by the eldest possible form of a language when trying to prove its relationships; in 1818, Rasmus Christian Rask urbanized the principle of regular sound changes to explain his observations of similarities flanked by individual languages in the Germanic languages and their cognates in Greek and Latin. Jacob Grimm - bigger recognized for his *Fairy Tales* - in *Deutsche Grammatik* made use of the comparative method in attempting to illustrate the growth of the Germanic languages from a general origin, the first systematic study of diachronic language transform.

Both Rask and Grimm were unable to explain evident exceptions to the sound laws that they had exposed. Although Hermann Grassmann explained one of these anomalies with the publication of Grassmann's law in 1862, it was Karl Verner who in 1875 made a methodological breakthrough when he recognized a pattern now recognized as Verner's law, the first sound law based

on comparative proof showing that a phonological transform in one phoneme could depend on other factors within the similar word, such as the neighboring phonemes and the location of the accent, now described *conditioning environments*.

Same discoveries made through the *Junggrammatiker* at the University of Leipzig in the late 1800s led them to conclude that all sound changes were ultimately regular, resulting in the well-known statement through Karl Brugmann and Hermann Osthoff in 1878 that "sound laws have no exceptions". This thought is fundamental to the contemporary comparative method, since the method necessarily assumes regular correspondences flanked by sounds in related languages, and consequently regular sound changes from the proto-language. This *Neogrammarian Hypothesis* led to application of the comparative method to reconstruct Proto-Indo-European, with Indo-European being at that time through distant the mainly well-studied language family. Linguists working with other families soon followed suit, and the comparative method quickly became the recognized method for uncovering linguistic relationships.

- *Application*

There is no fixed set of steps to be followed in the application of the comparative method, but Lyle Campbell suggests some vital steps and therefore does Terry Crowley, who is both authors of introductory texts in historical linguistics. The abbreviated summary below is based on their concepts of how to proceed.

Step 1, Assemble Potential Cognate Lists

This step involves creation lists of languages that are likely cognates in the middle of the languages being compared. If there is a frequently recurring match flanked by the phonetic structure of vital languages with same meanings a genetic kinship can almost certainly be recognized.

Borrowings or false cognates could skew or obscure the correct data. For instance, English *taboo* is like the six Polynesian shapes due to borrowing from Tongan into English, and not because of a genetic parallel. This problem can generally be overcome through by vital vocabulary such as kinship conditions, numbers, body sections, pronouns, and other vital conditions. Nonetheless, even vital vocabulary can be sometimes borrowed. Finnish, for instance, borrowed the word for "mother", *äiti*, from Gothic *aiþei*. While English borrowed the pronouns "they", "them", and "their" from Norse, Thomason and Everett argue that Pirahã, a Muran language of South America for which a number of controversial claims are made, borrowed all its pronouns from Nhengatu.

Step 2, Set up Correspondence Sets

The after that step is to determine the regular sound correspondences exhibited through the potential cognates lists. Mere phonetic parallel, as flanked by English *day* and Latin *dies*, has no probative value. English initial *d-* does *not* frequently match Latin *d-*, and whatever sporadic matches can be observed are due either to chance or to borrowing *devil*, both ultimately of Greek origin.

Step 3, Find which Sets are in Complementary Sharing

Throughout the late 18th to late 19th century, two biggest growths improved the method's effectiveness. First, it was establish that several sound changes are conditioned through a specific *context*. For instance, in both Greek and Sanskrit, an aspirated stop evolved into an unaspirated one, but only if a second aspirate occurred later in the similar word; this is Grassmann's law, first called for Sanskrit through Sanskrit grammarian Pāṇini and promulgated through Hermann Grassmann in 1863. Second, it was establish that sometimes sound changes occurred in contexts that were later lost.

Verner's Law, exposed through Karl Verner in relation to the 1875, is a same case: the voicing of consonants in Germanic languages underwent a transform that was determined through the location of the old Indo-European accent. Following the transform, the accent shifted to initial location. Verner solved the puzzle through comparing the Germanic voicing pattern with Greek and Sanskrit accent patterns.

This level of the comparative method, so, involves examining the correspondence sets exposed in step 2 and seeing which of them apply only in sure contexts. If two sets apply in complementary sharing, they can be assumed to reflect a single original phoneme: "some sound changes, particularly conditioned sound changes, can result in a proto-sound being associated with more than one correspondence set".

Step 4, Reconstruct Proto-phonemes

Typology assists in deciding what reconstruction best fits the data. For instance, the voicing of voiceless stops flanked by vowels is general, but not the devoicing of voiced stops there. If a correspondence *-t-: -d-* flanked by vowels is established in two languages, the proto-phoneme is more likely to be **-t-*, with a growth to the voiced form in the second language. The opposite reconstruction would make an unusual kind.

Though, rare sound changes do happen. The Proto-Indo-European word for *two*, for instance, is reconstructed as **dwō*, which is reflected in Classical Armenian as *erku*. Many other cognates demonstrate a regular transform **dw- → erk-* in Armenian. Likewise, in Bearlake, a dialect of the Athabaskan language of Slavey, there has been a sound transform of Proto-Athabaskan **ts → Bearlake kʷ*. It is extremely unlikely that **dw-* changed directly into *erk-* and **ts* into *kʷ*, but instead they necessarily have gone by many intermediate steps to arrive at the later shapes. It is not phonetic parallel which matters when utilizing the comparative method, but regular sound correspondences.

- *Step 5, Analyze the Reconstructed Organization Typologically*

In the final step, the linguist checks to see how the proto-phonemes fit the recognized typological constraints. There is only one voiced stop, **b*, and although there is an alveolar and a velar nasal, **n* and **ŋ*, there is no corresponding labial nasal. Though, languages usually tend to uphold symmetry in their phonemic inventories. In this case, the linguist might effort to discover proof that what was earlier reconstructed as **b* is in information **m*, or that the **n* and **ŋ* are in information **d* and **g*. Even a symmetrical organization can be typologically defensive.

An earlier voiceless aspirated line was removed on grounds of insufficient proof. Since the mid-20th century, a number of linguists have argued that this phonology is implausible; that it is very unlikely for a language to have a voiced aspirated series without a corresponding voiceless aspirated series. A potential solution was provided through Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav V. Ivanov, who argued that the series traditionally reconstructed as plain voiced should in information be reconstructed as glottalized — either implosive or ejective. The plain voiceless and voiced aspirated series would therefore be replaced through presently voiceless and voiced, with aspiration being a non-distinctive excellence of both. This instance of the application of linguistic typology to linguistic reconstruction has become recognized as the Glottalic Theory. It has a big number of proponents but is not usually carried. As an alternative, the voiceless aspirated line was restored.

The reconstruction of proto-sounds logically precedes the reconstruction of grammatical morphemes dings, patterns of declension and conjugation, and therefore on. The full reconstruction of an unrecorded protolanguage is an open-ended task.

Limitations

- ***Troubles with the History of Historical Linguistics***

The limitations of the comparative method were established through the extremely linguists who urbanized it, but it is still seen as a precious tool. In the case of Indo-European, the method seemed to at least partially validate the centuries-old search for an *Ursprache*, the original language of the Garden of Eden, from which all others not assigned through God in the confusion resulting from construction of the Tower of Babel descended. These others were presumed ordered in a family tree, becoming the Tree model of the neogrammarians.

The archaeologists followed suit, attempting to discover archaeological proof of a civilization or cultures that could be presumed to have spoken a proto-language, such as Vere Gordon Childe's *The Aryans: a study of Indo-European origins*, 1926. Childe was a philologist turned archaeologist. These views culminated in the *Siedlungsarchaologie*, or "resolution-archaeology", of Gustaf Kossinna, becoming recognized as "Kossinna's Law." He asserted that cultures symbolize ethnic groups, including their languages. It was rejected as a law in the post-World-War-II period. The fall of Kossinna's Law removed the temporal and spatial framework previously applied to several proto-languages. Fox concludes:

The Comparative Method *as such* is not, in information, historical; it gives proof of linguistic relationships to which we may provide a historical interpretation.... has almost certainly made historical linguists less prone to equate the idealizations required through the method with historical reality.... Provided we stay separately, the Comparative Method can continue to be used in the reconstruction of earlier levels of languages.

Proto-languages can be verified in several historical instances, such as Latin. Although no longer a law, resolution-archaeology is recognized to be essentially valid for some cultures that straddle history and prehistory, such as

the Celtic Iron Age and Mycenaean culture. None of these models can be or have been totally rejected, and yet none alone are enough.

- *Troubles with the Neogrammarian Hypothesis*

The basis of the comparative method, and of comparative linguistics in common, is the Neogrammarians' fundamental assumption that "sound laws have no exceptions." When it was initially proposed, critics of the Neogrammarians proposed an alternate location, summarized through the maxim "each word has its own history". Many kinds of transform do in information alter languages in non-regular methods. Unless recognized, they may hide or distort laws and reason false perceptions of connection.

Borrowing: All languages borrow languages from other languages in several contexts. They are likely to have followed the laws of the languages from which they were borrowed rather than the laws of the borrowing language.

Areal diffusion: Borrowing on a superior level occurs in area diffusion, when characteristics are adopted through contiguous languages in excess of a geographical region. The borrowing may be phonological, morphological or lexical. A false proto-language in excess of the region may be reconstructed for them or may be taken to be a third language serving as a source of diffused characteristics. Many area characteristics and other powers may converge to form a sprachbund, a wider area distribution characteristics that seem to be related but are diffusional. For example, the Mainland Southeast Asia linguistic region suggested many false classifications of such languages as Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese before it was established.

Random mutations: Sporadic changes, such as irregular inflections, compounding, and abbreviation, do not follow any laws. For instance, the Spanish languages *palabra*, *peligro* and *milagro* should have been *parabla*, *periglo*, *miraglo* through regular sound changes from the Latin *parabŏla*, *perĭcŭlum* and *mĭrăcŭlum*, but the *r* and *l* changed spaces through sporadic metathesis.

Analogy: Sporadic changes, such as irregular inflections, compounding, and abbreviation, do not follow any laws. For instance, the Spanish languages *palabra*, *peligro* and *milagro* should have been *parabla*, *periglo*, *miraglo* through regular sound changes from the Latin *parabŏla*, *perĭcŭlum* and *mĭrăcŭlum*, but the *r* and *l* changed spaces through sporadic metathesis.

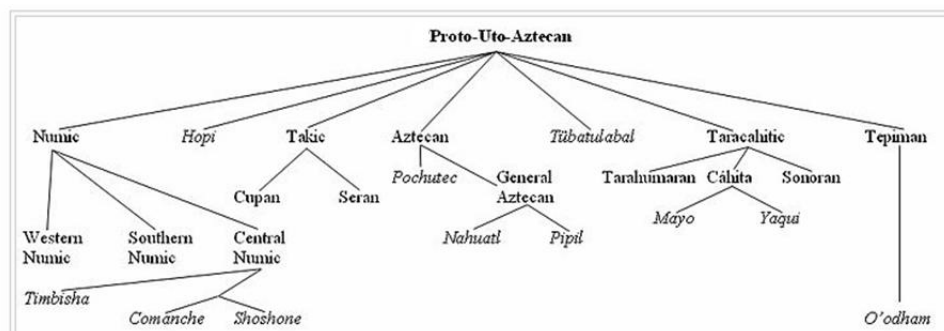
Similarity: Students of modern language changes, such as William Labov, note that even a systematic sound transform is at first applied in an

unsystematic fashion, with the percentage of its occurrence in a person's speech dependent on several social factors. The sound transform slowly spreads, a procedure recognized as lexical diffusion. While not invalidating the Neogrammarians' axiom that "sound laws have no exceptions", their gradual application shows that they do not always apply to all lexical items at the similar time. Hock notes, "While it almost certainly is true in the extensive run every word has its own history, it is not justified to conclude as some linguists have, that so the Neogrammarian location on the nature of linguistic transform is falsified."

- *Troubles with the Tree Model*

The comparative method is used to construct a Tree model of language development, in which daughter languages are seen as branching from the proto-language, slowly raising more far from it by accumulated phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical changes (See Fig. 1.3).

Fig 1.3 An Example of the Tree Model



The Presumption of a Well-defined Node

The reconstruction of unattested proto-languages lends itself to that illusion: they cannot be verified and the linguist is free to select whatever definite times and spaces for them look best. Right from the outset of Indo-European studies, though, Thomas Young said:

It is not, though, extremely easy to say what the definition should be that should constitute a separate language, but it looks mainly natural to call those languages separate, of which the one cannot be understood through general persons in the habit of speaking the other....Even, though, it may remain doubtfull whether the Danes and the Swedes could not, in common, understand each other tolerably well... nor is it possible to say if the twenty methods of pronouncing the sounds, belonging to the Chinese characters, ought or ought not to be measured

as therefore several languages or dialects.... But,... the languages therefore almost allied necessity stand after that to each other in a systematic order....

The assumption of uniformity in a proto-language, implicit in the comparative method, is problematic. Even in small language societies there are always dialect differences, whether based on region, gender, class, or other factors. The Pirahã language of Brazil is spoken through only many hundred people, but it has at least two dissimilar dialects, one spoken through men and one through women. Campbell points out:

It is not therefore much that the comparative method 'assumes' no difference; rather, it is presently that there is nothing built into the comparative method which would allow it to address difference directly.... This assumption of uniformity is a reasonable idealization; it does no more damage to the understanding of the language than, say, contemporary reference grammars do which concentrate on a language's common structure, typically leaving out consideration of local or social difference.

Dissimilar dialects, as they evolve into separate languages, remain in get in touch with one another and power each other. Even after they are measured separate, languages close to one another continue to power each other, often distribution grammatical, phonological, and lexical innovations. A transform in one language of a family may spread to neighboring languages; and multiple waves of transform are communicated like waves crossways language and dialect boundaries, each with its own randomly delimited range. If a language is divided into an inventory of characteristics, each with its own time and range, they do not all coincide. History and prehistory may not offer a time and lay for a separate coincidence, as may be the case for proto-Italic, in which case the proto-language is only a concept. Though, Hock observes:

The detection in the late nineteenth century that isoglosses can cut crossways well-recognized linguistic boundaries at first created considerable attention and controversy. And it became fashionable to oppose a wave theory to a tree theory... Today, though, it is quite

apparent that the phenomena referred to through these two conditions are complementary characteristics of linguistic transform...

Subjectivity of the Reconstruction

The reconstruction of strange proto-languages is inherently subjective. The choice of **m* as the parent phoneme is only *likely*, not *sure*. It is conceivable that a Proto-Algonquian language with **b* in those positions split into two branches, one which preserved **b* and one which changed it to **m* instead; and while the first branch only urbanized into Arapaho, the second spread out wider and urbanized into all the other Algonquian tribes. It is also possible that the adjacent general ancestor of the Algonquian languages used some other sound instead, such as **p*, which eventually mutated to **b* in one branch and to **m* in the other. While examples of strikingly complicated and even circular growths are indeed recognized to have occurred in the absence of any proof or other cause to postulate a more complicated growth, the preference of a simpler account is justified through the principle of parsimony, also recognized as Occam's razor. Since reconstruction involves several of these choices, some linguists prefer to view the reconstructed characteristics as abstract symbols of sound correspondences, rather than as objects with a historical time and lay.

The subsistence of proto-languages and the validity of the comparative method are verifiable in cases where the reconstruction can be matched to a recognized language, which may only be recognized as a shadow in the loanwords of another language. For instance Finnic languages such as Finnish have borrowed several languages from an early level of Germanic, and the shape of the loans matches the shapes that have been reconstructed for Proto-Germanic. Finnish *kuningas* 'king' and *kaunis* 'beautiful' match the Germanic reconstructions **kuningaz* and **skauniz*.

Additional Models

As alternatives to the tree model, the wave model dates to the 19th century, glottochronology and mass lexical comparison to the 20th. Mainly historical linguists believe the latter two ways flawed and unreliable.

Ways of Comparison

The Experimental Method

During the laboratory portion of mainly Biology laboratories, you will be conducting experiments. Science proceeds through use of the experimental method. To gather information in relation to the biological world, we use two mechanisms: our sensory perception and our skill to cause. We can identify and count the kinds of trees in a forest with our eyes, we can identify birds in the rainforest canopy with our ears, and we can identify the attendance of a skunk with our nose. Touch and taste help us experience the biological world as well. With the information we gather from our senses, we can create inferences by our cause and logic. For example, you know that you see palm trees in tropical and subtropical areas and can infer that palm trees will not be establish in central Maine because of the harshness of our winter. Our cause allows us to create predictions in relation to the natural world. The skill to create accurate predictions hinges on the seven steps of the Scientific Method.

- ***Step 1. Create Observations***

These observations should be objective, not subjective. In other languages, the observations should be capable of verification through other scientists. Subjective observations, which are based on personal opinions and beliefs, are not in the realm of science. Here's an objective statement: It is 58 °F in this room. Here's a subjective statement: It is cool in this room.

The first step in the Scientific Method is to create objective observations. These observations are based on specific measures that have already happened and can be verified through others as true or false.

- *Step 2. Form a Hypothesis*

Our observations tell us in relation to the past or the present. As scientists, we want to be able to predict future measures. We necessarily so use our skill to cause. Scientists use their knowledge of past measures to develop a common principle or account to help predict future measures. The common principle is described a hypothesis. A hypothesis should have the following aspects:

- It should be a common principle that holds crossways legroom and time
- It should be a tentative thought
- It should agree with accessible observations
- It should be kept as easy as possible.
- It should be testable and potentially falsifiable. In other languages, there should be a method to illustrate the hypothesis is false; a method to disprove the hypothesis.

Some mammals have two hind limbs would be a useless hypothesis. There is no observation that would not fit this hypothesis! All mammals have two hind limbs is a good hypothesis. We would seem during the world at mammals. When we discover whales, which have no hind limbs, we would have shown our hypothesis to be false; we have falsified the hypothesis.

When a hypothesis involves a reason-and-effect connection, we state our hypothesis to indicate there is no effect. A hypothesis, which asserts no effect, is described a *null hypothesis*. For example, the drug Celebra does not help relieve rheumatoid arthritis.

- *Step 3. Create a Prediction*

From step 2, we have made a hypothesis that is tentative and may or may not be true. How can we decide if our hypothesis is true? Our hypothesis should be broad; it should apply consistently by time and by legroom. Scientists cannot generally check every possible situation where a hypothesis might apply. Let's believe the hypothesis: All plant cells have a nucleus. We cannot analyze every livelihood plant and every plant that has ever existed to

see if this hypothesis is false. Instead, we generate a prediction by deductive reasoning generalization. From our hypothesis, we can create the following prediction: If I analyze cells from a blade of grass, each one will have a nucleus.

Now, let's believe the drug hypothesis: The drug Celebra does not help relieve rheumatoid arthritis. To test this hypothesis, we would require choosing a specific set of circumstances and then predicting what would happen under those circumstances if the hypothesis were true. Circumstances you might wish to test are doses administered, length of time the medication is taken, the ages of the patients and the number of people to be tested.

All of these circumstances that are subject to transform are described variables. To gauge the effect of Celebra, we require performing a controlled experiment. The experimental group is subjected to the variable we want to test and the manage group is not discovered to that variable. In a controlled experiment, the only variable that should be dissimilar flanked by the two groups is the variable we want to test.

Let's create a prediction based on observations of the effect of Celebra in the laboratory. The prediction is: Patients suffering from rheumatoid arthritis who take Celebra and patients who take a placebo do not differ in the severity of rheumatoid arthritis.

- *Step 4. Perform an Experiment*

We rely again on our sensory perception to collect information. We design an experiment based on our prediction. Our experiment might be as follows: 1000 patients flanked by the ages of 50 and 70 will be randomly assigned to one of two groups of 500. The experimental group will take Celebra four times a day and the manage group will take a starch placebo four times a day. The patients will not know whether their tablets are Celebra or the placebo. Patients will take the drugs for two months. At the end of two

months, medical exams will be administered to determine if flexibility of the arms and fingers has changed.

- *Step 5. Examine the Results of the Experiment*

Our experiment produced the following results: 350 of the 500 people who took Celebra accounted diminished arthritis as the end of the era. 65 of the 500 people who took the placebo accounted improvement. The data seem to illustrate that there was an important effect of Celebra. We would require doing a statistical analysis to demonstrate the effect. Such an analysis reveals that there is a statistically important effect of Celebra.

- *Step 6. Attract a Conclusion*

From our analysis of the experiment, we have two possible outcomes: the results agree with the prediction or they disagree with the prediction. In our case, we can reject our prediction of no effect of Celebra. Because the prediction is wrong, we necessity also reject the hypothesis it was based on.

Our task now is to reframe the hypothesis is a form that is constant with the accessible information. Our hypothesis now could be: The administration of Celebra reduces rheumatoid arthritis compared to the administration of a placebo.

With present information, we accept our hypothesis as true. Have we proved it to be true? Absolutely not! There are always other explanations that can explain the results. It is possible that the more of the 500 patients who took Celebra were going to improve anyway. It's possible that more of the patients who took Celebra also ate bananas every day and that bananas improved the arthritis. You can suggest countless other explanations.

How can we prove that our new hypothesis is true? We never can. The scientific method does not allow any hypothesis to be proven. Hypotheses can be disproven in which case that hypothesis is rejected as false. All we can say in relation to the hypothesis, which stands up to, a test to falsify it is that we failed to disprove it. There is a world of variation flanked by failing to

disprove and proving. Create certain you understand this distinction; it is the basis of the scientific method.

Therefore what would we do with our hypothesis above? We currently accept it as true. To be intensive, we require to subject the hypothesis to more tests that could illustrate it is wrong. For example, we could repeat the experiment but switch manage and experimental group. If the hypothesis keeps standing up to our efforts to knock it down, we can feel more confident in relation to the accepting it as true. Though, as suggested, never be able to state that the hypothesis is true. Rather, we accept it as true because the hypothesis stood up to many experiments to illustrate it is false.

- *Step 7. Statement your Results*

Scientists publish their findings in scientific journals and books, in talks at national and international meetings and in seminars at colleges and universities. Disseminating results is an essential section of the scientific method. It allows other people to verify your results, develop new tests of your hypothesis or apply the knowledge you have gained to solve other troubles.

Case Study

A case study is a rigorous analysis of an individual unit stressing developmental factors in relation to context. The case study is general in social sciences and life sciences. Case studies may be descriptive or explanatory. The latter kind is used to explore causation in order to discover underlying principles.

Thomas offers the following definition of case study: "Case studies are analyses of persons, measures, decisions, periods, projects, policies, organizations, or other systems that are studied holistically through one or more ways. The case that is the *subject* of the inquiry will be an example of a class of phenomena that gives an analytical frame — and *substance* — within which the study is mannered and which the case illuminates and explicates."

Another suggestion is that case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research can mean single and multiple case studies, can contain quantitative proof, relies on multiple sources of proof, and benefits from the prior growth of theoretical propositions. Case studies should not be confused with qualitative research and they can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative proof. Single-subject research gives the statistical framework for creation inferences from quantitative case-study data. This is also supported and well-formulated in: "The case study is a research approach, located flanked by concrete data taking techniques and methodological paradigms." The case study is sometimes mistaken for the case method, but the two are not the same.

- *Case Selection and Structure*

A standard, or typical, case is often not the richest in information. In clarifying rows of history and causation it is more useful to select subjects that offer a motivating, rare or particularly revealing set of conditions. A case selection that is based on representativeness will seldom be able to produce these types of insights. When selecting a subject for a case study, researchers will so use information-oriented sampling, as opposed to random sampling. Outlier cases or atypical reveal more information than the putatively representative case. Alternatively, a case may be selected as a key case, chosen because of the inherent interest of the case or the conditions nearby it. Or it may be chosen because of researchers' in-depth regional knowledge; where researchers have this regional knowledge they are in a location to "soak and poke" as Fenno puts it, and thereby to offer reasoned rows of account based on this rich knowledge of setting and conditions. Three kinds of cases may therefore be distinguished:

- Key cases
- Outlier cases
- Regional knowledge cases

Whatever the frame of reference for the choice of the subject of the case revises, there is a distinction to be made flanked by the subject and the substance of the case study. The subject is the “practical, historical unity” by which the theoretical focus of the study is being viewed. The substance is that theoretical focus – the analytical frame. Therefore, for instance, if a researcher were interested in US resistance to communist expansion as a theoretical focus, then the Korean War might be taken to be the subject, the lens, the case study by which the theoretical focus, the substance, could be viewed and explicated.

Beyond decisions in relation to the case selection and the subject and substance of the study, decisions require to be made in relation to the purpose, approach and procedure in the case study. Thomas therefore proposes a typology for the case study wherein purposes are first recognized, then procedures are decided upon, with a principal choice being flanked by whether the study is to be single or multiple, and choices also in relation to the whether the study is to be retrospective, snapshot or diachronic, and whether it is nested, similarity or sequential. It is therefore possible to take several routes by this typology, with, for instance, an exploratory, theory-structure, multiple, nested study, or an evaluative, theory-testing, single, retrospective study. The typology therefore offers several permutations for case study structure.

- *Generalizing from Case Studies*

A critical case is defined as having strategic importance in relation to the common problem. A critical case allows the following kind of generalization, ‘If it is valid for this case, it is valid for all cases.’ In its negative form, the generalization would be, ‘If it is not valid for this case, then it is not valid for any cases.’

The case study is also effective for generalizing by the kind of test that Karl Popper described falsification, which shapes section of critical

reflexivity. Falsification is one of the mainly intensive tests to which a scientific proposition can be subjected: if presently one observation does not fit with the proposition it is measured not valid usually and necessity so be either revised or rejected. Popper himself used the now well-known instance of, "All swans are white," and proposed that presently one observation of a single black swan would falsify this proposition and in this method have common significance and stimulate further investigations and theory-structure. The case study is well suited for identifying "black swans" because of its in-depth approach: what seems to be "white" often turns out on closer examination to be "black."

Galileo Galilei's rejection of Aristotle's law of gravity was based on a case study selected through information-oriented sampling and not random sampling. The rejection consisted primarily of a conceptual experiment and later on of a practical one. These experiments, with the benefit of hindsight, are self-apparent. Nevertheless, Aristotle's incorrect view of gravity dominated scientific inquiry for almost two thousand years before it was falsified. In his experimental thinking, Galileo reasoned as follows: if two objects with the similar weight are released from the similar height at the similar time, they will hit the ground simultaneously, having fallen at the similar speed. If the two objects are then stuck jointly into one, this substance will have double the weight and will just as to the Aristotelian view so fall faster than the two individual objects. This conclusion seemed contradictory to Galileo. The only method to avoid the contradiction was to eliminate weight as a determinant factor for acceleration in free fall. Galileo's experimentalism did not involve a big random example of trials of objects falling from a wide range of randomly selected heights under varying wind circumstances, and therefore on. Rather, it was a matter of a single experiment, that is, a case study.

Galileo's view sustained to be subjected to doubt, though, and the Aristotelian view was not finally rejected until half a century later, with the

invention of the air pump. The air pump made it possible to conduct the ultimate experiment, recognized through every pupil, whereby a coin or a piece of lead inside a vacuum tube falls with the similar speed as a feather. After this experiment, Aristotle's view could be maintained no longer. What is especially worth noting, though, is that the matter was settled through an individual case due to the clever choice of the extremes of metal and feather. One might call it a critical case, for if Galileo's thesis held for these materials, it could be expected to be valid for all or a big range of materials. Random and big samples were at no time section of the picture. Though it was Galileo's view that was the subject of doubt as it was not reasonable sufficient to be the Aristotelian view. Through selecting cases strategically in this manner one may arrive at case studies that allow generalization.

Statistical Method

The statistical method uses categories dry variables which are quantifiable or can be represented through numbers, e.g., voting patterns, public expenditure, political parties, voter turnout, urbanization, population development. It also offers unique opportunities to study the effects or relationships of a number of variables simultaneously. It has the advantage of presenting precise data in a compact and visually effective manner, therefore that similarities and dissimilarities are visible by numerical representation. The information that a number of variables can be studied jointly also provides the unique opportunity to seem for intricate explanations in conditions of a connection. The use of the statistical method also helps explain and compare extensive term trends and patterns and offer predictions on future trends. A study, for instance, of the connection of age and political participation can be made by an analysis of statistical tables of voter turnout and age-categories. Comparison of this data in excess of extensive periods, or with same data in other countries/ political systems, or with data showing voter turn out in conditions of religious groups, social class and age can help us create intricate

generalizations, e.g., transitional class, Hindu, male voters flanked by the age of 25 and 30 are the mainly prolific voters. Cross national comparisons may lead to findings like, transitional class women of the age group 25 to 30 are more likely to vote in western democracies than in developing countries like India. The utility of this method lies in the comparative ease with which it can trade with multiple variables. It fails, though, to offer complete answers or provide the complete picture. It can, though, be employed beside with qualitative analysis to provide more comprehensive explanations of relationships and the broad categories which the statistical method uses in order to facilitate their numerical representation.

Focused Comparisons

These studies take up a small number of countries, often presently two, and concentrate regularly on scrupulous characteristics of the countries' politics rather 'than on all characteristics. Comparative studies of public policies in dissimilar countries have successfully been undertaken through this method. Lipset distinguishes two types of binary or paired comparison: the implicit and explicit. In the implicit binary comparison, the investigator's own country, as in the case of de Tocqueville's study of America, may serve as the reference: Explicit paired comparisons have two clear cases for comparison. The two countries may be studied with respect to their specific characteristics e.g., policy of population manage in India and China or in their entirety e.g., with respect to the procedure of modernization. The latter may, though, lead to a similarity study of two cases leaving little scope for a study of relationships.

Historical Method

Historical method includes the techniques and guidelines through which historians use primary sources and other proof to research and then to write histories in the form of accounts of the past. The question of the nature,

and even the possibility, of a sound historical method is raised in the philosophy of history as a question of epistemology. The study of historical method and script is recognized as historiography.

- *Source Criticism*

Core Principles

The following core principles of source criticism were formulated through two Scandinavian historians, Olden-Jørgensen and Thurén:

Human sources may be artifacts such as a fingerprint; or narratives such as a statement or a letter. Artifacts are more credible sources than narratives.

Any given source may be forged or corrupted. Strong indications of the originality of the source augment its reliability.

The closer a source is to the event which it purports to define, the more one can trust it to provide an accurate historical account of what actually happened.

A primary source is more reliable than a secondary source which is more reliable than a tertiary source, and therefore on.

If a number of *self-governing* sources include the similar message, the credibility of the message is strongly increased.

The tendency of a source is its motivation for providing some type of bias. Tendencies should be minimized or complemented with opposite motivations.

If it can be demonstrated that the witness or source has no direct interest in creating bias then the credibility of the message is increased.

Procedures

Bernheim and Langlois & Seignobos proposed a seven-step procedure for source criticism in history:

If the sources all agree in relation to the event, historians can believe the event proved.

Though, majority does not rule; even if mainly sources relate measures in one method that adaptation will not prevail unless it passes the test of critical textual analysis.

The source whose explanation can be confirmed through reference to outside authorities in some of its sections can be trusted in its entirety if it is impossible likewise to confirm the whole text.

When two sources disagree on a scrupulous point, the historian will prefer the source with mainly "power"—that is the source created through the expert or through the eyewitness.

Eyewitnesses are, in common, to be preferred especially in conditions where the ordinary observer could have accurately accounted what transpired and, more specifically, when they trade with facts recognized through mainly contemporaries.

If two independently created sources agree on a matter, the reliability of each is measurably enhanced.

When two sources disagree and there is no other means of evaluation, then historians take the source which looks to accord best with general sense.

- *External Criticism: Authenticity and Provenance*

Garraghan divides criticism into six inquiries

When was the source, written or unwritten, produced ?

Where was it produced ?

Through whom was it produced ?

From what pre-existing material was it produced ?

In what original form was it produced ?

What is the evidential value of its contents ?

The first four are recognized as higher criticism; the fifth, lower criticism; and, jointly, external criticism. The sixth and final inquiry in relation to the source is described internal criticism. R. J. Shafer on external criticism: "It sometimes is said that its function is negative, merely saving us from by false proof; whereas internal criticism has the positive function of telling us how to use authenticated proof."

- *Internal Criticism: Historical Reliability*

Noting that few documents are carried as totally reliable, Louis Gottschalk sets down the common rule, "for each scrupulous of a document the procedure of establishing credibility should be apart undertaken regardless of the common credibility of the author." An author's trustworthiness in the largest may set up a backdrop probability for the consideration of each statement, but each piece of proof extracted necessity is weighed individually.

Eyewitness Proof

R. J. Shafer offers this checklist for evaluating eyewitness testimony:

Is the real meaning of the statement dissimilar from its literal meaning?
Are languages used in senses not employed today? Is the statement meant to be ironic ?

How well could the author *observe* the item he reports? Were his senses equal to the observation? Was his physical site appropriate to sight, hearing, touch? Did he have the proper social skill to observe: did he understand the language, have other expertise required; was he not being intimidated through his wife or the secret police?

How did the author statement?, and what was his *skill* to do therefore?

Concerning his *skill* to statement, was he biased? Did he have proper time for reporting? Proper lay for reporting? Adequate recording instruments?

When did his statement in relation to his observation? Soon? Much later? Fifty years is much later as mainly eyewitnesses are dead and those who remain may have forgotten relevant material.

What was the author's *intention* in reporting? For *who* did he statement? Would that audience be likely to need or suggest distortion to the author?

Are there additional clues to designed veracity? Was he indifferent on the subject accounted, therefore almost certainly not intending distortion? Did he create statements damaging to him, therefore almost certainly not seeking to distort? Did he provide incidental or casual information, approximately certainly not designed to mislead?

Do his statements look inherently improbable: e.g., contrary to human nature, or in clash with what we know?

Keep in mind that some kinds of information are easier to observe and statement on than others.

Are there inner contradictions in the document?

Louis Gottschalk adds an additional consideration: "Even when the information in question may not be famous, sure types of statements are *both incidental and probable* to such a degree that error or falsehood looks unlikely. If an ancient inscription on a road tells us that a sure proconsul built that road while Augustus was principals, it may be doubted without further corroboration that that proconsul really built the road, but would be harder to doubt that the road was built throughout the participate of Augustus. If an advertisement informs readers that 'A and B Coffee may be bought at any reliable grocer's at the rare price of fifty cents a pound,' all the inferences of

the advertisement may well be doubted without corroboration except for that there is a brand of coffee on the market described 'A and B Coffee.'"

Indirect Witnesses

Garrahan says that mainly information comes from "indirect witnesses," people who were not present on the scene but heard of the measures from someone else. Gottschalk says that a historian may sometimes use hearsay proof. He writes, "In cases where he uses secondary witnesses, though, he does not rely upon them fully. On the contrary, he asks: secondary witness foundation his statements? statement the primary testimony as an entire statement the primary testimony? Satisfactory answers to the second and third questions may give the historian with the entire or the gist of the primary testimony upon which the secondary witness may be his only means of knowledge. In such cases the secondary source is the historian's 'original' source, in the sense of being the 'origin' of his knowledge. Insofar as this 'original' source is an accurate statement of primary testimony, he tests its credibility as he would that of the primary testimony itself.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What according to you is the usefulness of a comparative study of politics?
- What do you understand by the political economy approach to the study of comparative politics?
- What do you understand by the concept of world system?
- What is the Systems Approach?
- What do you understand by the institutional approach?
- What is the comparative method? How can the comparative method be distinguished from other methods?

Chapter 2

National Movement and Anti-Colonial Struggles

STRUCTURE

Learning objectives

Dynamics of state formation in colonial era
Patterns of anti-colonial struggles
Ideology, social bases and programmes of national movements
Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After going through this chapter you should be able to:

Trace when and how the colonial state was established.
Explain the nature and functions of the colonial state.
Recall the urge of the oppressed peoples for freedom.
Identify the patterns of anti-colonial struggles.
Explain the meaning of national movements.
Trace the evolution of national movements.

DYNAMICS OF STATE FORMATION IN COLONIAL ERA

Establishment of the Colonial State

Contemporary colonialism has been by a number of phases beginning with the 15th century onwards. The establishment of formal colonies and of the colonial state took place much later in the 19th century and is the product of historical growth of a world capitalist organization. In the fifteenth century extensive oceanic voyages became possible due to invention of bigger ships. This prompted leading European countries such as Portugal and Spain and later Britain and France to conquer new lands in Asia, Africa and America. This was an early era of conquest, plunder, looting and piracy to amass wealth and led to redistribution of surplus wealth to the advantage of the Europeans, but was not an era in which formal colonies were shaped. This surplus in the extensive run gained from the silver mines of Latin America, spice trade in the Distant East, and the slave trade in Africa, was to play a role in financing the industrial revolution. This level was followed through a second in which trade and mercantile interests, rather than easy conquest and rivalry flanked by

European countries to protect their interests in dissimilar sections of the world became significant. A good instance is the rivalry flanked by the French and the British on the Indian subcontinent in which the British eventually ousted the French and recognized their own colonial state in India.

Onset of the Industrial Revolution

It was the onset of the Industrial Revolution in mid eighteenth century in Britain and a little later on the European continent, which changed the connection flanked by Europe and the rest of the world and made the establishment of a colonial state a necessity to seem after the interests of the industrialized European states. The rapidly industrializing countries of Europe required big quantities of raw materials such as cotton, rubber, palm oil, etc. to produce machine-made goods. These were accessible or could be grown in big plantations in the colonies mainly of which fell in the tropical regions of the world. This led to rivalry in the middle of the Europeans for manage in excess of the colonial regions. Through the early nineteenth century the growing industrial bourgeoisie also felt the need for external markets as well, where these goods could be sold. Their house markets had already been sheltered and it was essential to discover an outlet if the rate of profit from machine manufacture was to be maintained. Hence it was now necessary to have "captive markets" i.e. markets under their tight manage of the European Powers, where they could sell their goods without facing competition from same goods produced through other European powers. A third factor was the need to invest the surplus capital that was being generated in the capitalist organization of manufacture. It was felt that investment in captive colonies would lead to high profit as monopoly ways could be employed. Although the biggest impulses were definitely economic, a significant supporting political factor was the rise of nationalism and a spirit of competition in Europe following the unification of both Germany and Italy and especially after

Germany's defeat of France in 1871. This led to the several European powers carving out clear-cut geographical regions of manage flanked by themselves in Asia and Africa and establishing direct manage by formal structures of political power, namely the colonial state. These colonial states then became section of the empires built through the European nations, as for instance, India was made a section of British Empire.

Colonial State in Asia

The actual establishment of the colonial state is dissimilar in the several sections of the globe, and it is necessary to take a look at how this happened. In Asia big regions were already under the manage of several private trading companies such as the East India Company in India, and the Dutch of the Netherlands in South-East Asia which had a charter from their respective Sovereigns and enjoyed a monopoly in trade. Hence in regions such as India the shift from rule through the East India Company to that of the British Crown in 1858, i.e. establishment of formal empire did not entail much transform. The actual demarcation of the region of geographical manage under the British on the Indian sub-continent had already been settled throughout the wars with the French and with the native Indian states who carried the suzerainty of the Company throughout the eighteen and early nineteen centuries. The wars in the Carnatic and the battle of Plassey give good examples. In Ceylon the British had supervised to replace the Dutch in 1795 itself and the similar is true of regions such as Malaya, where the British had supervised to displace the Portuguese. In these regions the establishment of the colonial state, began much earlier than in Africa.

Colonialism in and Scramble for Africa

The story is extremely dissimilar in Africa. Colonialism came' late to this continent and was more oppressive. Within the short era flanked by 1880

and 1900 all of Africa, except for Liberia and Ethiopia, was divided flanked by and engaged through the European imperial powers namely, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy. It has been called as the "partition" of Africa or "scramble" through the European powers to inhabit their regions of power and trade. Through 1910, in lay of numerous self-governing states a totally new and numerically smaller set of some forty artificially created colonies had appeared. and the colonial organization had been firmly imposed upon Africa. In 1879 the French sent missions to push French imperial interests inland into Upper Senegal, and the Belgians attempted to intrude into the Congo Basin. The Germans also planted their flag in Togo and the Cameroon in 1884. This alarmed the British who also began preparations to move into the interior of Africa. It was with a view to avoid any armed confrontation in the middle of the imperial 'powers that an international conference was held in Berlin under the chairmanship of Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany. This Berlin conference was attended through every west European nation except for Switzerland, but not through even a single African state, and it lasted from 15 November 1884 to 31st January 1885, Four largest rules were agreed upon through all the powers. First, before any power claimed a region, it should inform the other signatory powers therefore that any that deemed it necessary could create a counterclaim. Second that all such claims should be followed through annexation and effective job before they could be carried as valid. Third that treaties signed with African rulers were to be measured as legitimate titles to sovereignty. Fourth, that each power could extend its coastal possessions inland to some extent and claim spheres of power. These rules were embodied in the Berlin Act ratified on 26 February 1885. It necessity be clarified that the Berlin conference did not start but merely accelerated race for empire structure that was already in progress.

The scramble was accepted out in three levels, The first level was the conclusion of a treaty flanked by an African ruler and a European power under which the former was generally accorded defense and undertook not to enter into any treaty relation with any other European power, while the latter was granted sure exclusive trading and other rights. Therefore flanked by 1880 and 1895 the British concluded treaties with several rulers for instance northern Ghana, Yoruba land, Benin and offered defense to the King of Asante, and the French with the king of Dahomey, and rulers of the Congo basin. The second level was a series of treaties flanked by the imperial powers themselves recognizing and delimiting their spheres of interests and boundaries. Therefore the Anglo-German treaty established British claims to Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and eastern Nigeria; the Anglo-French treaty of the Similar year established French claims to Madagascar and the western frontier of Nigeria; the Franco-Portuguese treaty of 1886 and the German-Portuguese treaty of 1891 carried Portugal's supremacy in Angola and Mozambique and delimited Britain's sphere in central Africa. These treaties, it should be emphasized, were concluded without any consultation with any African state. The third level was that of conquest and job. However termed through the Europeans as "pacification" it was the mainly brutal of all from the Afrocentric viewpoint. Therefore from 1885 the French began their invasions and job in western Sudan the British engaged Asante in 1896, Ijebu in 1892, Benin in 1897 and Sudan the British engaged Asante in Germans engaged East Africa flanked by 1888 and 1907. The African rulers welcomed the treaties which the European powers signed with them but resisted the actual job which there had not anticipated. They used three ways: submission. alliance and confrontation. The third was not unusual and all African states did resort to it when the other alternatives failed. No African State was economically or militarily powerful sufficient to resist the Europeans, the exception being Ethiopia who defeated Italy late in nineteenth century. But even their defeat

was merely a matter of time. It was only after this that the colonial state was recognized in Africa.

Colonial State in Latin America

The Latin American experience is completely dissimilar to that of Asia and Africa and requires separate mention. The colonial era on this continent lasted from in relation to the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, however Spain and Portugal the two biggest powers began to take active interest and recognized a formal colonial state only in the seventeenth century. The Spanish and Portuguese adventurer conquerors took this area through force. Killing a big number of the regional inhabitants or reducing them to slaves on plantations and mines. A big number of slaves were also transported here from Africa.

In contrast to Asia and Africa big number of people from Spain and Portugal and also Italy settled permanently in these countries as a result of which they have a big European and a mixed population. Some like Argentina due to immigration is approximately ninety nine per cent white. While the Portuguese engaged Brazil, the rest of the continent came under Spain. Since this took lay extensive before the Industrial Revolution establishment of agricultural estates and opening of mines was the biggest action and these regions supplied the house countries with raw materials. As a result exported development based upon primary goods became firmly recognized in the colonial era.

The Characteristics and Functions of the Colonial State

The colonial state had sure characteristics that distinguish it from the state in Europe and the post-colonial state in the developing countries. Firstly:

it was an instrument of manage and oppression in excess of the regional inhabitants. To this end it recognized strong bureaucracies, police and military forces to uphold order. Hence unlike Europe it was an authoritarian and not a liberal democratic state. Highly centralized and contemporary systems of administration were recognized. Secondly, it was expected to maintain the economic and political interests of the European colonial rulers and their home country and not that of the regional inhabitants. Thirdly the colonial rulers also whispered that they had a "civilizing mission" to perform and attempted to transplant their civilization and values in the colonies. They hence saw colonialism as a white man's burden".

The role played through the colonial state can be best understood if divided into two biggest phases that are general for all colonies due to changes taking place in the world economy. These are: mid nineteenth century to 1920 A second stage from the end of the First World War to decolonization after the Second World War, which saw the gradual decline of colonialism. The first stage saw the establishment of a strong colonial state and policies supportive of the interests of the rulers. It has been called as the "golden era of colonialism because the demand as well as the price of raw materials remained high during. As several countries in Europe one after the other began to industrialize. As the colonies produced these required materials. In several there was a "distribution of gains" i.e.. the natives also profited however this was limited to a small class which owned land or was involved in manufacture or marketing of these goods. For instance farmers producing cotton and sugarcane in India, cocoa in Ghana, groundnuts in the Ivory Coast or coffee in the neo-colony of Brazil or rice in Indonesia etc. which were cash crops grown largely for export and fetched high prices in the international economy.

Models of Colonialism

British Colonial Policies

- *British Colonial Policies in South Africa*

Britain had longer, more continuous colonial experience than mainly imperial powers.

In southern Africa, at least 3 approaches had been implemented throughout the 19th C—Natal, the Cape Colony and Basutoland:

- Natal—the policy of ‘differentiation’
 - There were separate legal and political systems for whites and Africans even however the row tended to be a bit ad hoc.
 - Africans were exempted from Roman-Dutch law which applied to whites and subject to ‘Native law and tradition’.
 - Also, the organization used some African authorities for administration; the Lieutenant-Governor was declared to be ‘supreme chief’ whose powers were exercised through a handful of white officials and magistrates; the latter used ‘traditional chiefs and headmen’ to carry out the law, settle disputes in the middle of Africans, collect taxes, and give labour.
 - Natal did have procedures whereby Africans could go from traditional law and tradition to European law. There were procedures to allow Africans to obtain the right to vote; these procedures were therefore hard that few were able to acquire the vote.
 - At the legal and political stage, this was a prototype of an ‘apartheid’ organization.
- Cape Colony—policy of assimilation and no differentiation.
 - Partly, this Cape ‘liberalism’ goes back to the early 19th C and missionary struggles to eliminate differences in legal status based on color. Cape ‘liberalism’ was founded on Ordinance 50 of 1828 and later the ‘color-blind’ franchise introduced in 1853 with representative government. This policy had been primarily concerned with the Khoikhoi and people of mixed racial backdrop.
 - Initially, mainly Africans were ‘foreigners’ and the Cape had not had to confront the problem squarely. Though, as additional territories and Africans were annexed as a result of the wars, the problem of how to trade with big numbers of Africans had to be addressed.

- Initially, a separate territory, Kaffraria, was set up in order to recognize and administer Xhosa law and tradition. Though, in the 1850s, Sir George Grey initiated the policy of assimilation that was to be policy in the Cape until 1936.
- Grey's objective: "to effort slowly to win them to civilization and Christianity, and therefore to transform through degrees at present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have general interests with ourselves."
- He set out to achieve assimilation as rapidly as possible by schools and hospitals; he recognized that it would take time and have to be accomplished in an evolutionary fashion.
- He hoped slowly to substitute white magistrates for African chiefs and headmen—this meant direct rule; the magistrates were to apply Xhosa law and tradition, but begin to introduce as much Roman-Dutch law as possible.
- In criminal characteristics European law was used.
- Basutoland—indirect rule and no assimilation.
 - Shortly after being taken in excess of through the British government in the 1860s, Basutoland was turned in excess of to the Cape Colony. There it was specifically stated that no law of the Cape Colony was to apply in Basutoland unless it was specifically proclaimed of traditional law.
 - Though, when the Cape gov't tried to apply the Gun Law to Basutoland in 1879, there was a revolt. The Cape was unable to crush the revolt; through the early 1880s, the war was unpopular in the Cape and the gov't was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. In 1882, the Cape announced that it was abandoning Basutoland, and the British gov't extremely reluctantly agreed to resume responsibility.
 - The British told the Basotho that they would give no money and that if the Basotho made any trouble, the British gov't too would withdraw and leave them to the tender mercies of the Boers in the Orange Free State.
 - There was 1 chief magistrate and 3 or 4 assistants; it was a classic case of indirect rule.
 - The hierarchy of king, chiefs and headmen composed taxes, acted as judge's s and the chief magistrate was the final court of appeal as representative of the Queen;

the chief magistrate was a type of super paramount chief above the king.

- This was, I think, the prototype for 'indirect rule' in colonies without white settlers and with an African hierarchical gov't or kingdom; it was used in Bechuanaland later in the 1880s when Britain declared a protectorate.

- *Issues*

There was much debate and these were the 2 principal dichotomies:

Direct rule vs. indirect rule;

Assimilation vs. preservation of traditional community, customs and laws

- The notion of preservation was a bit vague for many causes:
 - All colonial powers after 1918 put forward some sort of thought of a civilizing mission which meant at least the abolition of customs and practices which were 'repugnant to civilized standards' of trial through ordeal. Some critics even wished to go further to eliminate polygyny, lobola and other practices.
 - Thought of trusteeship meant introducing such things as western education, medicine etc.; these inevitably eroded traditional civilization.
 - The problem of paying for these and other gov't services meant introducing taxation and revenue enhancement; this was inseparable from economic transform, especially in regions where there had been only an existence economy.
 - Policies of economic growth also meant economic transform and, inevitably, social changes.
- So, the opposite of assimilation was not non-assimilation or an absence of transform; rather it was preservation of as much as possible of traditional community and civilization.
- "Growth beside their own rows" was often the method it was called— or "separate growth" as the gov't preferred once 'apartheid' was denounced therefore vigorously—and the Bantustan policies adopted through the National Party government of South Africa after 1948.
- It is also the preferred option of mainly anthropologists, including several of those putting forward proposals for native self-government in Canada!

- *Britain's African Empire in the 1920s*

This was a hodgepodge of dissimilar relationships and origins, several of which inhibited the freedom to create and implement policies.

Foreign Office—Zanzibar and South East Nigeria

The Sultan of Oman had extensive been an ally of Britain, even before the move to Zanzibar; this was a protectorate in the original meaning of the term.

Biafra had become a Br. protectorate as a result of international agreement in the period of the suppression of the slave trade in the early 19th C.

Egypt was even more of an anomaly—Britain oversaw the gov't of the Khedive on behalf of an international committee of 6 creditor nations and Italy—this had given Germany a great trade of power in excess of Britain before WW1.

Sudan was a 'condominium' of Britain and Egypt.

Chartered Company Acquisitions

This category incorporated much of Nigeria, Uganda Protectorate and the Rhodesias.

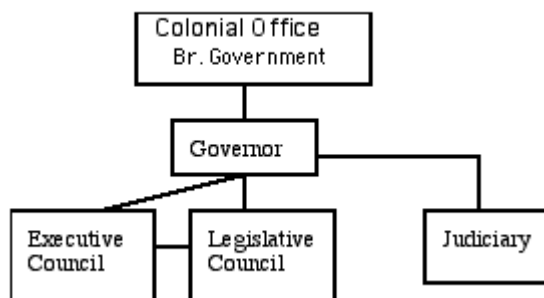
When companies got into trouble, whether financial or questionable behavior, mainly of these regions had slowly been taken in excess of through the Colonial Office.

Colonial Office

These had been annexed directly through Britain and generally had a 'crown colony' status and gov't; even in these cases, there were often agreements and treaties made throughout the scramble which inhibited the freedom to develop policies.

Model of British Crown Colony Government

Fig 2.1 Model of British Crown Colony Government.



The outline of the model was approximately always the similar, but the model was infinitely flexible.

Although the judiciary is connected to the governor, judges were always self-governing.

The British never liked to provide a governor absolute power; a governor had to work with other officials.

- Executive Co. was made up of the governor and his top officials; this was the head of the administration.
- Legislative Co. was responsible for passing new laws and regulations; the governor and Executive Co. were members as was the chief justice who often was the Chair or speaker. Other men would be appointed to symbolize the regional people, business etc; they would be appointed through the governor but generally with advice from London. The rationale was that people should have some input into the creation of legislation, especially levying new taxes. Until the 1950s, no Africans were appointed; often missionaries were appointed as representatives to articulate the interests of Africans.

The Leg. Co. could be changed through introducing some elected representatives or through creation the majority elected; generally when the balance of elected reps. to official reps. passed well beyond the 50% spot, it would become a de facto Legislative Assembly.

Responsible government could be introduced through creation the Executive Co. 'responsible' to the elected majority in the Legislative Co.. Of course, when this happened, the majority would select one of its own members to become the prime minister; the latter would select some of his elected supporters to become ministers and the Executive Council would become a cabinet in the parliamentary organization. The governor would cease being the head of government and would then become a representative of the crown.

In the 1950s and 60s, these devices were used to create the transition to majority rule and eventually to independence.

Economic Growth:

From the beginning of the 20th C, the British were anxious to promote economic advancement and augment action.

- In West Africa beside the coastal regions especially, there were already market-oriented, trade systems— gold, slaves, palm oil etc. Here it was comparatively easy to encourage existing or new products for export and regional small producers responded; scholars have described this approach peasants and peasant manufacture as opposed to plantation manufacture through white planters or companies. Colonial administrations tried to improve infrastructure in order to facilitate export of commodities in economic growth.
- Climatically, West Africa was not too attractive to whites, and British policy was to encourage regional indigenous producers. British or expatriate firms handled export and sometimes got into the middleman roles, but later under Dual Mandate theories, colonial governments tried to facilitate more African manage of internal middleman roles.

Sometimes, the British adopted the opposite policy—the best instance is Kenya. The regional population had been occupied in an existence economy only.

- For strategic causes, the railroad had been built from Mombasa to Nairobi and on to Lake Victoria, but there was great determination to get the railroad self-enough and self-paying as quickly as possible. Also, the highlands region had a comparatively moderate climate and was attractive to whites.
- As a result, in relation to the 1905, the Kenya government adopted a clear and deliberate policy of encouraging white settlers to approach in order to develop export manufacture on big-level farms quickly.
- Though, white settlers demanded a say in decision-creation; in 1914, settlers were granted the right to elect a number of representatives to the Leg. Co.; Africans and others were represented through appointed members; the majority of the Leg. Co., were officials or appointed, not elected.

French Approaches in Colonial Policy

Ostensibly, French colonial administration is generally characterized as more 'direct rule' compared to the British; traditional authorities were mainly ignored.

French ideas in relation to the colonial policy were divided—assimilation <---> association.

Assimilation:

This approach had its origins in the French revolution—equality, fraternity and freedom should apply to anyone who was French, regardless of race or color; therefore, rights of citizenship, including political rights, had been extended to residents of the cantons of Saint-Louis in Senegal in the 1790s.

Though, people in the conservative, catholic and monarchist custom in France were never happy with this; in information, political rights to people in Senegal became a weather vane of politics in France: when the republicans were dominant and controlled the constitution, the Senegalese had the vote, but when monarchists were dominant, they did not. This approach was never applied anywhere else in Africa, until after 1945.

Assimilation was predicated on a presumption of the superiority of French civilization and ‘civilization’. As section of France’s ‘mission civilisatrice’, when confronted through ‘barbarian’ people, it was the duty of France to civilize them and turn them into Frenchmen.

While this implied a type of excellence ranchmen, it also dismissed African civilization as non-existent or at least without value; of course, the French tended to feel that method in relation to the almost everyone else too. French civilization was the epitome and everything else was at best 2nd or 3rd rate! African community was seen as without history or civilization, mainly in a state of war and flux.

‘Assimilation’ meant dissimilar things at dissimilar times; Michael Crowder mentions 7 meanings in excess of the history of Senegal.

- Throughout the revolution, it was the métis population which was assimilated and able to seize opportunities accessible in the assimilation policy; after the restoration of 1815, the rights of non-white French in Senegal were downgraded.
- Political rights were conferred on all free residents lashed throughout the revolution, domestic slavery was not finally abolished until 1848; as a result, 12,000 Africans acquired voting rights in addition to whites and métis who already had such rights.
- Also, Senegal got to elect a deputy to the National Assembly and a métis was elected; political rights were withdrawn under the empire of Louis Napoleon in the 1850s and 60s.
- Governor Faidherbe, throughout the empire in the 1860s, began the procedure of conquest and expansion of Senegal; the pattern in the newly conquered regions set the pattern for France’s African empire; the privileges of the 4 communes of the coast were not extended into the interior and the policy was

not as simulations; here began the distinction flanked by 'citoyen' and 'sujet'

- The right to a deputy was regained in 1871 in the 3rd republic; also, an elected body was recognized in Senegal in 1879, but only for citizens, not subjects. These were the last extensions of political rights in French Africa until 1944.
- Through 1900, regional whites had lost political manage in the cantons to the métis;
- Leading up to 1914, there were biggest attacks on the rights and status of Africans; although their rights to vote were upheld, Africans in the cantons did not get full recognition of their status as 'citoyen'.
- In 1912 a law stated that only subjects of West Africa can could become 'citoyen' and set stiff circumstances and necessities; as a result, 1914- 1922 only 94 'sujets' became 'citoyens'; up to 1937, only in relation to the 2,000 had supervised to do it in all of French West Africa.
- Throughout WW1, the first African was elected deputy and from that point, both whites and métis had lost political manage to Africans in the cantons.
- Therefore, assimilation granted rights to Africans and, in theory at least, excellence to those few who were measured assimilated; though, from the late 19th C until 1944, it was restricted and under attack.

The great expansion of the French empire in the late 19th C had brought big numbers of Africans under French manage and this provoked a distant-ranging debate on colonial policy. There was a rising reaction in France against assimilation:

- Some argued on racist grounds that Africans were inferior and therefore incapable of full assimilation;
- Others felt that the tremendous educational attempt involved in creation assimilation a reality was too much and that beyond some arithmetic and minimal literacy, training in agriculture and easy trades was more significant.
- Also, in the backdrop was Algeria with a big, influential French settler population pushing for special privileges and rights as compared to the big Moslem population there.
- Though, there was also a rising recognition that Africans had an extremely dissimilar civilization.

Association:

The opposing thought was that the connection flanked by the conqueror and the conquered, of white and black peoples, should be one of 'association', not one of identity and merging; it emphasized cooperation flanked by the rulers and the ruled.

- Association was supposed to respect the cultural and political values and organizations of Africans; Africans could not and should not be turned into black French people.
- Like Dual Mandate, it was asserted that economic growth was for the mutual advantage of both France and Africans.
- To some extent, especially after 1918, proponents referred approvingly to the British model of indirect rule and claimed the intention to rule more indirectly, retaining traditional tradition and law. Actually, conquering officers like Faidherbe in Senegal, had done this much earlier and for several of the similar causes as the British—it was cheaper and provoked less resistance.

Though, in practice, implementation was always a bit superficial; at best, Africans and ‘traditional’ authorities were used only at the extremely bottom rung of the administration. They were subordinate cogs in the bureaucracy for carrying out policies which were urbanized through expatriate French officials with no real consultation with Africans.

African societies were carved up into ‘cantons’ and chiefs who were not adequately efficient or subservient were deposed and replaced, often with little regard for traditional status. The Kingdom of Dahomey, which would have been an ideal candidate under the British organization of ‘indirect rule’, was totally dismantled and no important members of the royal family were employed through the colonial administration.

Eventually, advisory councils were started in each stage of the bureaucracy. African law and tradition, but they had no power and not much power.

In effect, there was a dual legal organization set up—French law for whites, métis, African residents of Saint-Louis and the few Africans in West Africa who were naturalized ‘citoyens’; ‘sujets’ were subject to a organization described justice indigène.

In spite of the name it was not a real effort to preserve or revive African law or justice; instead French officers, assisted through African assessors, dispensed civil and criminal justice ostensibly just as to African law, but mostly just as to what the white official decided was African law or more generally, just as to what he idea was natural justice. Of course, this produced a great trade of difference in the law and its administration.

There was little machinery or penal provisions to curb an administrator; there were few appeals from his decisions except for that he could not execute on his own power superiors therefore generally he could get his decision confirmed.

In addition, there was an organization described indigénat which in information allowed administrative tyranny; governors could describe sure offences through decree, and persons could be tried summarily through regional officers.

Also, extremely heavy obligations were placed on the African population through the colonial administration:

- Prestation—12 days of free labour for public works and purposes.
- Compulsory or forced labour paid at extremely low rates.
- Conscription in wartime.

Money taxes were intended to force Africans to grow export crops or go out to work.

In practice, 'association' brought a greater degree of authoritarianism. It provided a rationale for withholding rights which were taken for granted in France speech etc., from African 'sujets'. There was no growth of these rights in Francophone regions of Africa before 1945. This was a sharp contrast with British colonies.

Curiously, this situation did not transform throughout the Popular Front gov't in the 1930s. In information, there looks to have been a division. Even under republican gov'ts, the colonies were under much more managed through the military and conservative elements. While isolation of church and state was being pushed in France, the colonial administrations in Africa were deep partners with missionaries.

Growth:

Albert Sarraut's *La Mise en valeur de nos colonies* was influential in setting out the thought of systematic growth of French colonies; i.e., to treat the colonies like an estate or enterprise.

In French West Africa, great efforts were made to augment exports and success and to build railways into the interior, although mainly exports came from the coastal regions of bigger rainfall—peanuts, hardwoods, palm kernels and palm oil. Late in the 1930s cocoa and coffee were encouraged through the government; attempts to grow cotton with irrigation were not too successful.

Circumstances in French Equatorial Africa were much more hard; several regions were remote from the sea and land was not too fruitful. There were formidable transportation troubles and little trade was recognized in the region before WW1.

In the international agreements through which France got recognition for its claims to the region, no customs duties were allowed. As the French parliament gave little financial assistance, the colonial administration had a extremely hard time to get revenues; as a result, the FEA gov't placed extremely heavy taxation and labour demands on the population and also raised revenue through letting 'concessions'.

'Concessions' gave private companies wide powers in excess of big regions to use specified natural possessions; the gov't often provided a lot of assistance in meeting the labour necessities of the companies.

Eventually, a number of scandals came to light showing the consequences of such an organization. French officials had great powers and few controls. For instance, Africans were forced to give labour, often having to migrate for extensive distances, for little money, and working circumstances often were extremely poor; substantial numbers of men died, and families and regional societies were disrupted. The abuses were not always accepted out for the private enrichment of the officials; often it was the only method to carry out some of their growth projects, but the impact on Africans was severe either method.

La Mise en valeur set out deliberately to develop the classical model of the colonies supplying raw materials and being a market for French manufactured goods in what became recognized as the *pacte coloniale*. Though, the organization did guarantee markets and prices for products from the colonies in France. This was of some value throughout the depression in the 1930s when prices and demand for raw materials on world markets plummeted. British colonies got no defense, but were fully discovered to the vagaries of the world market.

This organization was renewed and expanded after 1945 and remained in effect after independence; France even negotiated special conditions for its former African colonies in the E.E.C. Only recently have the arrangements been significantly reduced.

In theory, Sarraut's La Mise en valeur was supposed to benefit both France and its colonies, but benefits to Africans were much more limited:

- Export products were shipped out raw or with extremely little processing; e.g., mainly palm oil was shipped out in kernels without being processed into oil therefore that there was little processing let alone manufacturing.
- Or course, the swap of raw materials for manufactured goods has a disproportionate volume and value for the latter for much smaller quantities of manufactured goods. Also, prices of raw materials tend to go up more gradually and fall more quickly than the latter.
- The opening of railroads often squeezed out African traders and middlemen or forced them into remote, not extremely available regions, absent from the railroads; Africans were unable to compete with the credit possessions or the privileged treatment accorded French or 'Syrian' traders.

Except for in Algeria, there was no big influx of French settlers therefore that there were not the great struggles in excess of the land that took lay there. The promotion of export crops was generally within the context of African peasant use.

Not having to withstand white settler demands for land did not always mean security of tenure for Africans as mainly officials were not aware of regional traditions. Mainly officials assumed that Africans merely

went out to some uncultivated piece of land and began to work it as extensive as they liked; officials failed to perceive the depth and complexities of African land tenures. They failed to appreciate the need to allow land to be fallow in order to recover fertility. Therefore, they sometimes alienated land arbitrarily; they might decide that because land was not being cultivated currently, it could and should be turned in excess of to someone else that would.

In coastal regions, Ivory Coast and Guinea, they did provide extensive and short term leases to European companies and individuals for plantations.

Labour and Taxation Issues:

Shapes of domestic slavery and servitude had lived in African societies since extensive before the Europeans arrived and the transatlantic slave trade initiated. Domestic slavery had been abolished in Senegal in 1848, but the huge conquests of the scramble era brought the French into manage of regions where it was widespread. It was a difficulty because abolition would produce disruption and opposition; the new colonial regimes were anxious to avoid such reactions.

Nevertheless, the regimes did begin to abolish domestic slavery although some critics argue that this was more for economic causes e mobile in order to meet the requires of the growth policies than for humanitarian causes. Undoubtedly, there is some truth in these criticisms.

Villages de liberté were set up. Ostensibly, these were spaces where people freed from slavery could go, but soon they came to be seen primarily as labour reservoirs which the colonial administration could attract upon. A great trade of pressure and coercion was applied; labour from these spaces was conscripted, not only for public purposes but also in some cases to give for private companies. As a result, it is charged that, in some cases, the villages de liberté were little bigger than forced labour camps.

The taxation organization was used as a biggest tool through colonial administrations to achieve their goals, not presently to gain revenues:

- Taxes were levied to stimulate Africans to collect natural materials for export; while the potential was limited, it did stimulate use of these possessions.
- Some farmers shifted their manufacture to export crops in order to get money for taxes. This could lead to reduced quantities of food for consumption with increased malnutrition. Also, repeated rising of the similar export crops year after year, depleted fertility of the soils even faster than regular traditional agriculture would have.

- Taxation was also used to force big numbers of Africans to give labour. This was general everywhere in Africa, but it often created special troubles in French regions. Several people in the sudanic regions were forced into extensive migrations to employment opportunities either constructing railroads or to the comparatively wealthy regions on the coast. Big numbers traveled to the Gold Coast where manufacture of peanuts and cocoa was booming and labour was in demand; migrants had to travel hundreds of miles with little assistance, and the result was a good trade of hardship, illness and even death.
- The comparatively wealthy coastal regions of FWA provided some revenues for growth and government. In FEA, there were no important wealthy regions and the taxation and labour demands on Africans were extremely great to achieve any services or growth at all this resulted, as noted earlier, in a number of scandals.

Education and Public Services:

Slowly, some gov't services were introduced and expanded, but these programmes were always severely hampered through inadequate funds and possessions.

Western medical treatment was gradually expanded, but several observers argue that it was a extensive time before benefits were almost equal to the disruptiveness of diseases introduced from outside and the big level migrations induced through colonial policies exacerbated the troubles and accepted new diseases into even remote regions.

Education expanded extremely gradually except for in Senegal and to a lesser extent in Dahomey. In these latter regions, a full hierarchy with the opening of the Polytechnic in Dakar was urbanized early. Though, it was always an extremely slender organization with a small elementary school foundation; there was no mass education. There were a number of causes for this:

- Mainly of the inland peoples in the FWA was Moslem. For the mainly section, education was provided through missionaries, but mainly missionaries were kept out of Islamic regions; also, the people were not much interested in education provided through Christian missionaries.
- The French always insisted on French as the language of instruction and this slowed the procedure. Only those who had acquired a high stage of proficiency in French could acquire education.
- The curriculum was approximately exactly the similar as in France, even the similar textbooks. One well-known history

textbook began “Our ancestors the Gauls...” Therefore, ‘assimilation’ lingered on even in the period of ‘association’.

- The French education organization has always been elitist—i.e., it focuses on a minority of the mainly talented and tries to develop their capabilities to an extremely high stage; the elite are separated at an early age from the majority; education of the majority does not have as high a priority.

This tendency was exaggerated extremely much in Africa; only a tiny minority was provided with any education, but there was opportunity to go all the method, even to university degrees at French universities. This last required an extremely high stage of assimilation achieve this and involved extremely gifted, outstanding individuals. On the other hand, mainly of the population received no education whatever!

Academic programmes at the Polytechnic in Dakar did begin to train people in agriculture and veterinary science—also, some medical technicians and partly trained medical practitioners; though, the numbers in these programmes were extremely limited.

Mostly, education was intended to train men for the bureaucracy as clerks, officers, etc.

In this region, the French were freer of colour prejudice and discrimination than the British, and Africans could create their method in the bureaucracy beside with whites; there was almost certainly not absolute equality, but a few were reaching high positions through the end of the 1930s. The first African governor was appointed in French Equatorial Africa throughout WW2. This man had an extremely significant role; he threw his support behind DeGaulle and the Free French—the first governor and high official in Africa to do therefore.

Commandant de circle was the equivalent to the district officer in the British organization; though, they had great powers—administrator, magistrate, tax collector etc.

Much depended upon their personal qualities; they were often much closer to the African population than their British counterparts have been complained of commandants often stayed in the similar region for extensive periods of time and often had African mistresses he end of one’s career if exposed.

Sometimes, the commandant was pictured as a paternal figure, understanding the requires of his flock and doing his best to help them and seem after them; on the other hand, the commandant has been pictured as a tyrant, having extremely big powers distant from the checks of higher power and untouchable through the complaints of his charges.

Almost certainly, there were examples of commandants at each of these extremes with mainly somewhere in flanked by.

The French always claimed that their colonialism was freer of the racism which underlay British attitudes; in some methods this was true, but it

was almost certainly truer in France than in Africa and less rigidly than in the colonies. Those Africans who climbed to the pinnacle in education generally were carried and had good careers in France and to some extent in the colonies. This was more true after 1945.

Assimilation vs. Association:

However association was officially adopted as policy for the French African colonies, habits of mind and attitudes of officers tended still to have strong assimilationist biases. As a result, implementation of association was often half-hearted without much attempt to get to know African custom and tradition. At best, in sparsely populated regions, especially in Islamic regions, association meant non-interference in religious matters and often little interference in other regions as well.

Though, in mainly practice, French officials tended to implement French methods of doing things in administration and in law.; the belief in the superiority of things French held through several, almost certainly mainly, Frenchmen working in the colonial administrations meant that they would tend to promote things French.

Association did involve a much more authoritarian approach to governing in Africa up to 1944 or 45 and provided the rationale for withholding rights from Africans; an African press, trade unions and political activities were all suppressed up to 1945.

After 1945, the approach was explicitly assimilationist; the African colonies were treated as an integral section of France—France *outrémer*. Africans in the colonies were given rights to elect representatives to the French parliament, to have a free press, trade unions and political parties.

Suddenly, all these things flourished; mainly trade unions and political parties aligned and affiliated themselves with same institutions in France socialists, communists and moderates.

Francophone regions did become extremely much assimilated into the French political organization, although less therefore in the colonial bureaucracy which remained separate and under the ministry of colonies. The highly centralized bureaucracy directing local and regional affairs from Paris was recognized as not entirely appropriate for the African colonies. Much more was decided through regional colonial governments.

Though, African politicians were oriented to Paris, and a number of Africans served in French cabinets throughout the 1940s and 50s.

When DeGaulle indicated in 1962 that African regions would be given a choice either to remain section of greater France or to become self-governing, the initial response of mainly African politicians was that

they would choose to remain section of greater France. The only exception had been Guinea where the leaders had been allied to the communists. Except for in Algeria where the independence thrash about was therefore bitter and violent, there had been no vociferous independence movements in French African colonies.

It seems to have been the instance of what was happening in British colonies that changed things; Ghana had become self-governing and Kwame Nkrumah was emerging as a leader, holding conferences to encourage independence in Africa. Nkrumah was in information playing a big role on the international level, playing off the superpowers against each other, promoting Pan-Africanism as a means of taking Africa from a location of subordination and dependence to a location of power in the world through African unity and becoming one of the leaders in the non-aligned movement. Francophone leaders were participating in an integral method in the affairs of a biggest power, one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Though, Nkrumah was showing the possibility of playing on an even better level—the world. Also, through playing off the superpowers, it seemed that Nkrumah would get enough aid to develop Ghana in a generation or two. Therefore, independence seemed the circuit to rapid, overnight growth.

Also, in the wake of the ‘winds of transform’ policies of Britain’s Macmillan government, mainly of the British colonies were self-governing or had their dates of independence scheduled in excess of the after that 2 or 3 years.

So, within a few months, the francophone African politicians changed their minds and all now wanted independence.

Portugal’s Colonial Policy

This discussion is through no means a thorough analysis of Portugal’s colonial policies. Rather, there are a few common comments and impressions.

Portugal’s explorers had rounded the Cape of Good Hope late in the 15th C and had given Portugal a large lead in excess of other European rivals for trade and other involvements. Although their monopoly was broken and the Portuguese shouldered aside later through the Dutch and English, the Portuguese had clung to a number of enclaves on both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. In mainly of these enclaves, Portuguese manage was tenuous and did not extend extremely deeply into the interior. For instance, throughout the Mfecane, a group of warriors driven out of Zululand had attacked and burned Lourenço Marques; the Portuguese had had to watch from ships where they had taken refuge.

Portugal was a small country and its possessions were limited; it had supervised to stay the regions it did either because nobody else wanted them or in other cases, the British establish it convenient to support Portuguese manage. Portugal was not extremely industrialized, and often they used British goods for trade.

Throughout the scramble, imperialists like Cecil Rhodes hoped to supplant the Portuguese; especially, Rhodes wanted to build a railway from the Indian Ocean by Mozambique to the new territories acquired through his BSA Co. and named Rhodesia in his honor remained Portuguese.

The Germans also had designs on Portugal's territorial claims much more than it actually controlled in Africa up its largest African colonies to make a giant MittelAfrika. In the event, the British and the Germans cancelled each other out. Each preferred that the disputed regions remain in Portuguese hands rather than be lost to the other.

The Portuguese did attempt to extend more effective manage in the colonies they retained, but manage in excess of remote regions was never complete to were able to set up bases in these regions.

In growth, the Portuguese tended to rely on concession companies and/or plantations.

The Portuguese had less colour prejudice than some other European peoples and a higher tendency to intermarry in hopes of creation their fortunes often did not have wives; therefore, in excess of extensive periods of time in their colonies, the Portuguese created and merged with a mulatto population.

After WW2 especially, the Portuguese government adopted an adaptation of the metropolitan approach; i.e., the colonies became a section of greater Portugal and those individuals who could meet the assimilation criteria could become Portuguese citizens.

Also, in the post-1945 era and especially in the 1950s and 60s in a attempt to develop the colonies and ease population and unemployment pressures at house, the Portuguese government encouraged emigration to Angola and Mozambique.

The Portuguese claimed that their colonialism was free of racism, but this was at best only partly true. The practice of granting citizenship to anyone who could meet the education and assimilation criteria in information benefited the mulatto population primarily, not the common African population. Also, the white settlers from Portugal in the post 1945 era became more race conscious and there were strains on the policy of non-racialism.

Though, as independence movements and guerrilla activities started, it was evident that whites were dependent on the Portuguese army; the government tried to undercut support for the independence movements through expanding the non-racialism policies. Therefore, there were contradictory pressures.

Why did Portugal hang on therefore extensive?:

Many, especially Marxists, argued flatly that it was because the colonies were therefore profitable and pointed primarily to the coffee and oil exports from Angola to justify this assessment. Though, prices for these commodities were mostly extremely low throughout the 1950s and 60s.

I think that it is doubtful that the colonies paid; especially with the emergence of insurgency movements in many Portuguese colonies, it is sure that the wars were a big drain on Portugal and its economy. I doubt if they were extremely profitable even before that. It is one of the causes for such low standards of livelihood in Portugal.

One of the largest causes for hanging on was prestige. For 1 century, Portugal had been the second greatest colonial power in Europe. Portugal sustained to cling to its empire ever after; it was possibly the largest source of pride for the Portuguese.

The Portuguese empire ended when the military leaders who overthrew the dictatorship decided that the empire was not worth it; the army did not have the possessions to win, although they could almost certainly continue the stalemate for an extensive time. As well as being costly, the stalemate was also grossly demoralizing. The decision to allow the colonies to become self-governing was also extremely popular in the middle of the majority of the public in Portugal. The Portuguese settlers, of course, and some of their supporters in Portugal denounced the abandonment and 'betrayal'. Several of the settlers went to South Africa instead of returning to Portugal.

3 largest factors underlay the decision to end the empire:

- The liberation movements had increased the costs extremely considerably;
- Portugal had missed out on the tremendous European expansion of the 1950s and 60s; through the early 1970s, Portugal was even further behind with lower stages of economic output and lower standards of livelihood.
- Also, it had become clear to the military that the wars against the liberation movements were not winnable as from Vietnam. Therefore, both the military and much of the public in Portugal were fed up and demoralized.

While it is intricate and one should avoid being simplistic, it is true that European countries have done much bigger economically and in standards of livelihood after eliminating their colonial empires than when they had them.

Alternately, since independence, mainly African countries have been doing worse than they were doing in the pre-independence colonial era. Again, we should not be simplistic in interpreting this, but it does

illustrate the need to seem at the more simplistic economic interpretations much more critically.

PATTERNS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

Anti-Colonialism Explained

A big number of present members of the United Nations were subjected to foreign rule and use, for an extensive time, before they attained sovereignty and full statehood after the Second World War. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of European Powers set out to set up their economic power and political manage in excess of huge territories of Asia and Africa, Practically the whole continent of Africa and big sections of Asia had become colonies either of Britain or France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium or the Netherlands. The peoples of colonies had to carry out struggles for their freedom from foreign rulers. These struggles are recognized as anti-colonial struggles, and were accepted out in dissimilar methods in dissimilar colonies. The procedure of victory of anti-colonial struggles and attainment of freedom through the colonies came to be recognized as decolonization.

Colonialism

The term colonialism is used to indicate a situation in which economically wealthy and urbanized countries of Europe recognized their manage in excess of the backward, poor and underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, The vital characteristic of colonialism is use of underdeveloped countries through the rich European nations. Imperialism is a term that designates political manages of one country in excess of the other. The imperial powers acquired political manage in excess of big number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Therefore, if colonialism was economic use, imperialism was political manage. The two went hand-in-

gloves. In mainly cases imperialism followed economic power and use. Colonies were used to acquire cheap raw material and labour, and for dumping their markets the finished--goods produced through the colonial powers. Both colonialism and imperialism were exploitative and undemocratic. One naturally followed the other.

The colonialists had their arguments to support this organization of use. The defenders of colonialism and imperialism pleaded their case in conditions of white man's burden. They argued that it was the obligation of advanced nations to help the people of "backward" countries— to "civilize" and "Christianize" them, and "to teach them the dignity of labour, and to impress' upon them the beauties of their own concepts of law and order." Just as to Palmer and Perkins, "They argued that colonialism was a necessary prelude to the emergence of mainly of the free and self-governing states of the world and to the twentieth century awakening of Asia and Africa." These arguments of supporters of colonialism were rightly rebutted through its critics who used such conditions as brutality, use, misery, hatred and degradation for colonialism and its practices. The critics insisted that the thrash about for empires led only to the urge to make greater and still greater empires and that the appetite of empire builders knew no limits. Colonialism was the basis of imperialism.

Portugal and Spain were the first to set up their colonies. They were soon joined through Britain, France, the Netherlands and Germany. The first to lose its colonies were Germany and Turkey who were deprived of all their colonies after their defeat in the First World War. Even Japan and the US had joined the race. After the First World War only four African countries were fully or partially self-governing. The rest of the Continent was under one colonial power or the other. The British Empire was therefore huge that the sun never set in it. The 13 British colonies in North America were the first to

liberate themselves in 1770s and 1780s, and they recognized the sovereign United States of America. The Portuguese and Spanish colonies of Latin America were after that to acquire independence. Asia and Africa had to wage struggles for independence, in which they succeeded only after the Second World War.

Colonies' Desire for Liberation

People's livelihood in colonies had extensively suffered use at the hands of their European masters. They were denied vital rights and freedom. They had practically no share in governance. The colonies were raw-material suppliers who were denied not only industrialization and growth, but were also denied the right to self-government. Supporters of colonialism, such as J.A. Hobson explained colonialism as "... a natural outflow of nationality; its test is the power of colonists to transplant the culture they symbolize to the new natural, and social environment in which they discover themselves." This therefore described civilizing of the peoples of colonies was a garb under which the colonialists exploited the colonies. As people from colonies such as India got limited opportunity to visit the western countries and reside there, they learnt how they were being exploited, and that what was the value of freedom that the European people enjoyed. This prompted educated people in colonies to awaken their fellow countrymen to the realities of imperialism and to work for liberation and self-governance.

At the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries held in 1955, President Sukarno of Indonesia said, "Colonialism has... its modern dress in the form of economic manage, intellectual manage, and actual physical manage through a small but alien society..... It was, so, argued at the Conference that, "Colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." Through the time of Bandung Conference the

Afro-Asian peoples had approach to the conclusion that both colonialism and imperialism referred to a "larger-inferior connection." Therefore, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa resolved to abandon their location as "inferiors" and to assert their excellence with the peoples of former colonial powers.

Therefore, however the procedure of anti-colonial struggles and decolonization had begun soon after the Second World War, the urge for liberation and self-governance and to defeat use made for accelerated anti-colonial struggles from 1950s onwards.

Patterns of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Mainly of the colonies of several European Powers had to wage thrash about for their independence. Though, there was no uniform pattern of these struggles, or a general way of the thrash neither about, nor even the duration of struggles was, usually speaking, the similar. Their nature often differed sharply and the time taken through a movement to be successful depended on several factors such as determination of regional leadership, support of the people and attitude of the colonial power concerned. In several countries, protest against colonial rule had lived right from the time of arrival of colonial rulers. In other countries like Ghana, Nigeria, the Congo, Angola, etc. such movements began much after several of the Asian countries had already become free. It is not possible in this unit to go into all the details of struggles of all the colonies. What is proposed to be done is to analyze the broad patterns and ways of freedom struggles. In the present section, two broad patterns of anti-colonial struggles are dealt with. In the after that part trade with the ways used through dissimilar 601onies. The two largest patterns were usually highlighted through the leftist scholars.

National Independence Movements

A big number of countries, including India, followed the pattern of anti-colonial struggles recognized as independence movements. These movements were aimed at removal of the foreign rulers, and securing political independence. It was whispered that the principal concern of the leadership of freedom movements was transfer of power from the imperial masters to the regional people. The aim was to replace the foreign governments through national governments and to build strong state after independence. The critics pointed out that it basically meant transform of rulers. For instance in case of India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, etc. the objective was to throw the British out, and close transfer of power to the regional elite. The national independence movements were not immediately concerned with the restructuring of colonial societies. Leftist scholars define these movements as bourgeois, professional and bureaucratic movements for political transform. The point that the critics tried to create was that transfer of power made no variation to the general man and women who remained under the existing exploitative socio-economic organization.

National independence movements did not seek to transform the social organization or the economic order. In India and Pakistan, for instance, caste sustained to control the social organization which perpetuated social injustice. In economic sphere capitalists and landlords sustained to enjoy full power in excess of their workers and peasants. Industrial management remained exploitative. The workers were given no share in management. Not only was that, circumstances of livelihood and work neither hygienic nor conducive to good life. The peasants in the rural regions remained at the mercy of landlords and large peasants. To sum up, political power changed hands, while socio-economic organization remained as before. Use remained; exploiters changed.

This was the result of freedom movements accepted out through parties and leaders who were essentially concerned with transfer of political power. Mainly of the leaders had been educated in Great Britain, or in other European

countries. In several countries these "westernized" leaders failed to be mass leaders. This was pattern that helped leadership to acquire power, but did not help the general man overcome his difficulties.

National Liberation Movements

These movements began rather late. In extremely few colonies movements that were launched and accepted out for independence had twin purpose. These anti-colonial struggles were aimed at liberation of the masses from use and injustice. At the similar time they wanted to defeat the foreign rulers and seek power for the people, not for the elite. This, though, is doubtful if the gains actually reached the masses. Power, when transferred, went into the hands of leadership. Vietnam can be cited as an instance of the liberation movement. The Communist Party, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh had to wage an extensive thrash about first against the French who wanted to regain their hold, after Japanese defeat and retain it as extensive as they could. Later, when US intervened on the face of South Vietnam, where a right wing government had approach to power, the Ho Chi Minh regime had to fight against the Americans and South Vietnamese. At the similar time, this thrash about was aimed at removal of poverty, illiteracy and use. The objective of the national liberation movements, as in case of Vietnam or Congo or Angola was ending of alien rule and radical restructuring of socio-economic systems. The aim was to bring in relation to the socioeconomic justice and ensure power to the people. However the western critics dubbed it as mere communist power, the leaders of the movement called it as people's thrash about for their rights, and freedom, and thrash about against foreign power and internal injustice perpetuated through the landlords and handful of owners of wealth.

To conclude, the two largest patterns of anti-colonial struggles were general in one respect. Both kinds of struggles were to defeat the colonialism and imperialism through throwing the foreign rulers out - British in case of

India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana etc.; French in case of Algeria, Ivory Coast and Indo- China Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam; Belgians in case of Congo; the Dutch in case of Indonesia, and Portuguese in case of Angola and Mozambique. While, this one objective was general, the variation flanked by the independence movements and liberation struggles was that whereas former sought only the political freedom from foreign rule or Swaraj the latter also wanted social and economic justice and defeat of use in all its manifestations. Guided through Marxist-Leninist ideas, their aim was social revolution beside with political independence.

Ways of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Colonialism was a biggest curse. It was defeated as a result of vigorous efforts made through the Afro-Asian countries. The outcome of anti-colonial struggles was called as a revolution. Palmer and Perkins wrote that, "The 'revolt of Asia' may prove to be the mainly important growth of the twentieth century." Earlier Arnold Toynbee had predicted that even the challenge of communism "may approach to look a small affair when the almost certainly distant more potent culture of India and China respond.. to our western challenge.. " Therefore, the revolutionary changes in Asia and Africa were measured extremely important growths. The British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan had said in 1959 in a speech in Moscow that, "Imperialism is an epoch in history, not a present reality." But, the therefore-described 'epoch' ruined the economics of Afro-Asian countries. As Nehru said the crisis of time of Asia was 'Colonialism versus anti-colonialism'. The anti-colonial struggles were accepted out either peacefully or by violent means. There was indeed lot of role of colonial powers themselves. They were forced through growths both at national and international stages to provide up their empires.

Peaceful Non-Violent Struggles

A significant way of anti-colonial thrash about was non-violence. This was adopted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Later, many other colonies also followed the path shown through India. Indian National Congress recognized in 1885 as a forum for expression of aspirations of educated Indians was, at that time, usually welcomed through the British. But, it soon became an anti-British platform. Initially, the Congress leadership merely sought reforms that would provide some participation to Indians in the Legislative Councils, but within two decades, its largest concern turned out to be anti-British. Indian National Congress measured defeat of the British raj as its largest objective. Like mainly nationalist movements, the freedom movement in India came to be divided into less militant and more militant factions. The first was represented through Gokhale, and subsequently through Mahatma Gandhi; and the second was led through Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal. For the first faction, reforms were the largest objective; for the second it was defeat of the British rule. Through and big, Congress remained committed to non-violent ways, under the leadership Mahatma Gandhi.

Non-violence was Gandhi's largest weapon. He initiated the non-cooperation movement after Jalianwala Bagh Massacre on the circumstances that it would remain non-violent and Indians were to boycott British courts, goods and educational organizations. The movement was doing extremely well when Suddenly in 1922 an angry mob in Chauri Chaura put a police station on fire, killing almost two dozen policemen. Brushing aside criticism, Gandhiji withdrew the movement as it had turned violent. His peaceful Dandi March, to break. the infamous salt law of the British rulers, began the civil disobedience movement which again was to remain peaceful, as people would disobey the laws that were unjust. The Quit India Movement of 1942 was again to remain peaceful, but even before it could be formally launched, the British Government arrested all prominent leaders, leaving the people

leaderless. There was, so, some element of violence provoked through the British themselves. However some young revolutionaries like Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Ashfaq Ullah Khan and Ram Prasad Bismil did" not follow Gandhiji's diktat of non-violence, yet their enthusiasm and sacrifice contributed to India's freedom thrash about in a large method. Big number of Indian leaders was sent to jail many times.

Several other countries also adopted non-violent and peaceful way for fighting against the foreign rule and to gain independence. There was little freedom movement in Sri Lanka. It gained its independence from Britain in 1948, as a consequence of British departure from India.

Burma was a section of British India till the enforcement of Government of India Act of 1935. As such it was associated with India's non-violent thrash about. When the Second World War began, the Burmese nationalists were usually pro-Japanese, but later became anti-Japanese. With the armaments supplied through the British, the Burmese nationalists got jointly in Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League. The Labour Government which came to power in the UK in 1945 recognized the AFPFL as the organization to trade with. The British Governor of Burma wanted to arrest the mainly significant nationalist leader Aung San. The Government recalled the Governor and dealt with Aung San's party for transfer of power. Although Aung San and other leaders were assassinated in July 1947, their surviving colleagues achieved the goal of independence in January 1948. There was no fighting. Calvocoressi concluded that, "The British, strongly convinced through their own pledge to leave India and also through the belief that it was not possible to use the Indian troops... against the Burmese... " decided to transfer power. Although, there was internal strife after independence, the freedom movement was usually non-violent.

Several of the African countries also used non-violence as weapon of their freedom thrashes about. The Europeans had taken possession of Africa at the height of industrial revolution. The disparity flanked by Europeans and Africans was enormous. African countries did not have prolonged movements for freedom. African leaders drew inspiration from both India and America. They shaped National Congresses in dissimilar countries. Several of them were attracted through Gandhian ideas of nonviolence. From the American Continent, particularly the Caribbean, Africans gained confidence and dignity and a habit of meeting jointly. A number of Pan African Conferences were held. The Sixth such Conferences held after the Second World War at Manchester was attended through many prominent African leaders including Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Akinola and Julius Nyerere. It demanded independence, which would have emerged extremely unreal five years earlier. A mere ten years later West African colonies attained independence leading the method to the end of colonialism in rest of Africa also. East African colonies followed suit.

Armed Struggles

Peaceful sad non-violent means did not, or could not, work in all the anti-colonial struggles. In many cases nationalists were forced to take to gun and adopt revolutionary means. In India, the movement usually remained peaceful, yet some patriotic youth did not have the patience to wait for the success of Gandhiji's weapon. Young men like Ashfaq Ullah Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil and their friend's looted government treasury from a train at Kakori in Uttar Pradesh. They were arrested, tried and hanged to death. They gladly made the supreme sacrifice folk the country's independence. Later, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and their friends gladly went to the gallows for having thrown a bomb in the central legislature. Several more revolutionaries made sacrifices 'after by armed thrash about as a tool. Even

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, broke the jail supervised to flee the country throughout the Second World War, reached Germany and then Japan, set up the Indian National Army to fight for India's freedom. However all these patriots died before independence, their role cannot be ignored.

Much earlier, in Latin America, independence was achieved from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies by revolutionary movements started first in Spanish colony of Mexico and later in Venezuela, Argentina etc. Through 1825: Spain had lost mainly of its huge empire.

Kenya was a British colony, in East Africa, till it attained freedom late in 1963. Soon after the Second World War a number of non-official members of the Legislative Council were given ministerial positions. But all of them were white. The blacks were denied this privilege. In 1952, the white rulers were faced with a 'savage outbreak' in the Kikuyu tribe. They had for extensive nourished grievances against the white settlers. The movement was led through Jomo Kenyatta, a former student of London University, and now President of the Kenya African Union. In addition, the Kikuyu had shaped a secret community described Mau Mau. Its activities were the militant expression of a deep-seated nationalist movement. Mau Mau administered oaths to its members and performed secret rites. They fought for independence. Calvecoressi called its activities as "anti-Christian", and wrote that, "With time the community became extreme in its ambitious and barbarous in its practices. It took to murder... and finally urbanized a campaign of violence and guerrilla warfare." Britain tried to crush the movement with better force. Even Jomo Kenyatta was sentenced in 1954 to seven years imprisonment "for organizing Mau Mau". The activities of Mau Mau became violent and it killed approximately 8000 African opponents, while 68 European were also done to death. Having realized the futility of suppression, the British Government took to negotiation in 1960, which finally led to Kenya's independence in December 1963. Meanwhile, Kenyatta had taken in excess of as the Prime Minister in June. His Kenya African National Union

succeeded in May elections, and on its insistence the British proposal for a federal Kenya was dropped.

Belgian Congo was an entirely dissimilar story. Its independence was proclaimed on June 30, 1960 and official celebrations lasted for four days. Presently 48 hours later there occurred a mutiny in the Force Publique, which sparked off a train of terrible disaster. Congo's independence produced not only internal chaos and civil war, but also one of the biggest international crises of the post-war era. Indonesia in the South East Asia was ruled through the Netherlands as 'The Netherlands East Indies.' A strong nationalist movement had urbanized there in the first decade of the twentieth century. The first Indonesian party described Boedi Oetomo was founded in 1908. Its nature was called through Robert Payne therefore: "The movement possessed no political credo. Essentially scholastic, it looked towards India, deriving strength not from nascent Moslem nationalism but from Rabindra Nath Tagore's vision of a self-governing Asia at peace..." This movement never became strong. It was soon eclipsed through a more militant party, Sarekat Islam. It advocated political and social reforms and adopted a pro-Muslim platform. It demanded complete independence, and throughout the First World War it adopted socialist programme.

The Indonesian nationalist movement became more vigorous with the formation of National Indonesian Party under the leadership of Dr. Sukarno. The Dutch used force, but could not suppress the movement. The Dutch relied mainly on the policy of stern repression Accordingly. in late 1920s and early 1930s prominent leaders including Sukarno and Hatta were sent into exile. After the fall of the Netherlands in 1940, Indonesians cooperated with the conquerors of the country viz. the Japanese. After Japanese defeat in August 1945, the British troops landed in the Dutch East Indies, and with their support an Indonesian Republic, with Sukarno as President, were proclaimed.

However the Dutch Government granted de facto recognition to the Republic in March 1947, it tried all means to incorporate it in some type of union with the Dutch Crown. For two years Dutch resorted to dual policy of now repression, now peace. They used armed might and accepted out hostilities in the name of 'police action.' India, and many other Afro-Asian countries gave full support to Indonesian nationalists. Therefore, Indonesia's thrash about on its section was mainly peaceful, yet violence was used to suppress it. The Indonesian nationalists had to fight an extensive thrash about for four years against the Dutch. It was virtually an open war flanked by the Colonial Power aid the nationalist forces.

The similar story, but with distant more bloodshed, was repeated in Vietnam. The French colony of Indo-China was engaged through the Japanese throughout the Second World War. French Indo-China incorporated Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Vietnam itself was a Union of the Protectorates of Annam and Tongking and the colony of Cochin-China nanite through race and 'Chinese through cultures; the protected Kingdoms of Luang Prabang or Laos, and Calnbodia were Thai through race and Indian through civilization. Throughout the Japanese job, three Kys became the autonomous state of Vietnam, and upon the Japanese withdrawal Ho Chi Minh, the leader of Communist dominated nationalist coalition proclaimed the self-governing republic of Viet. As in case of Korea, the three Kys got divided as the British took manage of the territory south of 16 similarities and the Chinese in the north. The north became communist and south became pro-US and anti-communist. Fro111 then, till early 1970s, the territory faced violence, clash and war. It was French Endeavour to regain manages of Indo-China, but the Geneva Conference of 1954 finally terminated French manages and self-governing states of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were established. But, after the French withdrawal. America entered the scene and there was a prolonged thrash about flanked by pro-Soviet North and pro-US

South Vietnam, till the whole Vietnam became a communist controlled state. Therefore, the Indo-Chinese thrash about virtually became a civil war.

Three Levels of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Patterns and ways of anti-colonial struggles were mainly convinced through changes in international environment and changes within the colonial powers. The Second World War, emergence of two Super Powers, Cold War and weakened location of once powerful Britain: France and other European Powers certainly ensured success of anti-colonial struggles. These three levels are explained below as common patterns, not necessarily followed in all the colonies and all the anti-colonial struggles. Geoffrey Barraclough analyzed the struggles for freedom through dividing them into three levels. Here no distinction is made flanked by independence movements and liberation movements. The three levels discussed through Barraclough were proto-nationalism; the rise of new leadership; and the thrash about assuming the nature of mass movements.

Proto-Nationalism

The first level, described proto-nationalism refers to the earliest era of anti-colonial Struggles. Throughout this early stage people in the colonies had not yet become aware of their rights and require for independence. Through and big, colonial rule was carried through the regional people. Nevertheless, social groups and political movements demanded reforms within the organization of colonial rule. In India, the Indian National Congress was recognized in 1885, but not to oust the British rulers, For the after that 20 years, the Congress remained a forum of excellence debates. Its sessions were a1mual gatherings of western - educated well-dressed English speaking Elite. The then leadership whispered in the superiority of British culture and

Englishmen's sense of justice and fair play, The early demands of the Congress were limited to regional reforms, limited share in the Councils and occupation opportunities for educated Indians. There was no-confrontation with the colonial masters. It was the level of submitting petitions and seeking reforms. In Indonesia, the first level began only in 1910-11 with the beginning of religious – nationalist movement described Sarekat Islam. Same movements began in African colonies like Algeria, Nigeria etc. only approximately 1920.

The Rise of New Leadership

The second level is called as the rise of new leadership. As nationalism became mature and thrash about against colonial powers became the goal, a number of new, patriotic, specialized leaders appeared in the colonies who took in excess of manage of movement. Nationalism began to gain ground in the middle of the transitional classes. Throughout this level demands made on colonial powers were considerably expanded, and independence was measured as a future goal. In India, this level lasted till after the First World War. The social foundation of the Congress Party had expanded, yet the thrash about had not fully become a mass movement. Complete independence, or puma swaraj, was demanded only in 1930. Till then the goal was dominion status. Throughout this era leadership passed from the hands of Gokhale to Mahatam Gandhi, and soon leaders like Lala Laipat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad came in the forefront. In Indonesia, Sarakat Islam committed itself to independence in 1917 under the leadership of Sukarno. In Tunisia and Nigeria such turning points were reached in 1934 and 1944 respectively. There was no chronological parallel in dissimilar levels in dissimilar countries, but many prominent leaders appeared in dissimilar colonics. These incorporated *lomo* Kenyatta in Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah in Gold Coast and AULS' San in Bunila.

Mass Movement

The third and final level leading to success of anti-colonial struggles was recognized as mass movement. National movements became therefore strong through this time that, in several cases, colonial rulers had to use force to uphold themselves in power. In India, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, the movement reached the general man even in the remote villages. This procedure began with the civil disobedience movement. The movement for purna swaraj was a mass thrash about for independence. The British used force, arrested big number of people and often sent prominent leaders to jail. The British rulers had become panicky even with the mere announcement of Quit India Movement in August 1942. In Indonesia, a comparable movement could be launched through Sukarno only throughout the Second World War. In Nigeria, the third level was reached only in 1951.

The three levels were not equally separate everywhere. The procedure extended to longest era of time in the British colonies. In several of the French colonies it took presently 10 to 20 years. In the Belgian Congo, there were hardly any demands for independence till 1955. Several regional leaders then visualized an era of 60 years or longer for independence. Even, the turn of measures was therefore fast that the Congo was free in 1960.

Success of Anti-Colonial Struggles

The procedure of termination of colonial rule is called as decolonization. The anti-colonial struggles achieved success and colonial organization was liquidated in phases and levels. It took almost 45 years for the whole procedure to be computed. Anti-colonial struggles achieved their first success in Asia, and then in Africa. In 1946 the Philippines achieved independence, and in 1947 India became free from British colonial rule. Ceylon and Burma achieved freedom in 1948, and after that year

independence and sovereignty of Indonesia was formally established through the Netherlands. Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were established as sovereign states in 1949, but they remained within the French Union until France finally lost manage in 1954.

The second stage commenced in mid-1950s when Morocco and Tunisia left the French Union. Britain pulled out of Egyptian Sudan and Malaya became self-governing in 1957. But all these states had enjoyed some degree of autonomy even when they were sections of French or British colonial organization. The freedom thrash about of Gold Coast under the leadership of Nkrumah successfully ended in 1957. This thrash about was a short affair, but its victory proved that the will of the colonial powers to rule was cracking. "French Society" recognized in 1958 to "assimilate" all the French colonies in it broke up presently after two years as Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Togo and Cameron all became self-governing. Also in 1960, Britain withdrew from Nigeria, a self-governing Somalia was created with the fusion of British and Italian Somaliland, and the Belgian Congo became self-governing. In 1961 British rule ended in Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Kuwait. After that year Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda achieved freedom from Britain. In 1962, France ended her extensive war in Algeria and gave her full freedom. In 1963, anti-colonial thrash about succeeded in Kenya, and Zanzibar also became free. While mainly of Asia and Africa became self-governing through mid 1960s, the thrash about of the colonies of Portugal and Spain did not succeed till 1970s. With the fall of Portuguese ruler Salazar, Guinea – Bissau achieved its independence in 1974. Angola and Mozambique followed suit in 1975.

It is only in the last stage that Namibia succeeded in its extensive anti-colonial thrashes about in 1990 when South Africa was forced to grant independence to its neighbor. Although the United States always declared

itself to be against colonial organization it still sustained to rule in excess of Guam and Puerto Rico.

IDEOLOGY, SOCIAL BASES AND PROGRAMMES OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

Reasons of Development of National Movements

The Nationalist Movement in India was the outcome of a big number of factors and the mainly significant in the middle of them was British Imperialism. It was throughout the British rule that the entire of India was conquered and brought under one sovereign power. The power through any country in excess of the entire of India enabled the people of India to think and act as one nation. Before the coming of the British in India, the people of the South were generally separated from the rest of India except for short intervals. British Imperialism helped the unification of the country.

British rule brought the whole geographical region of the country under a single administration. It unified the country through introducing a uniform organization of law and government. The introduction of the contemporary ways of transport and communication also produced the similar unifying effect.

The improvements in the means of transport and communication also quickened the pace of the nationalist movement in the country. It is said that but for railways, motor buses and other contemporary means of communication, political and cultural life on a national level would not have been possible. It can be said that if these became the means of consolidating and preserving British rule in India, they also played their section in organizing the political movement of the Indian people on a national level against their rule.

The English language played a significant section in the development of nationalism in the country. It acted as the lingua franca of the intelligentsia of India. Without the general medium of the English language it would have been impossible for the Bengalees, Madrasis and the Punjabis to sit at one table and talk about the general troubles facing the country. The English language also made the Indians inheritors of a great literature which was full of great ideas and ideals.

The Indian press, both English and vernacular also aroused national consciousness. Great was the power of the news papers like the Amrit Bazar Patrika, the Hindu, the Kesari, the Bengalee, the Hurkura and a lot more. The development of Indian Press was phenomenal and through 1875, there were no less than 478 newspapers in the country. The Indian press helped in mobilizing the public opinion, convening national and provincial conferences, organizing political movements, structure up public organizations and fighting out public controversies. There was no issue of foreign policy or internal administration which escaped the notice of the news papers.

The writings of Dinabandhu Mitra, Hem Chandra Banerjee, Nabin Chandra Sen, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Dwijendralal Roy, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee had also affected the minds of the people of India. All these writings affected the higher sentiments of the people. Rather it can be said that the writings of these writers helped the people of India to realize the national fervor and as a result they got united and tried to oust the British people from India.

There were several British officials and writers who put forward the thesis that the Indians had always been backward and they did not know the art of governing themselves. They also maintained that the Indians were

destined to be ruled through others and there was no future hope of a free India.

The religious and social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda and others inculcated a spirit of confidence, courage, self-respect and pride in the ancient heritage of India. It is contended that political awakening in India began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The intelligentsia played a creative role in the rise of nationalism in the country. It is they who recognized the information that the establishment of the British power in India marked a break with the past and the beginning of a new historical period. Their initial response to the British rule was positive but with passing time they got disillusioned.

History says that there was lot of discontentment in the country on explanation of several causes. There was the economic use of the people. The revenue charged through the government was more than what the people could afford to pay. The demands of the government sustained to augment unmindful of the condition of the people and their capability to pay.

The nationalist movement which rose in the minds of the people made them realizes that they had no hope any fair play on the section of the Englishmen because a lot of self interests of the English people were involved in it.

Ideology of National Movements

As the term 'National Movements' itself suggests, nationalism is always the vital ideology of these movements. Such nationalism is a radical ideology for the movements. It may become more radical through the incorporation of other ideologies like Marxism-Leninism.

Ideologies give a significant psychological and emotional foundation from which individuals can derive meaning and significance for their own participation in a changing community. Therefore an ideology gives a framework within which the individual may orient himself to others in an emotionally satisfying manner. In distribution with others in the pursuit of general goals, individuals develop relationships and loyalties with each other that help to fill the voids created through the disruption of the traditional order. An ideology that is increasingly carried performs the vital function of structure general beliefs and attitudes in the middle of the political elite and masses, uniting the dissimilar groups within community in the pursuit of shared goals. That vital thought asserts that a bigger life is possible for individuals and groups than the one provided through the traditional order.

Of the many principal ideologies of national movements, so, that of nationalism is the mainly pervasive and significant. The history of all national movements designates that the thought behind nationalism is the liberation from alien political and economic power. In other languages nationalism is the thought of revolt against foreign political power, economic use, and the principle of racial discrimination or inequality.

The content of nationalism varies with the locale, with the people, and with time. However the genus of nationalism is easily identifiable in the several national movements, there are many dissimilar species. To mention

only some of the mainly obvious, not all Africans are black, but nationalists within the new African states and in Africa as an entire south of the Sahara have had a general bond in their blackness and in their opposition to white alien rule. In Asia, color as such, be it brown or yellow, did not look to have played as big a role, however antagonism toward white rule and racial dominance has been no less vigorous. In eastern Asia, particularly in Korea, nationalism arose in section out of resentment against the Japanese, who were of the similar color as the peoples they attempted to control.

Nationalism in mainly of the colonized countries: so, urbanized from the sentiment of unity in the middle of cultural, religious and racial groups of the people. From this sentiment rose a strong desire for political and economic independence from foreign power, and a demand for racial equality. The people were impelled to offer any amount of sacrifice for the fulfillment of these urges of their heart. This sentiment of nationalism grew in dissimilar proportions in dissimilar countries depending on the circumstances there. In countries where there was direct rule of imperialism, nationalism flared up rapidly, while where there was an indirect rule of imperialism; nationalism, did not seem approximately until World War II.

Throughout the inter-war era, there urbanized a new force that vied with the force of nationalism in trying to wipe off imperialism and capitalism. This new force was communism based on Marxism-Leninism that spread after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Neither of these forces clashed against each other. They either traveled beside similarity rows or even on divergent rows. Although communism tended towards internationalism and was not in favor of encouraging nationalism, for strategic causes it sympathized with nationalism in colonized countries as it was fighting against imperialism.

Lenin had realized that the colonized people were in revolt against imperialism. He felt that it would be a great mistake to effort to promote the Communist doctrine at a time when there was going on what he described "bourgeois-national" revolution fostered through the educated classes to drive out imperial manage. He so urged cooperation through the Soviet regime with the forces of nationalism even however that was against the doctrine of communism. Because of this cooperation to the national regimes, the columnists won great popularity in Iran. Afghanistan and China. Later in China there was a split flanked by the Communists and the Nationalists. Although the Communists were initially defeated in 1928 through the Nationalists, ultimately their fight ended in the establishment of a Communist regime in China in 1949. The Soviet power also steadily increased in several other countries by the organization of the Communist Parties in these countries which played important role in the National Movements.

Social Bases of National Movements

National movements often started as unorganized and sporadic protests of a small number of people: but gradually they became mass movements. Every strata of community has had some role in the progress of national movements

It was the leaders and intellectuals who first spearheaded the movements. They organized the masses. They enlightened the masses in relation to require becoming free. People followed them because they were expressing require of the time. Gradually parties and groups appeared as instruments of national movements. Peasants, workers and women also organized their movements to lead to national liberation.

In diverse methods and at dissimilar times, rising numbers of the several peoples Became influenced that the dream of independence would be realized and that then all would be well. Hence they became more and more involved and participated in what became national struggles In the procedure, they became ever more aware of their grievances. As they became aware they became more vocal and their protests multiplied. And as they grieved protested and participated in the struggles for freedom, they became nationally conscious and increasingly nationalist in outlook and approach.

Asians and Africans were taught through westerners —through Christian missionaries and optimistic intellectuals - to hope. Increasingly however still small numbers, were - educated in the West and at home became expectant. From the 1920s especially, their own leaders, by the press and later the radio by embryo political parties, mutual aid societies, and trade unions, taught them to consider that their future of freedom justice and abundance would be achieved by their nations. Asians and Africans, heard of the pronouncements of the United Nations and other international bodies. of fundamental human rights", the "dignity and worth of the human person", and of "fundamental freedoms for all" regardless of race and religion. They whispered these pronouncements, and saw no cause why these should not apply to themselves.

The motivations of the leaders of the nationalist movements were as varied as their peoples and their own individual personalities. They hoped and they feared and they were ambitious for themselves as well as for their peoples. Some of them undoubtedly sought personal power and the emoluments that at times accompany high office—fine homes, large cars, beautiful women. Some of them, however not immune to private ambition: were high-minded idealists who put country above private gain. As they are for all men, motivations were mixed and changing. But it is also true that

several of them had painful experiences that drove them further and further beside their nationalist roads. When several of them began their political lives, they were mild reformers, willing, if only reforms were granted and development toward self-government seemed likely, to work within the colonial systems. But as they advocated and worked for reforms they suffered threats against their livelihoods and their lives, they were forced into exile, they were imprisoned or sent to detention camps and on occasion they were beaten and tortured beyond endurance. Some were executed and they became martyrs, and, therefore, powerful symbols for their nation. Those who existed, protested ever more, and the more they protested the more they suffered. They also became the prominent leaders of nationalist parties of their respective countries. Some also arose from peasant or workers movements, organized protests, strikes etc, and gave fillip to national movements. Their arrests created nationalist fervors in the middle of the masses, led to further strengthening of parties and groups as national movements in themselves. To choose at random, Gandhi, Nehru and Tilak were jailed in India, and Banda, Bourguiba, Kaunda, Kenyatta, Nelson Mandela, Sani Njurnah and Sithole in several sections of Africa. All of them turned more nationalist after their imprisonment and they became heroes to rising numbers of their countrymen. No amount of punishment, no imperial repression actually blunted national feeling; rather it exacerbated it.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Identify the factors that led to the establishment of colonial state.
- How did Asian Countries come under the European Rule?
- What was colonialism and what were its manifestations?
- What was the objective of national liberation movements?
- How did the armed struggles ensure success of anti-colonial struggles?
- What was the role of missionaries in the growth of national movements?
- Explain the meaning of nationalism.

Chapter 3

Society, Economy and State

STRUCTURE

Learning objectives
Social structures and stratification
Development strategies
Social bases of state power
Class formation
Review Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Chapter, we hope, you would:

Understand the relation between social structures and social practices
Highlight the different approaches to the understanding of social structures
Describe the Soviet style socialist model of development and its failure now.
Understand the meaning of power.
Explain the meaning of the term class.

SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND STRATIFICATION

Meaning

Social structure is a term used in the social sciences to refer to patterned social arrangements in community that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The usage of the term "social structure" has changed in excess of time and may reflect the several stages of analysis within differing sub-meadows of sociology. On the macro level, it can refer to the organization of socioeconomic stratification, social organizations, or, other patterned relations flanked by big social groups. On the level, it can refer to the structure of social network ties flanked by individuals or institutions. On the micro level, it can refer to the method norms shape the behavior of actors within the social organization.

These meanings are not always kept separate. For instance, recent scholarship through John Levi Martin has theorized that sure macro-level

structures are the emergent properties of micro-level cultural organizations at used through anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. Marxist sociology also has a history of mixing dissimilar meanings of social structure, however it has done therefore through basically treating the cultural characteristics of social structure as epiphenomena of its economic ones.

Since the 1930s, the term has been in common use in social science, especially as a variable whose sub-components needed to be distinguished in connection to other sociological variables.

The notion of social structure *as relationships flanked by dissimilar entities or groups* or as *enduring and comparatively stable patterns of connection* emphasizes the thought that community is grouped into structurally related groups or sets of roles, with dissimilar functions, meanings or purposes. One instance of social structure is the thought of "social stratification", which refers to the thought that community is separated into dissimilar strata, guided through the underlying structures in the social organization. This approach has been significant in the academic literature with the rise of several shapes of structuralism. It is significant in the contemporary revise of institutions, because an organization's structure may determine its flexibility, capability to transform, and several other factors. So, structure is a significant issue for management.

Social structure may be seen to power significant social systems including the economic organization, legal organization, political organization, cultural organization, and others. Family, religion, law, economy and class are all social structures. The "social organization" is the parent organization of those several systems that are embedded in it.

Community: Self contained, self enough population united through social relationships, surrounded from other populations through geographic sites

Stratification: Unequal sharing of valued goods or holdings in a population health, positional goods, etc.

Network: Pattern of relationships in a population of actors

Social structure variables: Pattern of relationships, size of institution, income sharing, and concurrency of social relationships

Perspectives on Social Structures

Structuralism

Structuralism is a theoretical paradigm emphasizing that elements of civilization necessity be understood in conditions of their connection to a superior, overarching organization or structure. It works to uncover all the structures that underlie all the things that humans do, think, perceive, and feel. Alternately, as summarized through philosopher Simon Blackburn, Structuralism is "the belief that phenomena of human life are not intelligible except for by their interrelations. These relations constitute a structure, and behind regional variations in the surface phenomena there are consistent laws of abstract civilization".

Structuralism originated in the early 1900s, in the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure and the subsequent Prague, Moscow and Copenhagen schools of linguistics. In the late 1950s and early '60s, when structural linguistics was facing serious challenges from the likes of Noam Chomsky and therefore fading in importance, an array of scholars in the humanities borrowed Saussure's concepts for use in their respective meadows of revise. French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss was arguably the first such scholar, sparking a widespread interest in Structuralism.

The structuralism mode of reasoning has been applied in a diverse range of meadows, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, literary criticism, economics and architecture. The mainly prominent thinkers associated with structuralism contain Lévi-Strauss, linguist Roman Jakobson, and psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan. As an intellectual movement, structuralism was initially presumed to be the heir evident to existentialism. Though, through the late 1960s, several of structuralism's vital tenets came under attack

from a new wave of predominantly French intellectuals such as the philosopher and historian Michel Foucault, the philosopher and social commentator Jacques Derrida, the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, and the literary critic Roland Barthes. However elements of their work necessarily relate to structuralism and are informed through it, these theorists have usually been referred to as post-structuralisms.

In the 1970s, structuralism was criticized for its rigidity and a historicism. Despite this, several of structuralism's proponents, such as Jacques Lacan, continue to assert a power on continental philosophy and several of the fundamental assumptions of some of structuralism's post-structuralism critics are a continuation of structuralism.

The origins of structuralism connect with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure on linguistics, beside with the linguistics of the Prague and Moscow schools. In brief, de Saussure's structural linguistics propounded three related concepts.

De Saussure argued for a distinction flanked by *langue* and *parole*. He argued that the "sign" was collected of a *signified*, an abstract concept or thought, and a "signifier", the perceived sound/visual image.

Because dissimilar languages have dissimilar languages to define the similar objects or concepts, there is no intrinsic cause why a specific sign is used to express a given signifier. It is therefore "arbitrary".

Signs therefore gain their meaning from their relationships and contrasts with other signs. As he wrote, "in language, there are only differences 'without positive conditions.'"

As summarized through philosopher John Searle, de Saussure recognized that 'I understand the sentence "the cat is on the mat" the method I do because I know how it would relate to an indefinite—indeed infinite—set of other sentences, "the dog is on the mat," "the cat is on the couch," etc.'

The term "structuralism" itself emerged in the works of French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. This gave rise, in France, to the "structuralist movement", which spurred the work of such thinkers as Louis Althusser, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, as well as the structural Marxism

of Nicos Poulantzas. Mainly members of this movement did not define themselves as being a section of any such movement. Structuralism is closely related to semiotics.

Blending Freud and de Saussure, the French structuralist Jacques Lacan applied structuralism to psychoanalysis and, in a dissimilar method, Jean Piaget applied structuralism to the revise of psychology. But Jean Piaget, who would bigger describe himself as constructivist, considers structuralism as "a way and not a doctrine" because for him "there exists no structure without a construction, abstract or genetic".

Michel Foucault's book *The Order of Things* examined the history of science to revise how structures of epistemology, or episteme, formed the method in which people imagined knowledge and knowing any affiliation with the structuralist movement.

In much the similar method, American historian of science Thomas Kuhn addressed the structural formations of science in his seminal work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. However less concerned with "episteme", Kuhn nonetheless remarked at how coterie of scientists operated under and applied an average praxis of 'normal science,' deviating from an average 'paradigm' only in instances of irreconcilable anomalies that question an important body of their work.

Blending Marx and structuralism was another French theorist, Louis Althusser, who introduced his own brand of structural social analysis, giving rise to "structural Marxism". Other authors in France and abroad have since extended structural analysis to practically every discipline.

Proponents of structuralism would argue that a specific domain of civilization may be understood through means of a structure—modeled on language—that is separate both from the institutions of reality and those of ideas or the imagination—the "third order". In Lacan's psychoanalytic theory, for instance, the structural order of "the Symbolic" is distinguished both from "the Real" and "the Imaginary"; likewise, in Althusser's Marxist theory, the

structural order of the capitalist mode of manufacture is separate both from the actual, real mediators involved in its relations and from the ideological shapes in which those relations are understood. Just as to Alison Assiter, four ideas are general to the several shapes of structuralism. First, that a structure determines the location of each element of an entire. Second, that every organization has a structure. Third, structural laws trade with co-subsistence rather than transform. Fourth, structures are the "real things" that lie beneath the surface or the appearance of meaning.

Functionalism

Functionalists, sometimes described as structural-functionalists, underplay individual human initiatives and prefer social structures. The mainly significant representatives of this trend are Emile Durkheim, A.R. Radcliffe Brown and Talcott Parsons. They see social structures as external to individual actors. These structures modify from one community to the other and mainly explain the parallel and differences flanked by one community and another. The behavior of individuals in social life is to be explained with them in view. They emphasize cautious scrutiny of social facts and identifying the patterns of interaction holding them jointly. They see in community a normative order that assigns duties and responsibilities, prevents deviant behavior and ensures value consensus.

This trend definitely underplays the role that actors plays in the functioning of the social structures and advancing alternatives. It marginalizes or ignores the role that social agent play in understanding the relations they are involved in and engages with them in markedly dissimilar methods. This trend does not adequately distinguish the working of the social structures and natural procedures. Although it proclaims value-neutrality, it has strong bias towards maintenance of the existing social order and seeing social transform as reorganization existing social structures.

Marxian

- *Marxian: Importance to Class-Structure and Economic Relations as Vital*

Marxists have accentuated class-structure as the key to understanding societies. Classes are shaped on the foundation of the relation of social mediators to the means of manufacture and to social produce as a entire and the resultant solidarity or bonds that they produce. In Marxist understanding of class-structure there is an overt emphasis on economic relations. It is expressed in the metaphor of 'foundation' and 'superstructures'. While the economy constitutes the foundation, the political, cultural, ideological and legal spheres form the superstructure.

The class structure of a community primarily rests on the relation flanked by two vital classes and the role that other classes play is marked through these vital classes. In a capitalist community, for example, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the vital classes. There might be other classes such as the peasantry craftsmen, professionals, landlords etc. but the role that these classes can play is demarcated through the vital classes. Marxists understand Classes as those that are shaped by class thrash about. It is in and by political struggles that classes realize their allies and demarcate their enemies.

Marxism does admit the autonomy of political, cultural and ideological structures in relation to the economic procedure. But they are not clear in relation to the nature and scope of this autonomy. Marxists do admit the subsistence of autonomous social strata and factions but they are encapsulated within classes. They discover it hard to explain cross-class and trans-class phenomena such as identity and gender issues. While Marxists do recognize the autonomy of human agency, its relation to class-structure is highly debatable. Besides, Marxists have not adequately conceptualized the relation flanked by class-structure. the moral domain and the persistence of social

continuity. In India the relation flanked by class structure and caste structure has been an extremely intricate one to be explained.

Weberian

- *Max Weber: Multi-dimensional and Integrated Approach*

Max Weber, accentuated a multi-dimensional approach to understand social structures. He attempted to integrate structure and agency, material and normative dimensions. He highlighted the role of the knowing subject and did not see him/her as passive receptacles of the operation of the social structures. He argued that meaning is not intrinsic to the social world staying to be exposed by rational inquiry. Human actors interpret and construct the meaning of the social world approximately them. Dissimilar viewpoints embodying dissimilar values and interests, may, so, mean dissimilar readings of the social structures. Weber argued that 'unintended consequences of action' beget social structures such as markets, money and language. The rise of capitalism, he suggested, was the outcome of the Protestant Ethic which urbanized in the middle of its adherents self-discipline and moral accountability for their actions to God in view of personal salvation.

Max Weber distinguished flanked by Power and Power. Power is legitimate power. Legitimate power involves an element of voluntary compliance. He recognized three sources of power: traditional, legal-rational and charismatic. Traditional power is a scripture and inherited; legal-rational power is based on calculability, intellectualization and impersonal logic of goal-directed action; and charismatic power is extraordinary personal power recognized in and with a scrupulous individual. Weber preferred the State, and particularly the bureaucracy as the fountain of power. Power symbolizes action likely to succeed even against opposition and resistance of those to whom it is applied. Bureaucracy embodies legal-rational power which he saw as undermining other shapes of power such as traditional and charismatic. He idea that the procedure of rationalization, understood as calculability,

intellectualization and impersonal and goal-directed action, are increasingly overtaking human action. This affects all organizations. He uses the metaphor of iron-cage to denote a situation where concern for means and instruments drives out the concern for human ends.

Although Weber's conception of structure attempts to relate agency and subjectivity with external reality, it suggests little inter-subjective bond flanked by social actors. In its absence rational-legal domain of the state alone becomes the normal social bond, suggesting the metaphor of 'iron-cage'. Weber accords little consideration for democracy and active citizenship to sustain social relations. His understanding of the social structure under the contemporary circumstances conception constantly calls for charismatic spells of one type or another to sustain people's engagement with the social order. But charisma cannot be anticipated, calculated and predictable. It's a double-edged sword. So, rational-legal power will always effort to stay it at bay. Weber does not adequately engage with the excellence of wealth, power and status. There is little to suggest that he idea that it was the responsibility of the state to promote an equalitarian order. A shared moral domain cannot arise in a Weberian framework.

Weberian and Marxian—Integration-Habermas

One of the significant thinkers of our times who have accepted the Weberian conception further, while maintaining an interface with Marxism, is Jurgen Habermas. He recognizes the role of social structures and the calculative and predictive orientation they suggest but he also takes into explanation the dimension of power and power built into them. At the similar time he takes seriously the potentiality of arriving at meaning built into language communication.

Social Stratification

The Marxist Approach

Marx employs ownership and manages in excess of the means of manufacture and connection of social mediators to the procedure of manufacture as the criteria for social stratification. Marx also uses the concepts of strata and factions to indicate the casting interests establish in a class.

- *Classes*

In a country like India, Marxists would identify the following classes:

- The bourgeoisie who own and manage the means of manufacture and appropriate surplus;
- the landlords who own or enjoy title in excess of land, play little role in the manufacture procedure but obtain a share of the produce for themselves;
- the workers who do not own or manage the means of manufacture but depend on their laboring capability for their living;
- the peasantry, distinguishable into diverse strata and possessing dissimilar extent of land and other means of manufacture but who at the similar time directly participate in the procedure of manufacture. strata in this class/category. In some compliments he is akin to the industrial bourgeoisie but in other compliments to the peasant. This stratum is also inclusive of the rural proletariat made of landless workers and marginal peasantry who usually live off through working for others; and the
- petit bourgeoisie made of professionals, the traders and the craftsmen who are not directly involved in the manufacture procedure but play a variegated set of roles in conditions of extending services and imparting skills.

Class Consciousness

In information even if a group held a number of objective aspects akin to a class but which does not possess consciousness, to that extent it could not be measured as a class. Marx distinguished dissimilar members of a class. First, members of a class who are least conscious of being members and whose practices, other than the economic, have little to do with their class

location. Secondly, there is a class-in-itself. Here, a class collectively pursues events to bigger its lot in existing class structure through promoting its scrupulous demands such as workers fighting for bigger wages. Thirdly; there is the class-for- itself. A class pursues its class interests without being intimidated through the prevailing class-structure.

One of the mainly significant contributions in the understanding of social stratification from the Marxist perspective has been the work of Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist theoretician. He asked the question how dominant classes continue to control in excess of societies based primarily on class stratification. One of the concepts: that he used to explain it was 'hegemony'. It denotes not merely power out leadership wherein the consent of the dominated is elicited by many methods.

The Weberian Approach

While Marx based social stratification on class, Weber introduced a model of stratification based on CLASS, STATUS AND POWER. He understood class extremely differently. For him a class is collected of people who have life chances in general as determined through their power to dispose of goods and skills for the sake of income: 'The crucial aspect of class is its situation in the market. Class consciousness is not a requirement for the creation of a class.

Status refers to the social ranking, honor and esteem that a group is held in. These are attributes attached to scrupulous styles of life and groups are ranked as high or low accordingly. Ranking, styles and avocations in conditions of status modify from one community to the other. So, while class is universalistic, status tends to be more particularistic. For instance in India the caste organization is a specific mode of expression of status. Ritual ranking attached to caste becomes one of the biggest factors of stratification. Weber saw power as chance of a man or group to realize their will even against opposition of others. He thereby dispersed power crossways individual

mediators. This was extremely much unlike Marx who saw power primarily as a class-relation. At the similar time Weber attributed the monopoly of coercive power to the state. In this conception there was little lay for intermediary organizations flanked by the state and individual social mediators.

For Weber all the three shapes of stratification. Class. Status and Power may converge in conditions of some social mediators or they require not. Further, sometimes anyone of them could affect the other two or could be translated into the other. They though, cannot be reduced to a single form. Weber also saw stratification in conditions of two models: ascriptive and attainment. Ascriptive stratification, be it class, status or power is based on inherited aspects. Attainment is the successful achievement of the concerned individual or group.

The Functionalist Approach

The functionalist approach to stratification is associated with such thinkers as Emile Durkheim, Kingsley Davis, Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton. Functionalists seem at modem community as an intricate of highly differentiated organization of robs. Dissimilar men and women have to be persuaded to assume these roles. Stratification is based on role allocation. Roles set dissimilar goals for individuals and groups.

Functionalists see stratification as the mechanism by which community encourages men and women to seek to achieve the diverse positions necessary in an intricate organization. The positions need dissimilar skills and are endowed with dissimilar rewards. By stratification motivation is provided to social mediators to perform their roles. The status corresponding to the roles imparts recognition. Talcott Parsons has pointed out three sets of aspects which are used as the foundation of ranking:

Possessions: i.e. those attributes that people own

Qualities belonging to individuals including race, lineage or sex

Performances: i.e. evaluation of the method roles are fulfilled

Dissimilar societies emphasize dissimilar aspects: Feudal community stressed on ascribed qualities; a capitalist community values possessions and a communist community on performance. Functionalists feel that industrial community with its division of labour encourage only one set of values those involving individual success. It results in anomie or alienation. A stable community they feel is a prerequisite for integrated personality. Further as stratification based on role allocation involves in excellence it calls for ideological justification that explains, justifies and propagates the organization of inequality. So functionalists accord a great trade of importance on patterns of social solidarity embodying moral consensus and normative regulation. They see a biggest role for religion in this task.

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Meaning of Underdevelopment

The theory of underdevelopment was first propounded through Latin American writers to explain the economic and political backwardness of Latin American societies, which became self-governing from Spanish or Portuguese rule throughout 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 sustained as semi colonial dependencies of imperial countries suffering from retarded economic growth., Just as to Andre Gunder Frank, underdevelopment of Latin American countries in the past as well as some Afro-Asian countries establish themselves after their political decolonization.

The information is that underdevelopment, like growth, is also a modern phenomenon. The underdevelopment of the colonies, semi colonies and neo-colonies and growth of the metropolitan centers of imperialism are

related both as sections of the historical procedure and by 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 colonization, political dominance and exploiter-exploited connection in the economic sphere.

The concept of economic surplus is crucial for the revise of growth and underdevelopment. Economic surplus may be defined as the actual or potential excess of a social unit's manufacture which may or may not be invested or exploited. In the present context what is significant is not the sacrifice of the loser nation in conditions 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 growth possibilities of this capital, the metropolitan imperial country can use it for its own economic growth. The satellite country's contribution may be great or small in quantity, but the associated sacrifice in conditions of underdevelopment for the colony, semi colony or neo-colony can readily be much superior. While the imperialist gain a pound of flesh, the dependency may lose ten or twenty times more. Therefore, the colony may lose possessions, its essential irrigation organization, or its culture or even its physical subsistence. Several Native American tribes and nationalities were wiped out when the Europeans colonized America, by genocide. Therefore growth and underdevelopment are not the summation only of economic quantities. They are their accumulation and the entire social structure and procedure which determine that accumulation.

It is obvious that the incorporation of the underdeveloped countries in the international capitalist organization keeps them permanently underdeveloped. This contribution of imperialism and capitalism to the underdevelopment of underdeveloped regions continues even now. It is not therefore much the possessions that the United State draws out of Latin America, as it is the use of her economic, political and military power to stay the structure of under growth 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 civilization, loss of current manufacture, 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 through Britain promoted the development 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 several 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 entire world.

Manage exercised through the multinationals or strategic sectors plays a crucial role in preserving the pattern of underdevelopment. One instance has been the extraction of mineral possessions from underdeveloped countries. Another was extraction of oil and its sharing. Examples may transform from time to time. The mainly critical sector has been that of foreign trade, which is generally controlled through the dominant country in its dependency.

The power in excess of a sector through the bourgeois class and the state bureaucracy is enough to stay a dependency underdeveloped indefinitely

and to aggravate its underdevelopment in future. The bourgeois classes of many Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are highly dependent on the economic power of the multination and political power of the governments of advanced capitalist countries. The ruling elites of the underdeveloped countries, so, have a vested interest in preserving indefinitely the organization and pattern of underdevelopment. The supposed independence of several Afro-Asian and Latin American nations is therefore a convenient fiction.

Classical Capitalist Model of Growth

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

The political history of capitalist systems has followed neither an easy nor a linear path of growth. Capitalist growth reflects a contradiction flanked by the necessities of capital accumulation and the needs of political legitimization. This contradiction was sought to be resolved by six dissimilar levels of capitalist development requiring six successive state formations. Just as 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 describe the parameters

of the emerging organization of manufacture, to preserve discipline in the middle of the workers, to adjust macroeconomic circumstances, to fight colonial wars, to pursue capitalist interests, to give subsidies to capitalists, and to support miscellaneous eclectic activities.

When the crisis of accumulation grew, Adam Smith and Ricardo talked of the *Harmonious State* and harmony as the essential elements of capitalist manufacture. 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 legitimation mechanism. The *Expansionist State* characterized the third stage of capitalist growth. Although an imperialist policy of expansion accepted out in the interest of fund 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 through indoctrination and manage of workers by education and mass civilization. The World War I put an end to this stage of capitalist imperialism.

The *Franchise State* characterized the fourth stage of capitalist growth. It tried to regularize conflicts flanked by classes and strata through delegating public power to private bodies. This reflected a pluralist dispersal of power. The capitalist state of 'pluralist democracy' was supposed to provide absent power, not to exercise it. This was mystification. The franchise state declined through the end of World War II. Private interest groups failed to regulate themselves effectively. Economic scheduling in European countries and military spending in the United States led these states to assume enormous powers.

The *Dual State* came into subsistence throughout the fifth level of capitalist growth. This state created two similarity structures, one charged with keeping order by repression and the other with presenting a democratic facade. Capitalism at this level functioned by a diarchy-one arm being the military bureaucratic tools aid the other arm, more visible to the public eye, constituting the electoral parliamentary mechanism.

The *Trans-national State* characterizes the sixth and present level of capitalist growth which is dominated through the rise of multinational corporations. It is the product of internationalization of capital and globalization of the market. Though, this growth did not transcend the troubles of nation-state because multinational corporations needed government aid in a manner not seal earlier in the history of capitalist growth. Throughout this stage, the World Bank, the International Monetary Finance and now the World Trade Organization have appeared 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. Though, each of the six levels of capitalism has failed to resolve the tensions flanked by the necessities of accumulation and die requires of legitimation. Despite the fall of Soviet-approach socialism. late capitalism has yet to prove its rationality as a world-wide strategy for economic development.

Soviet-Approach Socialism

Marxism-Leninism was the official ideology and the guiding strategy of growth in the former Soviet Union and other Soviet-approach socialist states of eastern and central Europe. It attempted to transform the socio-economic foundation of the pre-existing organization through abolishing the

capitalist mode of manufacture itself. Marxism aimed at the destruction of the capitalist organization, by a revolutionary class thrash about of the working class in alliance with the oppressed peasantry: culminating in a socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat led through the Communist Party. Though, no advanced country of the west succumbed to a socialist revolution of Marx's vision. Revolution did happen in Russia which was comparatively a less urbanized capitalist country at that time. After the defeat of the Nazi Germany in World War II, Soviet-approach socialism, minus collectivization of agriculture, was imposed upon the "People's Democracies" of eastern and central Europe. China and some neighboring Asian countries and later Cuba also accepted out their socialist revolutions.

Socialist systems in the Soviet Union and other allied countries provided for public or state ownership of all biggest sectors of the economy. Internal and external market was strictly controlled. The Soviet-approach economy was based on comprehensive scheduling of national possessions by successive Five Year Plans. All sectors such as industry, agriculture, trade, banking, transport and communications were brought under centralized scheduling. Due to international separation of Soviet Russia, centralized scheduling accentuated the growth of heavy industry such as steel, machines and armaments. The intended economy was free from capitalist-approach slumps and recession and registered a rapid rate of economic development. The trade agreements were mainly 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 shaped a smaller sector of the economy but absorbed a comparatively superior labour force. The state mainly controlled manufacture and sharing of consumer goods. Labour unions were official state agencies and

the workers' councils played a limited role in decision-making. The political organization of socialist countries was based on democratic centralism and the dictatorship of a single political party or an alliance of parties led through the Communist Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party determined the goals and strategy of growth. Strong one-party organization dictated all interest articulation and aggregation. Discipline and centralization were the guiding principles of industrial management and administration

Economic surplus was obtained for investment through 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 vast level. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were denied assistance through the United States under the Marshall Plan for post-war rehabilitation. The Cold War compelled them to allocate big funds for protection. Despite threats of invasion from capitalist countries and destruction caused through war: the Soviet Union did succeed in achieving rapid economic development both in the Stalinist and post-Stalin periods till 1970. Intended socialist economy did enable Soviet Russia to emerge as a second super-power in the world. Soviet approach socialism also transformed the comparatively backward economies of some east European countries into industrial societies.

Communist China also emulated the Soviet-approach economic scheduling immediately after its successful revolution in 1949 till 1956. Several states in the Third world, like India under Nehru, Egypt under Nasser and Indonesia under Soekarno experimented with state capitalism and making of a superior public sector largely under Soviet inspiration. However the 'Soviet strategy of economic growth could avoid capitalist-approach slumps and recessions for an extensive time, it ultimately succumbed to the evils of stagnation and excessive militarization. Gorbachev tried to reform the Soviet

organization by glasnost and perestroika but paved the method 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-approach socialism all in excess of Europe.

The Chinese Strategy of Growth

The Chinese model of economic development is both a revise in contrast and comparison with the Soviet-approach growth. The Soviet Union had a proletarian revolution under Lenin and straightway proceeded towards socialization of its economy by nationalization of its industry: banking, trade, transport and communication. Agriculture was collectivized under Stalin. The centralized, command economy sustained, by 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 lay in 1949, was described 'new democratic'. It permitted national and petty-bourgeoisie classes to participate in China's economic development ill 1954. Throughout this era, a radical land reform was accepted out which abolished ownership of land through feudal landlords and ' redistributed it in the middle of the tillers of the soil. Mao, thereafter, favored a sustained 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 were to place the foundations of a comprehensive industrial structure at a rapid pace. Priority of investment funds was given to the capital goods sector. Comparatively less importance was given to the development of the consumer goods. Agriculture was given only 6.2 percent and left mainly for private initiative through peasants. The Soviet Union gave the required help in technology and expertise. The Chinese Communists did not start big-level mechanization of agriculture throughout

the First Five Year Plan era. This was a correct strategy. It was first necessary to expand the industrial foundation. Through the end of the First Five Year Plan era, China had achieved a considerable momentum in economic growth. The Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the Crisis Years of 1958- 1961 saw the making of the Communes and the industrial policy of 'walking on two legs' which meant the simultaneous growth of small and big industry and the simultaneous use of indigenous techniques and contemporary ways.

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 cooperatives. 90 percent of peasant households were grouped into Communes through September 1958 all in excess of China. The Great Leap Forward, which encouraged the establishment of steel foundries in every city or village, proved an incorrect strategy of economic development. National calamities such as floods and famine which just as to Amartya Sen killed millions of people, withdrawal of Soviet economic assistance and serious organizational troubles in the Communes paralyzed the Chinese economy throughout the Crisis Years of 1958-1961. As a result, the Chinese economic development slowed down substantially. Consequently, a new economic policy was adopted through the Chinese leadership which was called as 'market-socialism '.

The Chinese leadership established that the experiment of the 'People's Communes' had failed because it was trying to skip necessary historical levels in growth. The Second Five Year Plan era was marked through a serious economic depression in the first three years and a policy of readjustment throughout the after that two years. Then followed three years of further readjustment. This was regarded as a middle stage flanked by 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. Presently then, Mao Zedong began his

"Cultural Revolution". Just as to Deng Xiaoping, it was not a revolution at all. It was an internal disorder that damaged China's economic growth for a decade.

Mao Zedong started the Cultural Revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China. He idea that Party leaders like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were 'capitalist roaders' who wanted China to revert to the capitalist past of growth. Throughout 1967-68, China's national economy speedily deteriorated in the social chaos created through the Cultural Revolution. Zhou Enlai sustained as Prime Minister and was able to limit the damage to the economy through following pragmatic policies. Post-Mao leadership regards the Cultural Revolution as an era when "Left" mistakes derailed the procedure of economic growth. Throughout this era: national income suffered a loss of 500 billion Yuan, and the livelihood average of the people declined.

With the passing absent 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 therefore described "capitalist roaders". The new leadership instituted big level economic reforms in the direction of what it called as "socialism with Chinese aspects". In practice, it meant the repudiation of Maoist strategy of growth based on early introduction of doctrinaire socialist characteristics in China's economy. It pushed China in the direction of neo-liberal reforms however Deng officially stated that the new strategy of economic development had no relationship with 'bourgeois liberalization. ' Tile government introduced the "household responsibility organization" in agriculture through parceling out the collectively owned land to peasants on extensive term lease-hold foundation with provisions for the rights of inheritance. This was, in effect, reintroducing privatized agriculture in China by the back-door. Though, new organization increased agricultural manufacture immensely however it promoted in excellence in rural

community to some extent. In contrast with Soviet collectivization, family based agriculture in China has proved more productive despite lower stage of mechanization.

In the five years flanked by 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 large method. Industrial re-structuring was accomplished. Investment in productive and profitable enterprises was increased. Agriculture: power, possessions, transport and communication were given special support. The annual standard development rate of the GNP reached 10 to 11 percent flanked by 1990 and 1999. Throughout this era. China's economy was liberalized and privatized at a rapid pace. This was done by what the Chinese prefer to call "contractual responsibility organization" that conferred extensive lease-hold rights on the recipient of land and property.

China also encouraged investment of foreign capital and gave favorable conditions 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 large method. The Chinese trade also flourished with several foreign countries particularly the United States, Japan and West European countries. Hong Kong and Macao with their capitalist structures have now become sections of China with a guarantee that these will be maintained therefore for 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 information, China is rapidly marching towards organization which some critics define sarcastically as "capitalism with Chinese Aspects" where social ownership and socialism arc increasingly becoming mere legal fictions.

The share of the public sector in China's economy has decreased from 96 percent in 1976 to presently 26 percent in 2001. Post-Mao growth strategy has mainly succeeded in creation China an industrial giant and also self-enough in the agricultural sphere. The strength of the Chinese strategy of growth consists of the following:

- Abolition of landlordism, the end of the unproductive commune organization, establishment of family leasehold farms in agriculture, peasant initiative in rural enterprises encouraged.

- Abolition of mass poverty, promotion of education and removal of illiteracy, wide-spread health services, population manage with a single child norm.

- Economic reforms which have approximately liberalized the economy and opened it up to the outside world.

- China's policies recognize the importance of market, profitability, competition and integration with the world economy but on its own conditions.

- Chinese leadership regards China at the primary level of socialism and it may take more than a century to complete the transition to socialism.

- China's growth strategy should be based on pragmatic thoughts. As Deng said, the cat could be white or black, what is significant is that it should be able to catch mice.

Just as to the IMF criteria of Purchasing Power Parity of the United States, surpassing that of Japan which is in the third lay.

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 described the state capitalist model however role of the state in their economies varied from country to country The purpose was to strengthen the infrastructure and make a self-governing economic foundation for which private capital was not forthcoming. The public sector could be as low as 20 percent or 70 per cent. Though, several developing countries did not follow the state capitalist

strategy and did not make any sizable public sector. Mainly of the Latin American countries like Brazil. Argentina and Chile followed the capitalist model in which foreign capital also played a biggest role, however foreign capital was not away 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 development. Later, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore appeared as the Asian tigers which were Asian showpieces of capitalist growth.

Just as to Paul Baran, the growth strategies of the Third World countries illustrate two dissimilar types of orientations. He maintained that an overwhelming majority of the backward countries are ruled through regimes of a clearly pronounced comprador character and their strategies are also based on what he calls comprador capitalist growth. Secondly, he maintained that some underdeveloped countries have governments which have a 'New Trade' orientation such as India, Indonesia, and Burma. In the first group, he placed the oil-producing countries of the Transitional East and Latin American and Afro-Asian and Latin American countries producing precious minerals and food-stuffs. Several of these countries are ruled through pro-Western dictators who are constrained to pursue growth strategy based on comprador capitalism. Baran's characterization of such regimes as comprador is measured dated and inapplicable now

In the second group, Baran placed 'New-Trade' kind regimes where a nationalist bourgeoisie was in power which, in alliance with other exploited classes, was trying to make an self-governing economic foundation for the country's all round growth. As the pressure for social liberation was not great in these countries, the governments there adopted the strategy of evolving an indigenous diversity of industrial capitalism in which both the public and private sectors would have a co-operative connection.

Though, the New Trade regime is also plagued with sure contradictions. For instance, 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 livelihood circumstances of the workers, as it cannot antagonize business. Despite its anti-imperialism, it favors foreign capital. This regime substitutes minor reforms for radical changes, revolutionary languages for revolutionary deeds. It is unable to do the battle for industrialization and unable to rally the masses for a decisive assault on the nation's backwardness, poverty, illiteracy or ill-health. The state capitalist model may make 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. Though, the private sector is unable to fulfill the role that is expected. Population development remnants unchecked and usually neutralizes economic development in real conditions.

Growth strategies based on the state capitalist model have now been rejected approximately in all developing countries. Neo-liberal economic reforms advocated through the IMF-World Bank advisers are being implemented at a varying pace approximately in all developing countries. The state sector is being dismantled slowly 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 development has not helped the African countries in any appreciable manner. Though, the slogans of liberalization, privatization and globalization have been universally carried as the guidelines for growth

through the ruling elites of all developing nations. This is simply a market-oriented, capitalist strategy of economic development.

SOCIAL BASES OF STATE POWER

Meaning

In a broad sense, power is the manufacture of designed effects. It is the capability to get what one wants to get. In the middle of the many approaches to power, the 'Power to', approach associated with Talcott Parsons is the mainly important. Just as to Parsons political power is the capability of a government to attract on the commitment of its citizens in order to achieve societal, political and economic goals. The power of the government is decided through the effectiveness with which it achieves society's goals. Therefore, for Parsons, power is a device which enables the government or the rulers to fulfill the objectives of community. It is not the skill of one group or the other to will manage of the state.

Why Parson's definition of power was not establish adequate? Despite its positive connotations, Parson's view of power is measured too narrow through many political scientists. For those who disagree with Parsons, politics is an arena of confliction opinions concerning what goals and whose goals or rather which group's goals should be pursued.

The underlying view of power is clash and not consensus. Power consists in the skill to get ones method, generally in the face of opposition. This opinion supported through Robert Dahl and other pluralists talk of power in excess of rather than power to. The former Soviet Union throughout the last years of its subsistence witnessed such a distinction flanked by power in excess of and power to. The quantity of power accessible to a central

government can decline to a point when the issue of its sharing becomes secondary.

Classification of Power

As power is not merely power, violence, force or war alone, Kelmer: Boulding in his Three faces of power gives a classification of shapes. The threat of force is used through the military and the police - the coercive organizations of state. The state has the power to deprive its citizens of their liberty if taxes are not paid, if laws are not obeyed etc., however on several occasions the coercive power of the state is merely implicit, that is a sign of its effectiveness.

Swap power is more effective as there is a positive note in this diversity of power. There is a trade and reciprocity and the trade is based on reward. Nevertheless, the trade is also a form of power as it changes the behavior of one person through another person. In approximately all modern states, the connection flanked by the citizen and state is that of a swap or contract. The citizens agree to accept and obey the state's power and the state agrees to give and 'protect the citizens'. However the contract is imaginary, the swap exists. Creating obligations is the other way whereby the capability to inspire loyalty, respect and commitment is brought forth. Family and religious organizations are two of the mainly important social organizations that indulge in such obligatory exercises of power. In mainly Islamic states, fundamentalist institutions operate on these rows.

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 in excess of them without their knowledge. Likewise, a government that begins conscription

through whipping up patriotic fervor is also exercising power in excess of its people through manipulating the knowledge, values and preferences of others. We may conclude that the power of a modern state rests on its capacity to attract on a wide range of sources of obligation. All the three approaches of power enunciated through Kenneth Boulding in his Three faces of Power are instructive and highlight the information that power is based on a combination of factors.

Sharing of Power: How?

Separately from the debate as to what is power, how it is exercised and considered another important question regarding power is how it is distributed in societies. A secure seem at political systems, both democracies and dictatorships, designates that there is a dissimilarity flanked by the two. The Elite and Pluralist theories are the mainly significant. The elitists hold that there is not much of dissimilarity.

Elite Theory: Pareto and Mosca

The elitists view that there is not much variation flanked by 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 power on the thinking of the concept of power in the twentieth century. Pareto firmly whispered that all societies are divided in the middle of,

A small governing elite,
A non-governing elite, and
The mass population or non-elite

There might be a circulation of elites but elite is always present. Mosca argued that governing elite is possible through the attendance of a larger

organization and caliber. The power of a small organized minority is inevitable in excess of unorganized majority. Unlike his Italian counterparts, Robert Michels studied specific organizations. He propagated the well-known "iron law of oligarchy." Oligarchy meaning rule through the few. In path breaking studies Michels proved that his law was applicable to socialist parties, mainly organizations and even the Labour party in England.

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

Based on these theories originating in Europe, many sociological studies urbanized in the United States from 1920. They investigated the sharing of power in regional societies. Mainly of them concluded that a small minority of people from either upper or transitional class backgrounds were always predominant in a society. The similar people repeatedly get nominated to municipality councils and society bodies. This information reiterated the concept of governing elite in regional societies, even in a supposedly democratic United States. C. Wright Mills was the other important supporter of elite theory. In his well-known revise, the Power Elite, Mills argued that political leaders were the principal groups that directed the American politics either from the backdrop or sometimes by elected offices. Mill's theory today is recognized as an adaptation of corporatism, a proposition that duly elected representatives have been losing power to other institutional interests such as business and military.

Pluralism

The after that mainly important theory regarding power in political science has been pluralism. While elitism specifies rule through a minority, pluralism specifies rule through minorities. It is a doctrine of variety. Its largest argument is that mainly modern shapes of government are open and dissimilar interests and groups compete for power. Robert Dahl, the mainly

noted in the middle of pluralists, concluded that ruling elites do not exist and that power manifests itself by a plurality of interests and groups after a cautious scrutiny of New Haven municipality in Connecticut. Through the 1970s, mainly 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 weight. It was also a bigger adaptation of the democratic principle of one man, one vote and majoritarian rule.

Criticism, though, critics accused the pluralists of excessive emphasis on decision creation as non-decisions are ignored through the pluralists. Also an important minority of the population is too indifferent and alienated to get involved. Therefore increasingly it is argued that the pluralists captured only one aspect of power in western societies.

Power as Coercion: Max Weber

Yet another form of power is coercion. Mainly rulers face the problem of legitimizing their location into power. Power is the right to rule. Relationships of power are maintained in a hierarchical fashion. The German sociologist Max Weber provided an original analysis of the many bases of power. He termed them as traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. The first kind is TRADITIONAL. Weber says, "in traditional power the present order is viewed as sacred, eternal and inviolable. The dominant person or group, generally defined through heredity, is idea to have been pre-ordained to rule in excess of the rest. The subjects are bound to the ruler through personal dependence and a custom of loyalty, further reinforced through such cultural beliefs as the "divine right of Kings."

CHARISMATIC power is Weber's second kind. Leaders are obeyed because they inspire their followers. Extremely often the masses that follow the heroes' credit them with exceptional and supernatural qualities. Though, the charismatic power is normally a short existed affair

LEGAL-RATIONAL is the third kind. In this case power is exercised by principles and obedience is to a government of laws. All modern bureaucracies seem to be authorities of this kind.

In Max Weber's own languages, therefore "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."

Contending Approaches to Power

To understand this mainly important concept in modern political science, at a theoretical plane, three biggest approaches can be recognized. The pluralists or the empirical democratic theorists focus on the fragmented nature of power in a given community; the theorists of corporatism emphasize the significance of extra governmental organizations in determining state's policies and decisions. Despite the changing fortunes of Marxism as an ideology, modern 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 flanked by political power and class power.

Pluralistic Conception of Power

To the pluralists, power is the skill to achieve one's aims and objectives, despite opposition. Robert Dahl describes power 'as a reasonable

connection, such as its capability for acting, in such a manner as to manage B's responses.' He also describes it as a "successful effort through A to get B to do something he would not otherwise do." The notion of power as called and defined through Dahl stresses the subjective element of purpose, willingness and implies a confliction connection. The central issue is overcoming B's resistance and in such a case power rests on the exercise of manage in excess of immediate measures.

Robert Dahl's empirical investigations in the municipality of New Haven titled *Who Governs* concentrated on discovering the capability of actors involved in policy creation. The project revise concluded that the decision creation procedure in the municipality is pluralist democracy of multiple coalitions. Power is disaggregated and non-cumulative. Many groups spread during the community and on behalf of several diverse and competitive interests share power. Such plurality contributes to inequalities of power and also to unequal sharing of wealth, status, education and therefore on. The conflicts in excess of the power to decide policy outcomes, the manner in which differing interest groups place claims on the municipality mayor, ultimately leads to positive policy formulations for the good of the citizenry. That divergent interests competing for power contribute to equilibrium in democracy and also to favorable policy articulation, becomes the second mainly critical assumption of American empirical democratic theory. It also stands alongside the individualist and voluntarist notions of power.

American Empirical Democratic Theory or Classical Pluralism

American empirical democratic theory or classical pluralism dates back to the period of James Madison and the Federalist papers. Madison reiterated the Hobbesian assumption that people have a natural desire for power in excess of fellow beings in his Federalist No. 10 through stating that

"the latent reasons of faction are.... sown in the nature of men." He also recognized "unequal sharing of property," as the mainly general and durable source of factions. Though, modern 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 modern community, factions assume the shape of interest groups and they are the source of continuity and central expression of democracy.

Group Theory

As one of the mainly articulate in the middle of 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 beside Weberian rows. But the state is not autonomous like in the Weberian sense nor in the sense of Marx, who considers state's capability to transform as central to community. For the group theorists, State reacts to the purposive exercise of power. Power is fragmented within community. Truman also hopes that out of the competing interests a comparative coherent policy will emerge.

Robert Dahl was another Group theorist after David Truman. He assimilates the central concern of Madison in relation to the factions considering it as the best expression of DEMOCRACY. Dahl calls it POLYARCHY and argues that competition in the middle of several interests ensures the safety of democracy. S. Lukes in his *Power: A Radical View* argues that "the bias of an organization is not continued basically through a series of individually chosen acts, but also mainly importantly, through the socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups, and practices of organizations." This conception of power as the capability of individuals to realize their will against resistance, neglects the importance of communal

forces and social arrangements. For this cause, the classical pluralists failed to grasp the asymmetries of power - flanked by classes, races, genders, politicians and citizens and therefore were responsible for shattering the premises of classical pluralism. The development of political groups associated with the New Left also began to alter the political legroom in the U.S. Political polarization took lay 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 conditions, and consequently the pluralist inadequacies in grasping the nature and sharing of power led to great several difficulties in understanding reality. A great trade of empirical research into understanding power also proved that several groups do not have the possessions to compete in the national arena, as the national politics are controlled and manipulated through powerful national and multinational corporations. Acknowledgement of these troubles in both conceptual and empirical conditions has led to dissolution of classical pluralist theory and emergence of newer and competing schools

Corporatist Theory

Through the late 1970s the empirical democratic theory has been severely criticized through Corporatist theory. At first, both emerged wholly incompatible. In *Leo Panitch's* 1977 essay "The growth of Corporatism in liberal democracies" *Political Studies* he explained that "class harmony and organic unity were essential to community and could be secured if the several functional groups, and especially the institutions of capital and labour, were imbued with a conception of natural rights and obligations somewhat same to. that presumed to have unified the medieval estates." The principle of organic unity is the central thought of corporatism. J. T. Winkler observed that "community is seen as consisting of diverse elements unified into one body,

forming one Corpus; hence the word corporatism". Fascist Italy and Nazist Germany were measured the prime examples of European Corporatism.

Though, 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 languages of Philippe Schmitter modern or societal corporatism is "a organization of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories established or licensed through the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in swap for observing sure controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports." What caused the rise of Societal Corporatism'? Changes in the equilibrium maintained through varying class forces since the 1920s led to decay of pluralism and its displacement through societal Corporatism. Corporatist theory is a synthesis of central conceptual premises of Marxist and Pluralist theories.

While agreeing with the pluralists that policy outcomes are determined through the competitive claims of interest associations, the Corporatists argue that associations are now OLIGOPOLISTICALLY configured. From the Marxists, Corporatists accept the information that vital class conflicts exist and mainly activities in state and community are pursued to reproduce class relations. At the similar 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.

Marxist Theory

In the 1970 and 80s there has been important revival of interest through 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 community relations from pluralist perspective. Miliband opposed the view that State is a neutral arbiter in the middle of social interests. He observed the attendance of a ruling class in European societies that controls the means of manufacture; the linkages such class has with political parties, military, universities and the media; the commanding location that this class occupies in approximately all the matters of State; the social backdrop of civil servants and, their ideological bent of mind meant that the state promotes a 'structure of power and privilege inherent in advanced capitalism'. Nicolas Poulantzas and Michel Foucault were the other prominent modern Marxist thinkers. Poulantzas's biggest theoretical contribution was with regard to State power. For him, State power is a result of the interaction flanked by the institutional form of the State and the changing character of political class forces.

Power as the Capability to Attain Class Interest

Poulantzas analysis of power and strategies is evident in political power and *Social Classes*. He recognized power as the capability to realize class interest a specific context and went on to describe interests as those that can be measured as a range of feasible class *objectives*. The emphasis was on the feasibility and achievability of the class objectives. He also accentuated 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 linked. Michel Foucault was a French Philosopher and a

Historian. His works, *Discipline and Punish* and *The Will to Know* trade extensively with the nature of Power in mainly contemporary societies..

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

Power is relational that is, Power grows from a combination of conditions throughout the development of a State.

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 community. Therefore, State, the central location of power, was an institution with a productive role. State is a balancer of clashing classes and does not deprive power to any class.

Power reasons resistance. Resistance evokes counter-resistance.

Rejected the Liberal and Marxist approaches to Power as these approaches subordinate Power to economic functions.

Said secure links exist flanked by Power and Knowledge. Concluded that division of knowledge into mental and manual categories makes political and ideological class power.

Omnipresence of power in all social relations.

Understanding of struggles—All social struggles are a form of assertion of power.

Having studied the regions of agreement flanked by Foucault and Poulantzas concerning Power, as suggested, see regions of conflict. Poulantzas criticized Foucault for:

Stating that Power relations are the only supreme item.

Arguing in relation to the 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, jointly Foucault and Poulantzas treat power as a vital characteristic of all social relations. Through doing therefore they highlighted the strategic character of power relations and the significant role played through dissimilar locations of power.

CLASS FORMATION

History of Class Formation

In primitive societies sure individuals were often set separately from the rest of the society because of acquisition of wealth or display of rare craftsmanship; hereditary aristocracy and priesthoods which were also general grounds for status identities. The transition from this community of status to one of class occurred throughout the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in Greece and in Rome.

The first class clash in Greece arose from opposition to the landed aristocracy. The peasantry, heavily in debt to the aristocracy under an organization where debt led to slavery, brought in relation to the Solonian legislation and its extension to a wider circle of citizenry of political rights and admission to public office. These reforms divested the landed aristocracy of their legal sanctions and thereby transformed a differentiation through status into a differentiation of class. With the industrial and commercial growth that followed the Persian wars, personal property became increasingly significant and the clash of classes was accordingly transformed.

An essentially same growth occurred in Rome. Social differentiation took lay on the foundation of status. Political power was concentrated in the middle of the landed families. To their opposite, stood a group of plebeians. Although they were free, they had no political rights. This order was slowly broken down and the method opened for differentiation into classes. When the transition had been completed the growth of Roman social organization sustained in the direction of sharpening the outlines of the class structure. Mainly because of the wars and the competition of grain from other countries the peasant class began to disintegrate. Deprived of land and living, the peasants thronged the metropolis. There they constituted an enormous proletariat leading a meager subsistence on public donations and offerings. Therefore definite property classes appeared, with the sharpest contrasts

showing up in the sharing of wealth. In the Transitional Ages, the feudal organization represented a social organization based on status. With the rising importance of manufacture for the market and trade, and with the coming of the money economy, gradations arose in the middle of the free and the less free. Neither ranks nor classes remained permanent or unchanged but disintegrated into subgroups. Therefore, gradations began to arise in the middle of the unfree as well.

With the development of municipalities and trade a new occupational class took its lay with the aristocracy and the peasants - the burghers. Office and vocation began slowly to determine social location. Members of the mainly diverse ranks through birth - even the unfree and the free men - establish it possible to move to higher social strata. These new elements did not immediately displace the old; the two functioned face through face for many centuries. And while the new classes were occupational they remained at the outset quite rigid. But wealth and vocation kept continually displacing the facts of birth and descent. While this development was essentially same in all European States, the manner and time in which it took lay differed. Particularly in the Italian municipality-states, England and France, the class organization evolved earlier than in other countries. In England the wealthy merchant class had through the end of the seventeenth century attained an influential lay in Parliament. In France at this time numerous burghers had been elevated to the nobility and after 1715 they could acquire the estates of the nobility.

Agrarian Class Formation

Historically, rural regions in several countries have been characterized through extreme inequalities in economic and political power. Several countries with big rural populations and economics based on the manufacture

of primary products have sustained to demonstrate such inequalities. There are many common categories of agrarian class systems. Slavery, as it lived in the United States in the pre-Civil War period, is the mainly extreme organization, because it fully limits access to land to a dominant class and gives for total manage of the labour of a subordinate class. A second category, establish in medieval Europe and colonial Latin America, is feudal systems. In such systems landlords seek to accumulate land primarily to enhance their status and power. They ensure a stable and dependent labour force by a monopoly in excess of land. The landowners use indebtedness, overt coercion, and traditional social obligations and deference to uphold manage in excess of land and labour.

Agrarian capitalism, as urbanized in colonial regions of Southeast Asia in the late nineteenth century, is a third category. It is characterized through plantation manufacture and relies on a monopoly in excess of land and on slave debt-bound, or wage labour to uphold power in excess of subordinate classes. Where big-level capitalist cultivation has urbanized as in sections of Mexico and Brazil, productive land has been monopolized through big landowners, and wage labour has replaced tenancy. Where small-level capitalist farms have appeared, land and labour markets have been more open and less subject to coercion.

In countries with big agricultural sectors capitalism has become the dominant mode of manufacture in agriculture in mainly areas. Capitalist producers have accumulated superior holdings of productive land, replaced labour by mechanization and other technical advancements. They now hire only for peak work periods, rather than maintaining a settled work force. This procedure has had many consequences. Productive land has become scarcer for small landholders, landlessness in the middle of the rural poor has increased, and wage labour has become more mobile and insecure. It was also

expected that due to this procedure small land holders and peasant societies would eventually disappear, forced off the land and absorbed into a rural or urban labour force.

Though small land holders and peasant societies have shown great capability to survive the expansion of capitalism. At the stage of the household, small landholders have diversified their sources of income. Through joining jointly for manufacture or marketing, some have been able to compete with capitalist producers. In some cases rural producers have shaped cooperatives or associations that allow them to compete with big landowners for markets. Another growth that has affected agrarian class formation is the expansion of the State in the decades since World War II. The state is present in rural regions in the form of the regional agricultural research institution, the marketing agency, the rural credit bank, the fair-price store, the school, the health dispensary, the public works office, and other organizations. Much state intervention in rural regions comes in the form of goods and services that can be provided selectively to individuals, groups or societies. In cases of open and democratic party competition national politicians have at times competed for the support of rural groups through promising or promoting policies of agrarian reform and rural growth. Consequently rural class formation is now seen to be determined through more than patterns of land ownership and labour use. It also depends on power relationships flanked by rural landowners and the developmental state and on the methods in which subordinated classes have been included into national political systems.

Industrial Class Formation

We have read in relation to the changes taking place in the rural regions. As suggested, be learning growths in urban, social and economic formations. At the beginning of the nineteenth century changes in the sharing of wealth

had already begun to determine class formation. With the development of capitalism and big-level industry the economic element - chiefly the possession of property - played a greater role than ever in the determination of class membership. Social factors were based approximately entirely on the economic ones. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the mainly intense class conflicts took lay in authoritarian societies, such as Russia, Finland, and Germany, where elites attempted to consolidate their hold on power through suppressing opposition.

Through contrast, class clash was less violent in countries with recognized liberal freedoms and effective representative organizations, such as England and Switzerland. In these countries, the extension of the vote to workers gave them a greater sense of social and political inclusion. Freedom of political association and expression gave workers the chance to press their group demands by legitimate channels. As a result of improved working circumstances and political integration in the post World War II period mainly western societies saw an important reduction of industrial clash. Reforms based on Keynesian 'demand management', new and expanded welfare programs, and consensual policies intended to include wage demands and inflation had definite impact on class formation.

Countries varied widely, though, in the extent to which the postwar growths took lay. Class compromise was strongest in northern and central Europe and weakest in southern Europe and the Anglo-American democracies. Until the late 1970s in northern and central Europe, and particularly in Sweden, Norway, Austria, the working class was strongly organized in the labour market. In these countries, socialist parties were also able to participate in governments on a regular foundation. This participation opened a political channel for trade unions to swap moderation of their labour-market demands

for favorable state action, including legal defense of unions, economic policies for full employment, and welfare and egalitarian social policies.

Theories of Class Formation

Therefore distant we have discussed the historical characteristics of class formation like how classes were shaped and how they urbanized in dissimilar contexts. Now, as suggested, seem into the theories of classes and class conflicts, to expand our understanding of class formation. In the realm of theory deep disagreements divide both Marxists and non-Marxists. Some think 'class has to do with property', others say class is related to power. Still others believe class and surplus property and values as related. Yet others equate class with class consciousness. The Marxist custom remnants useful for its insistence on the need to revise the evolving capitalist class and its connection with working people, especially when globalization of capitalist manufacture occurs. Marxists, though, pay insufficient attention to social groupings other than classes. The insights of the Weberian custom, with its stress on social mobility and social fragmentation within broad class groupings fill up some gaps in theory. Post-industrial theories highlight the subsistence of non-employed groups. They create moves to identify such non-employed groups as a separate class, with their own unique economic situation. These theories identify the non-employed groups less as a segment within the working class.

Marxian Theories

A class, just as to Marx, becomes a class only when it gets united and organized in the protection of its class interests. Without general thrash about it is not more than a mass of people distribution the similar location in the economic organization. The bourgeoisie urbanized its class-consciousness, because it was aware of general interests of their members while they

struggled against feudalism. And the ruling class in bourgeois community understands the general require to defend the prevailing organization however there are several internal, factional conflicts dividing the class.

For the proletariat it is an extensive procedure of thrash about to acquire the consciousness of being a class. From its extremely birth the proletariat struggles with the bourgeoisie, as the Communist Manifesto points out. But in the beginning these are only individual, regional struggles against the direct exploiters, as also against the regional capitalists. With the growth of industry the proletariat increases in number and becomes concentrated in greater masses. Gradually the collisions of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie take the form of the collisions flanked by two classes. The workers begin to organize themselves; they form combinations and permanent associations. The regional struggles get centralized into one national thrash about flanked by classes. From the point of view of capital the mass of workers are already a class before that. But "for itself", the proletariat becomes a class only in the course of thrash about. And the thrash about of class against class is a political thrash about.

In the thrash about the proletariat develops and expresses its class-consciousness. For Man this means simply that the proletariat comes to understand that its own emancipation and the liberation of community as a entire need- the overthrow of capitalism, and that it shapes the will to overthrow it. Therefore proletarian class consciousness is revolutionary consciousness. The proletariat has a conviction that community requires to be transformed in a revolutionary method and has the commitment to fight for that. Class-consciousness for Marx and Engels means the awareness of this common revolutionary perspective.

It does not at all mean that the workers know through heart a set of Marxist doctrines. In the Manifesto, Marx and Engels say that the communists are not a new sect, but that they always and everywhere symbolize the interests of the movement as an entire. They are mainly advanced in their understanding of the direction in which the proletarian movement goes. But they share the similar immediate aim with all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class and the overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy. But it is a consistent refrain of Marx that: 'The emancipation of the working class necessity is the act of the working class itself'. Marx expected the proletariat itself to develop the necessary revolutionary consciousness and to emancipate itself. The revolutionary thrash about of the working class, so, requires organization. Trade unions and the party are the foremost shapes of organization of the working class.

But in history what occurred'? The biggest difficulty arose from the apparent failure of industrial workers to create any notable advance beside the row of anticipated progression. The gap flanked by predictions generated through class theory and the actual tendency of historical growth was glaringly brought out in the wake of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917: Believe this paradox. A revolution claiming to fulfill the Marxist promise of socialist transformation occurred in a community little advanced in its capitalist growth, while all the attempts at socialist revolution in truly capitalist countries with a big industrial working population failed. What, from the theoretical perspective, emerged as a bewildering incongruity or paradox of history, generated more interest in the middle of the Marxist thinkers. Their concern was why such anticipation did not materialize.

As suggested, revise who were such theorists and what work they accepted out. The first person in the middle of the theorists was Lukacs. His 'false consciousness' theory- distinguished 'consciousness of class' from 'class

consciousness': the first relates to the ideas and motives of the class members arising from the inexperience within their daily business of life. The latter could be evolved at only by and after a rational revise of the totality of the information related to the social organization where the members are. In Lukacs's view, there was no automatic passage from the first to the second: the information necessary to construct the ideal 'class consciousness' was not accessible within the individual experience as it was constrained through the tasks of daily survival. Only a scientific analysis created through the political organization of the class members can give class consciousness. This is a matter where ideology comes into active play.

Another related debate that has occupied Marxists for several years concerns the composition of working class. Nicos work to explain class and concluded that the working class consisted exclusively of productive, subordinated manual wage-earners. While productive labour produces surplus value, unproductive labour, for instance, state employees, service workers or officers - is paid from this source.

Weberian Theories

As suggested, not only trade with the views of Max Weber but also with those who followed his custom such as Anthony Giddens. Max Weber not only theorized in relation to the class but also introduced two other concepts, namely status group and party. For him a class is a group of people who stand objectively in the similar situation in conditions of market location or market power, that is to say a group of people who share the similar life-chances. This is determined through the power to utilize possessions which they manage in order to acquire income in the market. The term 'life-chances' is used through Weber to refer not presently to material benefits but to anything which is desirable namely, leisure, travel, civilization, and therefore

on. Weber acknowledges that one of the fundamental and general bases for class formation is the method property is distributed. But ownership of property or lack of it; is, for Weber, only one of the criteria defining the subsistence of a class situation. Classes may be further subdivided in conditions of the type of property owned or the type of ability or service that is offered.

Class and status groups are closely associated and interlinked. Weber says, property, as well as defining class location, is also regularly used as a criterion for membership in a status group. Status is generally expressed in conditions of a distinctive life-approach and restrictions upon social interaction with non-members. Speech, dress, manners, residence, habits, leisure activities, marriage patterns - all may become expressions of differential status. A status group, for Weber, is a group with sure rights, privileges and opportunities for acquiring what is desirable which are determined not through location in the market but through the possession of sure aspects evaluated in conditions of worth, prestige, admissibility, and therefore on.

Weber states that both classes and status groups are also essentially founded upon power. He defines party in an extremely broad sense to mean any group whose purpose it is to exercise power in community or which is concerned with the competition for power. This is a wider conception than political parties in the usual sense and would contain any alliance or organization with this as its aim. A party may be associated with a scrupulous class or status group but require not necessarily be therefore. Any social division could form the foundation for a party, including ethnicity, race, religion or area. Although class, status and power may cut crossways one another, one of them usually pre-dominates in a given kind of community. Anthony Giddens bases his conception essentially upon a Weberian basis.

Giddens wishes to retain the link flanked by class and the economic sphere beside with both Marx and Weber. In common conditions classes can be characterized as big-level, societal wide groupings which are, at least in principle, 'open'. That is to say, birth, hereditary status, etc do not determine membership. Giddens seeks to describe what he calls a 'social class' rather than merely pure economically defined categories, since there may be an indefinite multiplicity of crosscutting interests created through dissimilar market capacities while there are only a limited number of social classes. For him, there are essentially three vital classes in a modern community, namely upper, transitional and lower or working class.

The mainly significant aspect of the division of labour in modern capitalism, from the point of view of class formation, is that flanked by administrative and manual tasks. White-collar and blue-collar groups perform extremely dissimilar types of task and each has appropriate skills.

Secondly, the pattern of power relationships in the enterprise tends to reinforce this pattern of division of labour. White-collar work regularly involves the exercise of some power whereas blue-collar work usually does not and is mostly only subject to power. Thirdly, dissimilar patterns of consumption and dissimilar life-styles, to which varying degrees of prestige are attached, tend to promote class distinctions. These dissimilar patterns of consumption and life-approach, in therefore distant as they are typical of scrupulous groups, are referred to through Giddens distributive groupings. While the dissimilar patterns of consumption that form the foundation of distributive groupings enjoy dissimilar degrees of prestige, it is the actual pattern of consumption itself that is the central criterion here. To the extent that the three kinds of proximate structuration of class relationships coincide with one another, and to the extent that they run alongside the mediate

structuration of class relationships, then the formation of separate classes is promoted.

Finally, in order to become a social reality a class necessity approach to adopt general patterns of behavior and attitudes and to do this it necessity becomes aware of itself as a class.

Other Weberians see the divide flanked by manual and non-manual work as being still important, while conceding the heterogeneity of white-collar jobs. John Goldthorpe theorizes an eleven-class model. He suggests, though, that the eleven classes can be aggregated into three: the service class, the intermediate groupings and the working class.

The service class comprises managers, officers and professionals and also 'big proprietors'. Below the service class is the less coherent group of intermediate workers, in which Goldthorpe comprises small owners, farmers, foremen, routine non-manual workers or service workers. Several of these groups are seen through Marxists as proletarianized. While Goldthorpe and other neo-Weberians uphold that the intermediate groupings have separate work and market positions, they acknowledge the amorphous nature of this group and the information that individuals regularly are moving in and out of these occupational sectors. Proof from the USA and Canada shows that lower-grade service occupations are characteristically filled through young people and students at the start of their careers who may eventually end up in the service class, while in some European societies it is older workers who take these occupations.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

What is the difference between Structuralism and Structural-Functionalism

Why do functionalists stress on social solidarity based on moral consensus and norms'?

What are the main features of the Soviet development strategy?

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

What did Corporatists understand regarding Power and the State'?

What are the main categories of agrarian class system

Compare class conflict in the industrial societies.

Chapter 4

Classification of Political Regimes

STRUCTURE

Learning objectives

Secular and theocratic regimes

Civil and military regimes

Democratic and authoritarian regimes

Modes of classification of political regimes

Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this chapter, you should be able to:

Define secularism and explain its origins.

Identify the features of secular regimes

Explain different patterns of civil-military relations.

Describe military regimes and their features.

Explain the evolution of democratic regimes.

Identify the features of authoritarian regimes

Identify the different models of classification of political regimes.

Describe the changing patterns of classification.

SECULAR AND THEOCRATIC REGIMES

Secularism and Secular Regimes

The word secular, from which secularism is derived, refers to something concerned with temporal that is with matters of this world than with

something religious or otherworldly. Secularism as a doctrine can be defined as the effort to set up a body of principles regarding human behavior based on rational knowledge and experience rather than theology or the supernatural. In sphere of politics, secularism advocates that the domain of operation of religious power should be restricted in community, and that in scrupulous the state should be self-governing of religion. It necessity be noted that when we talk here of religious power or independence from religion, we are referring to religion as an organized socio-political force and not merely as an organization of sacred beliefs.

Secularism is a dominant characteristic of contemporary times. Secularization or the decline of the prestige and power of religion began in Europe and is closely associated with the break up of the medieval feudal order in the 14th and 15th centuries. Beginning in the 4th century, when the Roman Emperor Constantine adopted Christianity as a state religion, Christianity had acquired a powerful hold in excess of medieval Europe. The Church came to combine both spiritual and temporal power. The Church directly ruled in excess of small areas approximately Rome, but its power extended in excess of the whole Europe. It had more political power than any government in Europe. This was because in those days the power and power of Emperors and kings was limited through the information that land was divided into feudal estates. The holder of the estate, the feudal lord, was for all practical purposes, a self-governing ruler. Mainly rulers were virtually puppets placed in location through the Church s who were measured to be benefactors of the Church. With the Church becoming deeply involved in the political and non-spiritual affairs, its leaders like the Popes, bishops and clergy amassed great wealth, indulged in earthly pleasures and behaved like princes and military men. The political intrigues and manipulations, combined with the Church's rising power and wealth contributed to the bankruptcy of the Church as spiritual force.

The mainly significant consequence of the power of religion and the Church were on the intellectual climate of Europe. Man's considerations and feelings were expressed in conditions of religious values. Christianity whispered that human mind and its cause are not reliable, as sources of knowledge and that by the help of Christian faith and God's grace alone, human beings can know what is true or untrue. In other languages, faith was more significant than cause. This attitude dominated therefore much that the quest for knowledge was mostly confined to 'spiritual' matters like the interpretation of the Bible and of the writings and sayings of Popes and religious writers. In the universities of Padua and Bologna in Italy, Sarbonne in France and Oxford and Cambridge in England teaching and studying was mostly on religious subjects and they trained priests, and theologians. Although non-religious subjects such as astronomy, geology, medicine, chemistry and law were studied, Christian view of the world limited the scope of human enquiry. No one dared to question the Church as it was whispered to be infallible and in direct get in touch with God. People who questioned the power of the Church or disagreed with its teachings were imprisoned, exiled or executed. Several scholars so define the medieval era as the Dark Age.

The seemingly impregnable intellectual and political edifice of Christianity began to crumble under the assault of Humanism, the Renaissance, and the Protestant Reformation. From the 14th century onwards, many growths combined to undermine the medieval feudal order. The Crusades and the contacts with the East recognized through medieval travelers like Marco Polo, brought to Europe new knowledge and information. It also increased the trading action. Consequently new cities appeared in Europe, especially, in the Mediterranean area. A new class in community, the transitional class began to emerge. It was in these conditions that there was a revival of Greek studying and values. A significant growth contributing to the Renaissance or 'rebirth' of classical ideas was the fall of Constantinople, the capital of Eastern Roman Empire to the Muslim Turks in 1453. Several

scholars in Constantinople fled westward, carrying with them Greek classics and manuscripts. The rediscovery of Greek studying in Europe changed the intellectual climate of Europe in several methods.

Classical humanist ideas emphasizing the dignity of man became popular. These were reflected in literature and arts, which turned to themes in relation to the man and nature from themes in relation to the religion. The humanist concern with the condition of man here on earth and with enquiries in relation to the create man's life bigger and happy can be taken as the first manifestation of secularism. The new intellectual awakening in turn created a new spirit of enquiry in the middle of the people. Human cause and pursuit of studying, which were not confined to religious studying alone, began to receive priority. This resulted in significant scientific discoveries being made and recognized to people. Discoveries made through scientists like Copernicus, Isaac Newton and Charles Darwin directly challenged the Christian view of the world. We can so say that the Age of Faith was effectively questioned and began to be replaced through the Age of Cause because of the Renaissance.

In politics also, significant changes were brought about. Many thinkers challenged the power of the Church and Christian morality in excess of emperors and kings. In the 13th century, Aquinas, the greatest scholar of the age, borrowing from Aristotle, aided in raising the dignity of the civil power through declaring the state a perfect community and a necessary good. The Renaissance writer Niccolo Machiavelli advocated the significant thought that princes and rulers require not be guided through religious morality but should be able to conduct politics largely with the purpose of rising the power of the state. Sometimes, this thought itself was, dangerous, as it could mean that kings and rulers require not follow morality in politics. But in another sense this thought was extremely crucial. It helped to strengthen the powers of the rulers as against the Church. Politics in Europe became free from religious manage. This political thinking coincided with the desire of several princes

and kings who wanted to become self-governing. The result was that self-governing kingdoms based on the thought of nationalism got recognized in significant regions of Europe and slowly spread to other areas.

Protestantism

The intellectual stimulation provided through the Humanists provided the spark for the Reformation, which further weakened the power of the Church. In the 16th century, a pious Catholic priest in Germany, Martin Luther, sought to rid the Church from corruption through re-establishing the Christian concept of the secular and the spiritual establish in the languages of Jesus: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's". He not only attacked corruption in the life of the Church but questioned the role of the Church. He argued that the individual Christian was free to approach God directly without the intermediary role of the Church. Although he left the Catholic Church in 1520, several churchmen joined Luther in demanding the Church. This resulted in the Reformation becoming a great movement. In several sections of Europe, the obedience and loyalty to the Church were withdrawn and a new branch of Christianity arose which was later termed as Protestantism. Protestantism was not a single and unified movement. There were some who joined Luther against the Catholic Church but differed with Luther on some significant philosophical and religious issues. Today there are more than a hundred diversities of Protestant sects in the world. But the largest point is that the power of the Catholic Church was successfully challenged in the name of freedom of the Christians to understand the Bible and approach God.

The fragmentation of the Church provided an opportunity for strong rulers to consolidate state power. For example, in England Henry VIII ended ties with the Church in Rome and assumed the headship of the Church of England. The fragmentation of the Church also resulted in a series of wars

flanked by the Catholic and Protestant nations flanked by the 16th and 18th centuries. It was only From the 18th century onwards that tolerance of ideas and real freedom o f enquiry dry idea became pronounced in Europe. These wars of religion furthered the secularization of state through encouraging the notion of a neutral public power that gave priority to the secular purposes of protecting life and maintaining order. So, through the end of the wars o f religion, nation-state had appeared as a primary force influencing the lives of citizens. Christianity that had split into numerous sects had lost its power to challenge this information.

Social Foundation of Secularism

Secularism and secularization of state power in Europe was a more intricate affair than has been called above. The rise of contemporary capitalistic economy had a significant role in the secularization of state power. As we saw, trade and commerce played a significant role in stimulating the renaissance and reformation movements. Strong rulers who created the nation-states made active use of the growing transitional classes in overcoming the feudal aristocracy, the chief barrier in the unifying procedure. The strength of the transitional class place in the wealth they accumulated by trade and commerce. The transitional classes who did not like the obstacles placed through landed feudal aristocracy in pursuing trade and commerce supported strong rulers who can regulate trade and commerce within and outside country. As the capitalism spread and moved into a higher level of growth, the industrial stage, regulation of economic action through despotic rulers was seen as an obstacle for further growth of industrialization. Moreover, the new class of men- artisans, industrial workers and middlemen from humble origin began to demand social and political opportunities. These pressures ultimately gave rise to liberalism and democratic organizations in Europe.

It is clear that secularism has been a section of a procedure of human liberation from power-initially from that of the Church and latter from despotic rulers. In Europe, it has played a significant role in checking absolutism, bigotry and fanaticism, in ensuring that the values enshrined in a scrupulous religion did not trump other values and in managing religious conflicts. It has also been an element of the procedure of democratic transformation. Even however secularism as a political force had recognized its hold in excess of mainly of Europe, there was in practice no formal isolation of religion and politics until 1791, when the first amendment to the constitution of the United States was passed. This amendment lay down that the Congress would not pass a law respecting an establishment of a religion, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

With time, secularism spread to other sections of the world creation the laws of the state self-governing of religion. In mainly of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. secularism was introduced throughout the colonial era. In the post-colonial era, these countries establish secularism useful to avoid religious clash and promote national integration.

Secular Regimes: Meaning and Characteristics

A secular state involves three separate and interrelated sets of relationships regarding the state, religion and the individual. First, a connection flanked by the individual and religion from which the state is excluded. Second, a connection flanked by the individual and the state from which religion is excluded. That is, an individual is a citizen self-governing of membership of any scrupulous religious group. The institutional arrangement for these relationships is an isolation flanked by state and religion. That is, there is neutrality of state in matters of religion. "There is no state religion.

Some of the feature characteristics of secular political systems are as follows:

The secular state is not based on any scrupulous religion. This means that such a state does not owe any allegiance to any scrupulous religion. Nor such a political organization adheres to the principles of a scrupulous theology.

However the secular state does not favor any scrupulous religion, it is not anti religion or irreligious. It cannot be said to non-religious. We cannot call such a state immoral or an atheistic state. Secular states do follow principles that are feature of any religion such as truth, non-violence, love, and morality, but they do not align with any scrupulous religion. In other languages, a secular state may tie itself to sure universal ethical principles without allowing any scrupulous religion to dictate its policies.

A secular state does not bother whether its members belong to this religion or that religion. Primarily concerned with an individual's external life, a secular state does not concern itself with religious affiliation of its citizens. Religion is seen as something concerns an individual's internal life, that is, a matter of purely individual and private faith.

Separating religion and politics, a secular state treats all religions alike. It does not allow religion to power political issue. Religion does not impede or interfere in any decision of the state. To that extent, religious discrimination is away in a secular state.

A secular state admits numerous religions under its jurisdiction. It advocates religious harmony, accommodation and co-operation. All religious institutions are accorded equal treatment and are equally respected. To that extent, a secular state is multi-religious state.

A secular state through its extremely nature is a democratic state. It is democratic because it treats individuals as individuals and not as a member of this or that scrupulous faith.

Secularism is the mainly widely recognized policy on religion today. In mainly countries of the modern world, there is a strong tendency to limit the role of religion to the 'religious' sphere of community. Secular regimes can be broadly categorized into two- the liberal and the Marxist. The liberal secular regimes are those which regard religion as a societal resource and allow for individual as well as corporate religious freedom to a greater or lesser extent. Religion in these liberal countries may in practice have an important role in political life. A huge majority of contemporary political regimes, including the

United States of America, Canada, Australia, India, South Africa, mainly European states and others belong to this category. In the Marxist adaptation of secular regimes, we have countries like the former Soviet Union and China that have an ideologically defined negative view of religion. In these and other countries inspired through a Marxist critique of religion, there is a strong ideological divide flanked by religion and politics, and corporate religious freedom is often subordinated to the prerogatives of political institutions.

Theocratic Regimes

Theocracy is a community governed through priests, or one whose government is heavily convinced through religious leaders. Originally, theocracy meant an organization where divine law was the foundation of all humanly enacted law, and in which religious and political hierarchies were merged. Today, the term theocracy is applied to refer to the dominance of religion in excess of state. A theocratic regime through its extremely nature is a religious state. It is wedded to a scrupulous religion. It believes and functions on scrupulous theological principles. Theocratic regimes are not merely dominated through scrupulous theology; they are, in information, controlled through that theology. In other languages, in these regimes, politics and religion get assimilated into each other: religion dominates politics and politics is accepted on religious principles. Since these states are uni-religious states, allowing only one scrupulous religion to flourish and shape its policies, their attitude towards other religions is one of 'aloofness'. People belonging to other faiths are treated as second-class citizens. 'There is neither religious harmony or ally religious tolerance.

Some of the feature characteristics of theocratic regimes are as follows:

A theocratic state is associated with a scrupulous religion. It believes in the principles and precepts of the religion it advocates. All the rules and

regulations, laws and through-laws framed through the state are in tune with the state religion.

- A theocratic regime preaches, practices and promotes the religion it follows. It expects its citizens to follow the state religion. Here, religion is not merely a private faith of the individual; it is a public faith. It is the faith of the state and also of its members. The theocratic state demands its people true and faithful allegiance to the religion of the state.
- A theocratic state does not separate religion from politics, nor politics from religion. For such a state, religious precepts become political precepts and the laws of the state are therefore framed that they do not interfere into the religious dictates of the state's faith.
- A theocratic state does not treat other religions, whether within its boundaries or outside, with equal respect as when to its own religion. In information, such a state treats other religions with the sense of imputability, that is, as a secondary type of religious faith only to be condemned and curbed.
- A theocratic state is predominantly a totalitarian state, or it tends to become totalitarian. It attempts to manage every aspect of an individual's life through projecting itself as the torch bearer of not only 'this' world, but also of 'heavenly' other world.
- A theocratic state through its nature is a rigid state; and so, through those standards, a fundamentalist state, an authoritarian one and hence an antidemocratic one.

Theocratic regimes, with more or less intimate interaction flanked by religion and politics, are few in modern international relations. In this category we have pure theocratic regimes as well as other regimes having secure connection with religion. A good instance of the former is the Islamic Republic of Iran, where the state tools is subordinated to Islam and religious leaders have a decisive say in political affairs. There are also countries where even however there is a state religion, religious leaders and organizations are to some extent subordinated to the interests of the state. Countries with Muslim majority populations like Egypt, Malaysia, Indonesia and some predominantly Christian and Buddhist countries such as Sweden and Thailand fall in this category.

Relevance and Trends in Secular Polity

Secularism has been a section of a procedure of human liberation from power and a dominant characteristic of contemporary times. Even religion could not remain immune to secular philosophy and outlook. For example, the Catholic Church in Latin America has witnessed the secularization of religion. In the 1960s' when great disparities in wealth and poverty bred social unrest and revolution in Latin America, several Catholic clergymen, bishops as well as parish priests, joined the people in their resistance to use and oppression. In therefore doing they fashioned a theoretical basis for their actions in what is described liberation theology. This theology rejected the traditional distinction flanked by religion and politics, and analyzed history in conditions of the philosophy of Karl Marx as a series of class struggles leading to a classless community. 'The Roman Catholic Church in Vatican has rejected liberation theology as an approach for social renewal. But the effort made through liberation theology to combine Christian faith with a commitment to social transform clearly reflects the hold secularism has approach to have in modern times.

At the similar time, though, there has been a development of anti-secularist movements in the last three decades or therefore. Anti-secular movements seeking to strength the political role of religion became pronounced after the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979. Much attention has been bestowed on the Islamic movements in the Transitional East with articulate political objectives. Though, as we shall see, anti-secular or politically oriented religious movements, often called as 'fundamentalist,' are not limited to a scrupulous religion or area. In Africa, the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria sought to set up an Islamic state based on the sharia. The Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan has same objectives and has been successful in achieving distant reaching Islamisation. In Senegal, a country with more than

90 per cent Muslim population, Islamic groups have been anti-secular and in clash with Sufism. In Togo, Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic, Liberia and Kenya, fundamentalist Christian Church, even while claiming to be apolitical has become a strong support foundation for autocratic rulers. In Tanzania, neo-fundamentalist type of Christianity as appeared on the political arena to counteract 'Muslim threat'.

Asia has also witnessed the rise of anti-secular forces. In India, since the early 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad has been seeking to strengthen Hindu identity with the objective of establishing a Hindu state. In Sri Lanka, movements aimed at strengthening the political role of Buddhism have appeared, partly in struggles against minority groups like the Tamils. Pakistan has witnessed Islamisation of successive constitutions since the mid-1970s. The mainly important growth in this regard has been the takeover of biggest sections of Afghanistan through fundamentalist Taliban groups. In the United States, a group described the Nation of Islam has voiced strong protests against conservative Christian as well as against secularism and the entire of American political organization. In Russia, following the demise of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, Orthodox Christianity in association with Russian neo-liberalism has emerged as the mainly significant political alternative to a Western liberal democratic growth in Russia. In many countries of east Europe, there exists distrust of the West and of the Catholic Church and religious nationalism seems as a significant alternative to communism.

The increased importance of religion in politics is partly related to the troubles of nationalism and ethnics. Juergensmeyer, refers to these religious activists, who strive for a revival of religion in public sphere, as religious nationalists. Just as to him, religious nationalists 'are concerned in relation to the rationale for having a state, the moral foundation for politics, and the causes why a state should elicit loyalty', and they strongly dismiss 'secular

nationalism as fundamentally bereft of moral and spiritual values'. Therefore, the success of the Islamic movement in Iran, the rise of Orthodox Christianity in Russia and in Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece in the 1990s is attributable to religious nationalism based on distrust of the West and rejection of Westernization.

Elsewhere, the rise of religious activism can be traced to the problem of ethnicity. For example, minority ethnic groups in Myanmar, Philippines and Thailand consider that they are increasingly coerced into conforming with the necessities of the dominant national group. These groups do not perceive themselves as fully section of the nation, believing that their religious, political and economic rights are violated. Same sentiments in the middle of Sikhs in Punjab and Christians in Nagaland have led to religious activism in the middle of minority groups in India. Their activities have often provoked clashes with the government and contributed to violent confrontations flanked by adherents of dissimilar religions. It has been argued through many scholars that one of the causes for the success of the Islamic movement in Iran was that the religious organizations and leaders were not totally, or even mainly, included into and controlled through the state. Hence, it retained the possibility of autonomous action and organization. A striving for institutional or organizational independence from the state has been a typical characteristic of the Islamic revival in several countries. Elsewhere, religious movements are serving as significant channels of political opposition. This is particularly the case in countries lacking democratic traditions or where the regime has failed in stimulating economic growth or in spreading the fruits of economic development.

In relation with politically oriented religious movements, secularists have to stay in mind the specific role of religion in politics in a scrupulous context. As we saw, in some cases, it seeks to reform community in

accordance with religious tenets and make a custom oriented, less modernized community. In others, it is section of the democratic thrash about, serving as a channel for political opposition or participating in social transformation. A democrat or a secularist necessity not dismisses religion but necessity takes into explanation its social foundation and exposes its hegemonic role and differentiates the democratic element wherever accessible and invites it into thrash about against class and social power.

CIVIL AND MILITARY REGIMES

Civil–military relations describe the connection flanked by civil community as an entire and the military organization or institutions recognized to protect it. More narrowly, it describes the connection flanked by the civil power of a given community and its military power. Studies of civil-military relations often rest on a normative assumption that civilian manage of the military is preferable to military manage of the state. The principal problem they analyze, though, is empirical: to explain how civilian manage in excess of the military is recognized and maintained.

While usually not measured a separate academic region of revise in and of itself, it involves scholars and practitioners from several meadows and specialties. Separately from political science and sociology, Civ-Mil (CMR) draws upon such diverse meadows as law, philosophy, region studies, psychology, cultural studies, anthropology, economics, history, diplomatic history, journalism, and the military, in the middle of others. It involves revise and discussion of a diverse range of issues including but not limited to: civilian manage of the military, military professionalism, war, civil-military operations, military organizations, and other related subjects. International in scope, civil-military relations involves discussion and research from crossways the world. The theoretical discussion can contain non-state actors as well as more traditional nation-states. Other research involves discerning the

details of military political attitudes, voting behavior, and the potential impact on and interaction with democratic community as well as military families.

History

The history of civil-military relations can be traced to the writings of Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz, both of whom argued that military institutions were primarily the servants of the state.

Concerns in relation to the rising militarism in community, mainly coming from the experiences of the first half of the twentieth century, engendered an examination into the impact of military institutions within community.

The ramifications of the Cold War, specifically the American decision to uphold a big standing army for the first time in its history, led to concerns in relation to the whether such a big military structure could be effectively maintained through a liberal democracy. Samuel P. Huntington and Morris Janowitz published the seminal books on the subject which effectively brought civil-military relations into academia, particularly in political science and sociology. Despite the peculiarly American impetus for Huntington's and Janowitz's script, their theoretical arguments are often used in the revise of other national civil-military studies. Though, in his book *The Man on Horseback*, Samuel E. Finer countered some of Huntington's arguments and assumptions, and offered a seem into the civil-military relationships in the under-urbanized world. Finer observed that several governments do not have the administrative skills to efficiently govern which may open opportunities for military intervention—opportunities that are not as likely in more urbanized countries.

The increased incidence of military coups d'état since World War II, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, brought in relation to the rising interest in academic and journalistic circles in learning the nature of such coups. Political upheaval in Africa led to military takeovers in Dahomey, Togo, Congo, and

Uganda. Political unrest in South America, which involved military coups in Bolivia of subsistence, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, was mainly a result of forces attempting to stem the rising power of left-wing and communist led uprisings. The 2006 military coup in Thailand engendered sustained interest in this region.

The end of the Cold War led to new debate in relation to the proper role of the military in community, both in the United States and in the former Soviet Union. Though, as before, much of the discussion revolved approximately whether the power of the state was in decline and whether an appropriate stage of civilian manage was being brought to bear on the military.

Professional Organization and Journal

The principal professional organization for civil-military scholars is the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Community (IUS). The IUS sponsors *Armed Forces & Community: An Interdisciplinary Journal* which publishes articles on military organizations, civil-military relations, arms manage and peacemaking, and clash management. The journal *Armed Forces & Community* is situated at Texas State University and is currently edited through Patricia M. Shields. The Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Community and the journal are international in scope with a focus on historical, comparative, and interdisciplinary script.

The topics of research in Civil-Military Relations are varied as evidenced through recent scholarship in such topics as:

- The European Method of War
- Concentration of Military Power
- Conversion of a Military Economy in Russia.
- Comparative Civil-Military Relations in the U.S. and Russia
- Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria
- Turkish Military Popularity
- Harassment in the British Military
- Group Cohesion

Biggest Theoretical Discussions in Civil-Military Relations

In 1945, the United States began a demobilization of the huge military force that had been built up throughout World War II. Strong public and bipartisan pressure succeeded in forcing the government to bring American soldiers home and to reduce the size of the armed forces quickly. Strikes and even some rioting through military personnel at overseas bases in January 1946 pressured President Harry S. Truman to continue the procedure despite rising concern in relation to the Soviet Union and an rising recognition that the United States was not going to be able to retreat into the isolationism of the pre-war years. Attempts in the United States Congress to continue conscription to give a trained reserve as a replacement for a big standing military force failed and, in 1947, the World War II draft law expired.

Through the summer of 1950, the armed forces of the United States had fewer than 1.5 million personnel on active duty, down from a high of 12 million in 1945. Through the after that year, though, in response to North Korea's invasion of South Korea, the size of the U.S. military was again on the rise, doubling to more than 3.2 million personnel. Reaching a high of 3.6 million in 1953, the total number of personnel on active duty in the U.S. military never again dropped below two million throughout the 40-plus years of the Cold War. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the size of the active-duty force had, through 1999, dropped to presently under 1.4 million personnel. As of February 28, 2009, a total of 1,398,378 men and women remain on active duty in the U.S. armed forces.

The size of the U.S. military in the latter half of the twentieth century, unprecedented in peacetime, caused concern in some circles, primarily as to the potential effect of maintaining such a big force in a democratic community. Some predicted disaster and were concerned with the rising militarization of American community. These writers were quite certain that a distinctly military civilization was inherently dangerous to a non-militaristic

liberal community. Others warned that the ascendancy of the military establishment would fundamentally transform American foreign policy and would weaken the intellectual fabric of the country. Though, mainly of the arguments were less apocalyptic and settled beside two tracks. The two tracks are highlighted, respectively, through Samuel P. Huntington's *Soldier and the State* and Morris Janowitz's *The Professional Soldier*.

The debate focused primarily on the nature of the connection flanked by the civilian and military worlds. There was widespread agreement that there were two separate worlds and that they were fundamentally dissimilar from one another. The argument was in excess of how best to ensure that the two could coexist without endangering liberal democracy.

Institutional Theory

In his seminal 1957 book on civil-military relations, *The Soldier and the State*, Samuel P. Huntington called the differences flanked by the two worlds as a contrast flanked by the attitudes and values held through military personnel, mostly conservative, and those held through civilians, mostly liberal. Each world consisted of a separate institution with its own operative rules and norms. The military's function was furthermore inherently dissimilar from that of the civilian world. Given a more conservative military world which was illiberal in several characteristics, it was necessary to discover a way of ensuring that the liberal civilian world would be able to uphold its dominance in excess of the military world. Huntington's answer to this problem was "military professionalism."

Huntington focused his revise on the officer corps. He first defined a profession and explained that enlisted personnel, while certainly section of the military world, are not, strictly speaking, professionals. He relegated them to the role of tradesmen or skilled craftsmen, necessary but not professionals in his definition of the term. It was professional military administrators, not the enlisted technicians of the trade of violence, or even the section-time or

amateur reserve administrators extant in the mid-1950s status characterizing reserve administrators with long active duty experience, professional military education, and active combat experience in the post-Gulf War era, who would be the key to controlling the military world.

Professionalizing the military, or at least the officer corps, which is the decision-creation power within the military world, emphasizes the useful characteristics of that institution such as discipline, structure, order, and self-sacrifice. It also isolates the corps in a dedicated arena in which the military professionals would be established as experts in the use of force. As established experts not subject to the interference of the civilian world, the military's officer corps would willingly submit itself to civil power. In Huntington's languages, such an arrangement maintained a "focus on a politically neutral, autonomous, and professional officer corps."

In order for the civilian power to uphold manage, it needed to have a method to direct the military without unduly infringing on the prerogatives of the military world and therefore provoking a backlash. Civilian leadership would decide the objective of any military action but then leave it to the military world to decide upon the best method of achieving the objective. The problem facing civilian power, then, is in deciding on the ideal amount of manage. Too much manage in excess of the military could result in a force too weak to defend the nation, resulting in failure on the battlefield. Too little manage would make the possibility of a coup, i.e., failure of the government.

Huntington's answer to the manage dilemma was "objective civilian manage." This was in contrast to "subjective manage," in which direction would be more intrusive and detailed. To put it basically, the more "objective civilian manage," the more military security. Civilian manage, then, is the self-governing variable for the subsequent dependent variable of military effectiveness.

If civilian manage is the critical variable for military effectiveness, it raises the question of how civilian manage is then to be determined.

Huntington recognized two shaping forces or imperatives for civilian manage – societal. He broke the societal imperative into two components, ideology and structure. Through ideology, he meant a world-view or paradigm: liberal anti-military, conservative pro-military, fascist pro-military, and Marxist anti-military. Through structure, he meant the legal-constitutional framework that guided political affairs usually and civil-military affairs specifically.

If Huntington's imperatives are the self-governing variables, then the variable of civilian manage becomes in turn an explanatory variable for military security. Though, Huntington says that both societal imperatives, ideology and structure, are unchanging, at least in the American case. If that is the case, then the functional imperative is fully explanatory for changes in civilian manage and subsequently military security. In short, if external threats are low, liberal ideology "extirpates" or eliminates military forces. If external threats are high, liberal ideology produces a "transmutation" effect that will re-make the military in accordance with liberalism, but in such a form that it will lose its "peculiarly military aspects." Transmutation will work for short periods, such as to fight a war, but will not, in excess of time, assure military security. This seems to explain well the pattern of American militarization and demobilization, at least until the initiation of the Cold War.

With the understanding that the rise of the Soviet Union created an extensive-term threat, Huntington concluded that the liberal community of the United States would fail to make adequate military forces to ensure security in excess of the extensive term. The only circumstance he could foresee that would permit adequate military security was for the United States to transform the societal imperative. "The tension flanked by the demands of military security and the values of American liberalism can, in the extensive run, is relieved only through the weakening of the security threat or the weakening of liberalism." The only method the United States could adequately give security in the face of an extensive-term threat such as the Soviet Union, in other languages, was for American community to become more conservative.

Convergence Theory

The other principal thread within the civil-military theoretical debate was that generated in 1960 through Morris Janowitz in *The Professional Soldier*. Janowitz agreed with Huntington that separate military and civilian worlds lived, but differed from his predecessor concerning the ideal solution for preventing danger to liberal democracy. Since the military world as he saw it was fundamentally conservative, it would resist transform and not adapt as rapidly as the more open and unstructured civilian community to changes in the world. Therefore, just as to Janowitz, the military would benefit from exactly what Huntington argued against – outside intervention.

Janowitz introduced a theory of convergence, arguing that the military, despite the very slow pace of transform, was in information changing even without external pressure. Convergence theory postulated either a civilianization of the military or a militarization of community. Though, despite this convergence, Janowitz insisted that the military world would retain sure essential differences from the civilian and that it would remain recognizably military in nature.

Janowitz agreed with Huntington that, because of the fundamental differences flanked by the civilian and military worlds, clashes would develop which would diminish the goal of civilian manage of the military. His answer was to ensure that convergence occurred, therefore ensuring that the military world would be imbued with the norms and expectations of the community that created it. He encouraged use of conscription, which would bring a wide diversity of individuals into the military. He also encouraged the use of more Reserve Officer Training Corps programs at colleges and universities to ensure that the military academies did not have a monopoly on the kind of officer, particularly the senior common officer and flag officer leadership positions, in the military services. He specifically encouraged the growth of ROTC programs in the more elite universities, therefore that the broader powers of community would be represented through the officer corps. The

more such societal powers present within the military civilization, the smaller the attitudinal differences flanked by the two worlds and the greater the chance of civilians maintaining manage in excess of the military. Janowitz, like Huntington, whispered that the civilian and military worlds were dissimilar from one another; while Huntington urbanized a theory to manage the variation, Janowitz urbanized a theory to diminish the variation.

In response to Huntington's location on the functional imperative, Janowitz concluded that in the new nuclear age, the United States was going to have to be able to deliver both strategic deterrence and a skill to participate in limited wars. Such a regime, new in American history, was going to need a new military self-conception, the constabulary concept: "The military establishment becomes a constabulary force when it is continuously prepared to act, committed to the minimum use of force, and seeks viable international relations, rather than victory..." Under this new concept of the military establishment, distinctions flanked by war and peace are more hard to attract. The military, instead of viewing itself as a fire company to be described out in emergency, would then be required to imagine itself in the role of a police force, albeit on the international stage rather than domestically. The role of the civilian elite would be to interact closely with the military elite therefore as to ensure a new and higher average of professional military education, one that would ensure that military professionals were more closely attuned to the ideals and norms of civilian community.

Institutional/Occupational Hypothesis

Charles Moskos urbanized the Institutional/Occupational imperative historical studies of military organization and military transform. This hypothesis evolved into the Postmodern Military Model, which helped predict the course of civil-military relations after the end of the Cold War. The I/O hypothesis argued that the military was moving absent from an institutional model towards one that was more occupational in nature. An institutional

model presents the military as an organization highly divergent from civilian community while an occupational model presents the military more convergent with civilian structures. While Moskos did not propose that the military was ever "entirely separate or entirely coterminous with civilian community", the use of a level helped bigger to highlight the changing interface flanked by the armed forces and community.

Agency Theory

The Vietnam War opened deep arguments in relation to the civil-military relations that continue to exert powerful powers today. One centered on a contention within military circles that the United States lost the war because of unnecessary civilian meddling in military matters. It was argued that the civilian leadership failed to understand how to use military force and improperly restrained the use of force in achieving victory. In the middle of the first to examine the war critically by Clausewitz as the theoretical foundation, Harry Summers argued that the principal cause for the loss of the Vietnam War was a failure on the section of the political leadership to understand the goal, which was victory. The Army, always successful on the battlefield, ultimately did not achieve victory because it was misused and misunderstood. Summers demonstrated how the conduct of the war violated several classical principals as called through Clausewitz, thereby contributing to failure. He ended his analysis with a "quintessential strategic lesson learned": that the Army necessity becomes "masters of the profession of arms," therefore reinforcing a thought beside the rows of Huntington's argument for strengthening military professionalism.

H.R. McMaster observed that it was easier for administrators in the Gulf War to connect national policy to the actual fighting than was the case throughout Vietnam. He concluded that the Vietnam War had actually been lost in Washington, D.C., before any fighting occurred, due to a fundamental failure on the section of the civilian and military actors involved to argue the

issues adequately. McMaster, who urged a more direct debate flanked by civilians and the military on protection policy and actions, and Summers, who argued for a clear isolation flanked by civilians and the military, both pointed out controversies in excess of the proper roles of civilian and military leaders.

Despite those controversies and the evident lessons learned from the Vietnam War, some theorists established an important problem with Huntington's theory insofar as it seems to question the notion of a separate, apolitical professional military. While there is little argument that separate civilian and military worlds exist, there is important debate in relation to the proper interaction flanked by the two. Huntington proposed that the ideal arrangement was one whereby civilian political leaders provided objective manage to the military leadership and then stepped back to permit the experts in violence to do what was mainly effective. He further stated that the mainly dangerous arrangement was one whereby civilian leaders intruded extensively in the military world, creating a situation whereby the military leadership was not politically neutral and security of the nation was therefore threatened both through an ineffective military and through provoking the military to avoid taking orders.

Arguably, though, and despite Huntington's urging otherwise, U.S. civilian leadership had been intrusive in its manage in excess of the military, not only throughout the Vietnam War, but also throughout much of the Cold War. Throughout that time, the military elite had been extensively involved in the politics of protection budgets and management, and yet the United States had supervised to emerge successfully from the Cold War. Despite that, none of Huntington's more dire predictions had proven true.

In response to this evident "puzzle," Peter D. Feaver laid out an agency theory of civil-military relations, which he argued should replace Huntington's institutional theory. Taking a rationalist approach, he used a principal-agent framework, drawn from microeconomics, to explore how actors in a larger location power those in a subordinate role. He used the concepts of "working"

and "shirking" to explain the actions of the subordinate. In his construct, the principal is the civilian leadership that has the responsibility of establishing policy. The agent is the military that will work – carry out the designated task – or shirk – evading the principal's wishes and carrying out actions that further the military's own interests. Shirking at its worst may be disobedience, but Feaver comprises such things as "foot-dragging" and leaks to the press.

The problem for the principal is how to ensure that the agent is doing what the principal wants done. Agency theory predicts that if the costs of monitoring the agent are low, the principal will use intrusive ways of manage. Intrusive ways contain, for the executive branch, such things as inspections, reports, reviews of military plans, and detailed manage of the budget, and for Congress, committee oversight hearings and requiring routine reports. For the military agent, if the likelihood that shirking will be detected through the civilian principal is high or if the perceived costs of being punished are too high, the likelihood of shirking is low.

Feaver argued that his theory was dissimilar from other theories or models in that it was purely deductive, based on democratic theory rather than on anecdotal proof, and bigger enabled analysis of day-to-day decisions and actions on the section of the civilian and military leadership. It operated at the intersection of Huntington's institutional approach and Janowitz's sociological point of view. Huntington concentrated on the connection flanked by civilian leadership and the military qua institution while Janowitz focused on the connection of the military qua individuals to American community. Agency theory provided a link flanked by the two enabling an account of how civil-military relations work on a day-to-day foundation. Specifically, agency theory would predict that the result of a regime of intrusive monitoring through the civilian leadership combined with shirking on the section of the military would result in the highest stages of civil-military clash. Feaver suggested that post-Cold War growths had therefore profoundly reduced the perceived costs of monitoring and reduced the perceived expectation of

punishment that the gap flanked by what civilians inquire the military to do and what the military would prefer to do had increased to unprecedented stages.

Concordance Theory

After observing that mainly civil-military theory assumes that the civilian and military world's necessity necessarily is separate, both physically and ideologically, Rebecca L. Schiff offered a new theory—Concordance—as an alternative. One of the key questions in Civil-Military Relations under what circumstances the military will intervene in the domestic politics of the nation. Mainly scholars agree with the theory of objective civilian manage of the military, which focuses on the isolation of civil and military organizations. Such a view concentrates and relies heavily on the U.S. case, from an institutional perspective, and especially throughout the Cold War era. Schiff gives an alternative theory, from both institutional and cultural perspectives that explain the U.S. case as well as many non-U.S. civil-military relations case studies.

While concordance theory does not preclude an isolation flanked by the civilian and military worlds, it does not need such a state to exist. She argues that three societal organizations—

- the military,
- political elites, and
- the citizenry necessity aim for a cooperative arrangement.

Some agreement on four primary indicators:

- Social composition of the officer corps.
- The political decision-creation procedure.
- The way of recruiting military personnel.
- The approach of the military.

If agreement occurs in the middle of the three partners with respect to the four indicators, domestic military intervention is less likely to happen. *The Military and Domestic Politics*, she applied her theory to six international historical cases studies: U.S., post–Second World War era; American Post-

Revolutionary Era; Israel; Argentina; India post-Independence and 1980s; Pakistan.

Other Civil-Military Relations Issues

Liberal Theory and the American Founding Fathers

At the heart of civil-military relations is the problem of how a civilian government can manage and remain safe from the military institution it created for its own defense. A military force that is strong sufficient to do what is asked of it necessity not also pose a danger to the controlling government. This poses the paradox that "because we fear others we make an institution of violence to protect us, but then we fear the extremely institution we created for defense".

The solution to this problem during mainly of American history was to stay its standing army small, relying on augmentation from militias races, to contain the National Guard and volunteers. While armed forces were built up throughout wartime, the pattern after every war up to and including World War II was to demobilize quickly and return to something approaching pre-war force stages. Though, with the advent of the Cold War in the 1950s, the require to make and uphold a sizable peacetime military force engendered new concerns of militarism and in relation to the how such a big force would affect civil-military relations in the United States. For the first time in American history, the problem of civil-military relations would have to be supervised throughout peacetime.

The men who wrote the Constitution of the United States were fearful of big standing armies, legislatures that had too much power, and possibly mainly of all, a powerful executive who might be able to wage war on his own power. All were objects of concern because of the dangers each posed to liberal democracy and a free citizenry. While it is often impossible to "gauge accurately the intent of the Framers", it is nevertheless significant to understand the motivations and concerns of the writers with respect to the

appropriate connection flanked by civil and military power. The *Federalist Papers* give a helpful view of how they understood the connection flanked by civil power, as represented through the executive branch and the legislature, and military power.

In Federalist No. 8, Alexander Hamilton worried that maintaining a big standing army would be a dangerous and expensive undertaking. In his principal argument for the ratification of the proposed constitution, he argued that only through maintaining a strong union could the new country avoid such a pitfall. By the European experience as a negative instance and the British experience as a positive one, he presented the thought of a strong nation protected through a navy with no require of a standing army. The implication was that manage of a big military force is, at best, hard and expensive, and at worst invites war and division. He foresaw the necessity of creating a civilian government that kept the military at aloofness.

James Madison, another writer of many of the *Federalist Papers*, expressed his concern in relation to the standing military in comments before the Constitutional Convention in June 1787:

In time of actual war, great discretionary powers are constantly given to the Executive Magistrate. Consistent apprehension of War, has the similar tendency to render the head too big for the body. A standing military force, with an overgrown Executive, will not extensive is safe companions to liberty. The means of protection against foreign danger, have been always the instruments of tyranny at house. In the middle of the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite a war, whenever a revolt was apprehended. During all Europe, the armies kept up under the pretext of defending, have enslaved the people.

The United States Constitution placed considerable limitations on the legislature. Coming from a custom of legislative superiority in government, several were concerned that the proposed Constitution would lay therefore several limitations on the legislature that it would become impossible for such a body to prevent an executive from starting a war. Hamilton argued in Federalist No. 26 that it would be equally as bad for a legislature to be

unfettered through any other agency and that restraints would actually be more likely to preserve liberty. James Madison, in Federalist No. 47, sustained Hamilton's argument that distributing powers in the middle of the several branches of government would prevent any one group from gaining therefore much power as to become unassailable. In Federalist No. 48, though, Madison warned that while the isolation of powers is significant, the department's necessity not be therefore distant separated as to have no skill to manage the others.

Finally, in Federalist No. 51, Madison argued that to make a government that relied primarily on the good nature of the incumbent to ensure proper government was folly. Organizations necessity is in lay to check incompetent or malevolent leaders. Mainly importantly, no single branch of government ought to have managed in excess of any single aspect of governing. Therefore, all three branches of government necessity have some managed in excess of the military, and the organization of checks and balances maintained in the middle of the other branches would serve to help manage the military.

Hamilton and Madison therefore had two biggest concerns: democracy of a big standing army and re or executive to take the country to war precipitously. These concerns drove American military policy for the first century and a half of the country's subsistence. Until the 1950s, the maintenance of a big military force through the United States was an exceptional circumstance and was restricted to times of war. Following every war up to and including World War II, the military was quickly demobilized and reduced to close to pre-war stages.

The Civilization Gap Thesis

Mainly debate in civil-military relations assumed that an isolation flanked by the civilian and military world was inevitable and likely necessary. The argument had been in excess of whether to manage the gap flanked by the

two or to minimize the gap through enacting sure policies. Following the end of the Cold War in 1989, though, the discussion began to focus on the nature of the evident gap flanked by civilian and military cultures and, more specifically, whether that gap had reached such proportions as to pose a danger to civilian manage of the military. Section of the debate was based on the cultural differences flanked by the more liberal civilian community and the conservative military community, and on the recognition that such differences had apparently become more pronounced than in past years.

Alfred Vagts had already begun the discussion from an historical point of view, concentrating on the German/Prussian military experience. He was possibly mainly influential with his definition of militarism, which he called as the state of a community that "ranks military organizations and methods above the prevailing attitudes of civilian life and carries the military mentality into the civilian sphere." Louis Smith, whose work pre-dated Huntington's, discussed issues of congressional and judicial manage in excess of the military as well as executive civilian manage of military matters. Though, all that discussion predated a common recognition that the American experience was going to transform in the post-World War II period. Once it became evident that the American military was going to uphold historically high stages of active-duty personnel, concerns in relation to the differences flanked by civilian and military cultures quickly came to the forefront. The ensuing debate can be usually divided into three periods with dissimilar emphases in each.

The first era, roughly beginning with the end of World War II and ending in relation to the 1973 with the end of the military draft in the United States, was primarily concerned with defining civil-military relations, understanding the concept of professionalism, and studying how civilians actually controlled the military. Huntington and Janowitz dominated the debate.

The second era started in relation to the 1973, with the end of conscription and the establishment of the All-Volunteer Force, and sustained until the end of the Cold War. This era was concerned with the supposed lessons of the Vietnam War, how the volunteer force changed the nature of the armed forces, and whether those changes led to wider gaps flanked by military and civilian societies.

The third era, beginning with the end of the Cold War and continuing today, has seen a rising interest in and concern in relation to the subsistence of a "civil-military civilization gap." The discussion has centered approximately three questions:

Whether such a gap exists in the first lay.
If it does exist, whether its subsistence matters, and
If it does matter, what changes in policy might be required to mitigate the negative effects of such gap.

Mainly agree that a gap does exist, but there is widespread conflict as to whether the gap matters. There has been even less discussion in relation to the policies may be required to mitigate any such gap. Though, few have predicted disaster in civil-military relations and mainly of the discussion has centered on the nature of the gap and what might be causing it. Mainly discussion has concentrated on the third era and the debate tended to lay approximately three principal questions:

What is the nature of the gap?
Why does the gap matter? and
How can the problem be corrected?

- *What is the Nature of the Gap?*

While the debate nearby a presumed civilization gap flanked by civilian and military societies had sustained since at least the early 1950s, it became prominent in the early 1990s with the conclusion of the Cold War. The promised "peace dividend" led to a debate in excess of changes in

American national security strategy and what that would mean in conditions of the transformation of the mission, composition, and character of the armed forces. The gap debate revolved approximately two related concepts:

- The notion of a cultural gap, i.e., the differences in the civilization, norms, and values of the military and civilian worlds, and
- The notion of a connectivity gap, i.e., the lack of get in touch with and understanding flanked by them.

Few argued that there was no variation flanked by the two worlds, but some were influenced that the variation itself was the primary danger. Charles Maynes worried that a military force consisting primarily of enlisted personnel from the lower socio-economic classes would ultimately refuse to fight for the goals of the upper classes. Tarr and Roman, on the other hand, were concerned that the similarities flanked by military elites and civilian elites enabled a dangerous politicizing trend in the middle of the military. Chivers represented a small number who whispered that the differences flanked by the cultures were therefore small as essentially to be irrelevant.

Causes for the cultural and connectivity gaps modify widely. The self-selective nature of the All-Volunteer Force is seen through some to have led to the unrepresentative nature of the armed forces. One argument, put forward through a Navy Chief of Chaplains, was that the drawdown in the size of the military was exacerbating differences and creation the isolation flanked by the military and civilian societies potentially even more divisive. He worried that unless an effective dialogue could be maintained flanked by the military and civilian branches of community, especially in the region of ethical decision-creation, the American military risked losing the support of community or becoming dangerously militaristic. Others argued that the augment in variety in the middle of military personnel has actually strengthened ties flanked by community and the military, especially those ties weakened through the results of the Vietnam War. Mainly were persuaded that the societal effects of the Vietnam War remained central to the cultural differences.

One unique view, which does not neatly fall into either of the cultural- or connectivity-gap categories, centers on the organizational differences flanked by the military and civilian societies. This view claims to explain much as to why the military has been or may be used to press ahead of community's norms. This view goes beyond the simpler cultural-gap approach and emphasizes the skill of the military community to manage the behavior and attitudes of its members in methods not possible in the more open civilian community, as evidenced through such phenomena as desegregation of the military and inclusion of women in the military.

- *Why does the Gap Matter?*

Ultimately, the cultural gap matters only if it endangers civilian manage of the military or if it reduces the skill of the country to uphold an effective military force. Those who concentrate on the nature of the gap tend not to be concerned in relation to the dangerous trends. Though, those who are concerned in relation to the lack of understanding flanked by the civilian and military worlds are consistently influenced that the civil-military connection in the United States is unhealthy. Specifically, they have voiced concerns in relation to the military that may become openly contemptuous of civilian norms and values and may then feel free to openly question the value of defending such a community. Others worry whether an inexperienced civilian government will undermine the military through ineffective or inappropriate policies, therefore threatening U.S. national security.

This debate has usually settled on whether or not the gap is too wide. If too wide, civilian manage of the military may be jeopardized due to serious misunderstandings flanked by the two worlds. While mainly agree that such a gap is to be expected and, in and of itself, is not dangerous, some do concede the characteristics of that gap have led directly to misunderstandings flanked by the two worlds. In scrupulous, some have argued that the civilization of political conservatism and the evident augment in partisanship of the officer

corps has approached a dangerous limit. Almost all agree that it is possible for the cultural gap to be either too wide or too narrow, but there is wide conflict as to where the current situation rests on that continuum. While Elizabeth Kier argues that "structure and function do not determine civilization," mainly agree that a variation flanked by the two is necessary because civilian civilization was "incommensurate with military effectiveness."

- *Correcting the Problem*

Assuming that a problem exists, several have offered suggestions for narrowing the gap and correcting the troubles arising from it. In common, those suggestions are beside three rows. The first is that the military necessity reaches out to the civilian world. Given the essentially universal agreement that civilian's necessity manage the military, the duty falls upon the military to discover methods to talk to civilians, not the other method approximately. The second is that civilian's necessity articulates a clear vision of what they anticipate in conditions of the military mission. And the final suggestion is that the mainly practical and effective means of bringing in relation to the dialogue and understanding is to be bilateral education, in which both military and civilian elites would together attend dedicated schools. Such schooling would emphasize military-strategic thinking, American history and political philosophy, military ethics, and the proper connection flanked by civil and military power.

Some argue that the root problem is that the military is self-selecting, rendering the civilization a self-perpetuating one. Solutions such as the reinstatement of the draft and a European-approach national service obligation have been offered. but none seem to have made any progress toward adoption.

Military Dictatorship

A military dictatorship is a form of government wherein the political power resides with the military. It is same but not identical to a stratocracy, a

state ruled directly through the military. A military dictatorship may have political rather than military leaders where they are appointed and kept in lay through the military. Like any dictatorship, a military dictatorship may be official or unofficial, and as a result may not actually qualify as stratocratic. Mixed shapes also exist, where the military exerts an extremely strong power without being entirely dominant.

Kinds

Since 1945 Latin America, Africa, and the Transitional East have been general regions for military dictatorships. One of the causes for this is the information that the military often has more cohesion and institutional structure than mainly of the civilian organizations of community.

The typical military dictatorship in Latin America was ruled through a *junta* translated as "conference" or "board", or a committee collected of many administrators, often from the military's mainly senior leadership, but in other cases less senior, as evidenced through the term *colonels' regime*, where the military leaders remained loyal to the previous regime. Other military dictatorships are entirely in the hands of a single officer, sometimes described a *caudillo*, generally the senior army commander. In either case, the chairman of the junta or the single commander may often personally assume office as head of state.

In the Transitional East and Africa, military governments more often came to be led through a single powerful person, and were autocracies in addition to military dictatorships. Leaders like Saddam Hussein, Idi Amin, Sani Abacha, Muammar Gaddafi, and Gamal Abdul Nasser worked to develop a personality cult and became the face of the nation inside and outside their countries.

Making and Development

Mainly military dictatorships are shaped after a *coup d'état* has overthrown the previous government. One extremely dissimilar pattern was

the one followed through Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq and Kim Il-sung's regime in North Korea, both of which began as one-party states, but in excess of the course of their subsistence turned into military dictatorships as their leaders donned uniforms and the military became closely involved in the government.

Conversely, other military dictatorships may slowly restore important components of civilian government while the senior military commander still maintains executive political power. In Pakistan, ruling Generals Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf have held singular referendums to elect themselves President of Pakistan for additional conditions forbidden through the constitution.

Justification

In the past, military juntas have justified their rule as a method of bringing political continuity for the nation or rescuing it from the threat of "dangerous ideologies". For instance, in Latin America, the threat of communism was often used. Military regimes tend to portray themselves as non-partisan, as a "neutral" party that can give interim leadership in times of turmoil, and also tend to portray civilian politicians as corrupt and ineffective. One of the approximately universal aspects of a military government is the institution of martial law or a permanent state of emergency.

Decline

Since the 1990s, military dictatorships have become less general. Causes for this contain the information that military dictatorships no longer have much international legitimacy, as well as the information that several militaries having unsuccessfully ruled several nations are now inclined not to become involved in political disputes.

DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Government, Political Organization and Political Regime

However the conditions government, political organization and political regime are used interchangeably yet there are differences. Government refers to institutional procedure by which communal and generally binding decisions are made and implemented. The core functions of government are law creation, law implementation and law interpretation which are performed through its three organs namely legislature, executive and judiciary.

A political regime or political organization, though, is to be analyzed in a much broader perspective in the sense that they encompass not only the organs of the government and the political organizations of the state, but also the structures, procedures and values by which these interact with the civil community. It follows that dissimilar political regimes have tended to prioritize dissimilar sets of criteria. In the middle of the parameters, mainly commonly used to classify the nature of political regimes, are the following:

- Who rules?: Does the procedure of political participation involve only elite, or does it involve the people as an entire?
- How is compliance achieved?: Is the political regime obeyed as a result of the use of coercion, or by consensus, bargaining and compromise?
- Is the political power of the regime centralized or fragmented?: What type of mechanisms are needed to ensure isolation 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 connection flanked by the state and the individual?: What is the nature of sharing of rights and responsibilities flanked by 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 'scheduling'?
- 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 circumstances and constraints?: What are the socio-economic and cultural troubles coming in the method of the functioning of the political regime?

How stable is a political regime? Has a scrupulous regime survived in excess of a considerable era of time, and has it shown the capability to respond to new demands and challenges?

Purpose of the Classification

The procedure of classification of political regimes serves three purposes: First, classification of a political regime is an enabling exercise as distant as the understanding of politics and government is concerned as it involves the issues related to them. Second, the procedure of classification facilitates a meaningful evaluation of a scrupulous political regime which leads to a bigger governance; Third, separately from involving the normative issues, the procedure helps in tackling the questions at the concrete stage like 'should the transition to liberal democratic regime in the former communist countries from people's democratic regime be welcomed?' 'Should developing countries favor a 'guided' democratic regime on the pattern of South East Asian countries?' etc.

Development of Democratic Regimes

The term democracy is an ancient political term whose meaning is derived from the Greek languages demos and Kratia. Hence it means 'rule through the people'. The Word demokratia was first used through the Greeks towards the transitional of the fifth century to denote the political regimes of their Municipality States. The usage was section of the 'classical' classification of regimes that distinguished rule through one, many and the several. The advocates of democracy have always debated the question as to who should compose the demos. Both the classical Greece as well as in contemporary 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 procedure. It is only in the twentieth century that universal suffrage and other citizenship rights were extended to all, or approximately all, permanent residents of a country. For example, 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, presently a couple of years ahead of India.

Beside 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 organizations and the systems have evolved in the modern democratic regimes primarily to facilitate 'rule through the people'. The ideas in relation to the political life that lend legitimacy to these organizations and systems enshrined in them are radically dissimilar from the democratic regimes of classical Greece, the Roman Republic, or the Italian republics of the transitional ages and early Renaissance. Therefore with the winning of universal suffrage, the democratic theory and practice turned to issues of democratic nation structure as there was shift of the locus of democracy from the small level of the municipality-state to the big level of the contemporary nation state.

The assertion of national independence got reformulated in democratic conditions as democratic regimes came to be recognized with the right of communal self-determination. Consequently even where the 'new' post-colonial regimes could not ensure self-government, they nevertheless described themselves democratic on the strength of their experiences of anti-colonial thrash about. In the same 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

communal ownership of capital manufacture and sharing, work for all under intended economy, while neglecting the political and legal rights, multi-party electoral organization and parliamentary politics. The democratic regimes in the western countries relied on traditional political and legal language, accentuated electoral and civic rights, democratic constitution and organizations and the formal liberty and excellence of the political organization. The historical sketch of the development of democratic regimes shows that democracy has been subjected to marked ambivalence and intense philosophical and ideological debates. It acquires separate aspects depending on the nature of the countries they are based: East or West, urbanized or developing ones.

Democratic Regimes in the Urbanized States

The liberal democratic regimes in the urbanized states have been categorized as polyarchical regimes through Robert Dahl in his work 'Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition'. The term 'Polyarchy' has been preferred to 'liberal democracy' through the western comparative political theorists primarily because of two causes. First, liberal democracy as a concept has been treated mostly as a political ideal than a form of regime, and is therefore invested with broader normative implications. Second, the usage of the concept of 'polyarchy' tends to acknowledge that the democratic regimes in the urbanized countries, mostly western, still fall short in important methods, of the goal of democracy as theorized in political theory. The liberal democratic or polyarchical regimes are to be establishing in the states of North America, Western Europe and Australia. Though, there are states like Japan and South Africa who also exhibit the similar aspects. Some of these aspects may be recognized in a brief manner as given below:

These democratic regimes symbolize political organizations and practices which contain universal suffrage. Elections of representatives for a

specified era creates them directly responsible to people. These regimes also give 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 foundation of the formation of governments. A competitive party organization is complemented through the pressure groups and the lobbying institutions. These pressure groups power the conduct of the government through mobilizing the people.

The democratic regimes reflect a high stage of tolerance of opposition that is enough to check the arbitrary inclination of the government. The subsistence of alternative sources of information self-governing of the manage of the government and of one another is helpful in this regard. Institutionally guaranteed and protected civil and political rights are further strengthened through the attendance of the new social movements. It all results into a vigorous and democratically conscious civil community.

The democratic regimes accept the attendance of political cleavages due to variety in the civil community. As such political conflicts are seen as an inevitable aspect of political life. Political idea and practice, enshrined in these democratic regimes accept clash as a normal and not aberrant characteristic.

Contemporary democratic regimes are distinguished through the subsistence, legality and legitimacy of a diversity of autonomous institutions and associations which are comparatively self-governing in relation to government and to one another.

These democratic regimes derive their underpinnings from the western liberal individualistic custom of political idea. Therefore besides guaranteeing the individual rights they also support free competitive market community. The cultural and ideological orientation of these regimes similarly is also derived from western liberalism.

The democratic regimes in the urbanized World are not measured all alike. Some of them tend to favor centralization and majority rule whereas others favor fragmentation and pluralism. Therefore the comparative political theorists like Lijphart distinguish these regimes flanked by 'majority' democratic regimes and the 'pluralist' democratic regimes.

The 'majority' democratic regimes are organized beside parliamentary rows in accordance with the Westminster model. Such democratic regimes are to be establishing in United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Israel. Some of the important characteristics these regimes share are single party government, a lack of isolation of powers flanked by the executive and the legislature, a easy plurality or first past the post electoral organization,

unitary or quasi-federal government, legislative supremacy, etc. The pluralist democratic regimes based on the US model symbolize the isolation 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 through deep religious, ideological, local, linguistic and cultural Varieties have adopted such regimes which are also described the consociation democratic regimes. These regimes promote the value of bargaining and power distribution which call ensure consensus. The general characteristics these regimes share are coalition Government a isolation of power flanked by the legislature and executive, an effective bicameral organization, a multiparty organization, Proportional representation. federalism or devolution of political power, a Bill of rights, etc.

Democratic Regimes and the Developing States

A number of newly self-governing states of Africa and Asia appeared from colonial rule after the Second World War. Decolonization brought forth the hope that the modernizing political elite of the 'new' states might successfully change the nationalist, anti-colonial movements into democratic Government and thereby advance the gigantic task of nation structure and State structure. Mainly of these States, though, suffered from severe handicaps, some in the shape of objective circumstances like lack of literacy and industrial growth and others because of their traditional cultures like lack of democratic experience. Therefore even when mainly of these Asian and African post-colonial states adopted democratic form of regimes, several of these regimes urbanized authoritarian tendencies. Several states in the developing world alternate flanked by democratic and authoritarian shapes of., regime. Pakistan is such an instance. 'Then, while some regimes uphold the democratic form, they are authoritarian in actual working.

A biggest obstacle to the success of the democratic regimes in the developing states has been the deep ethnic divisions beside the linguistic, tribal and religious rows— affecting their civil societies. These ethnic groups remain at dissimilar levels of socio-economic and political growth. The ethnic Varieties are naturally reflected in political institutions and form the foundation of political mobilization on the section of the ethnic groups for the fulfillment of their demands in a resource-scarce economy. The political regimes in the face of the increased stage of political participation through the wider groups with their increased expectations discover it necessary to introduce events that would co-ordinate and manage these groups and their demands. Often such events are the beginnings of the authoritarian events. Participation explosion has forced mainly of the democratic regimes into authoritarian military or bureaucratic regimes in the States of Latin America.

Another biggest problem before the democratic regimes in the developing States has been that of under growth as the dependency theorists have put it. This calls for strong initiatives on the section of the regime. Therefore the democratic regimes in the East and South East Asian states are oriented more approximately economic goals than the political ones. Their overriding economic priority has been to boost development and deliver prosperity, rather than to enlarge individual freedom in the western sense of civil liberty. This essentially practical concern is apparent 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 common respect and faith in the skill of the regime to guide and regulate the decisions of private as well as public bodies, and attract up strategies for national growth. Third, these Asian democratic regimes command legitimacy based on Confucian values which stress on loyalty, discipline and duty. All the 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 conditions of competition, accountability and political liberties. Though, unlike the erstwhile communist party regimes in Eastern Europe, these regimes have been noted for the long participation as citizens have got used to voting periodically in regional elections. Islam, as Samuel P. Huntington has argued in his work 'Conflict of Civilizations' has had a profound effect on politics in the States of North Africa, the transitional East and sections of South and South East Asia. As a consequence of the challenge to the existing regimes in the last two decades through the pro-urban poor militant Islamic groups, 'new' democratic regimes have been constructed or reconstructed on Islamic rows. Iran, Sudan and Pakistan in the middle of others are the pertinent examples.

Such Islamic democratic regimes have been measured 'through the western comparatives as illiberal on two counts. First, these regimes violate the distinction flanked by 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 power 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 establish compatible with the political pluralism followed through the 'guided' democratic regime in such countries like Pakistan and Malaysia. In essence, though, authoritarian tendencies have remained in the Islamic regimes even if it may not be correct to call them 'fundamentalist' in character.

The Nature of Authoritarian Regimes

Democratic and authoritarian regimes may be distinguished both in conditions 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 community irrespective of its members' wishes. Authoritarian refers to a form of government which insists on unqualified obedience, conventionality and coercion. It is in essence negation of democracy. When power is based on consent, respected willingly, and established through wider masses, it is legitimate and binding. This is described power. Power is power raised in a moral or ethical stage. Power involves legitimate exercise of power, and in that sense it arises 'from below'. Democratic regimes maintain this kind of power and are authoritative. Though, when a regime exercises power regardless of popular consent and with the help of force, it can be described 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, mainly single party regimes, and mainly shapes 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 contemporary dictatorship in conditions of a model government through complete centralization and uniform regimentation of all characteristics of political, social and intellectual life and in these compliments transcending through distant the earlier manifestations of absolute or autocratic or despotic or tyrannical regimes and their capability to manage and rally 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 era: Italian Fascism, German National Socialism and Stalinism in Russia.

It follows that however 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. Though, unlike the totalitarian regimes, these regimes do not aim to achieve distant more radical goal of obliterating the distinction flanked by the state and civil community. Authoritarian regimes tend to tolerate a important range of economic, religious and other freedoms.

The Aspects of Authoritarian Regimes

In the authoritarian regimes the techniques of decision through public discussion and voting are mainly or wholly supplanted through the decision of those in power.

The authoritarian regimes exercise enough power to dispense with any constitutional limitations.

Those in power in an authoritarian regime claim to derive their power not necessarily and always from the consent of the governed but from some special excellence 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, transform of government or even of leaders, is not smooth and peaceful under authoritarian regimes. Such changes take lay either through means of coup d'etat or as a result of revolutions. Coup has been a normal characteristic as distant as the authoritarian regimes in Africa are concerned.

Authoritarian regimes are likely to employ force also in their relations with other countries. Since organizations of such regimes are not based on the participation of the people, and are not accountable to people, the moderating power of public opinion is not effective. As such the authoritarian regimes do not help the reason of international peace.

The authoritarian regimes are characterized through low and limited political mobilization. Depoliticization of the mass of the citizen's 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 symbolize approximately unlimited pluralism in institutionalized form, the authoritarian regimes symbolize 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 by 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.

Authoritarian Regimes in the Post-Second World War Era

Authoritarian regimes have been mostly recognized in the developing states of Latin America, the Transitional East Africa and South East Asia. Urbanized states of the West like Spain, Portugal and Greece, though, have also experienced it in the post World War era. These regimes-more than political, economic, cultural or ideological factors-have been dependent on the use of military power and systematic repression. Democratic organizations-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 manage of a junta comprising of the administrators of the three wings of armed forces like in Argentina throughout 1978- 1983 or in present day Myanmar. Though, there are other shapes of regimes where a military backed personalized dictatorship is recognized. In such cases a single individual acquires pre-eminence within the junta or regime, often being bolstered through a cult of personality drawing on charismatic power. The military regimes headed through Colonel Papadopoulos in Greece, General Pinochet in Chile, General Abacha in Nigeria, General Zia-UI-Haq in Pakistan, Lt. Jerry Rawlings in Ghana, Sergeant Samuel Doe in Liberia are in the middle of the pertinent examples. Still other shapes of such regime are 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 by a civilianized 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 through ruling by the popular movement of the revolution in the sixties can be cited as an instance and therefore is the case of Egypt which experienced transition from military regimes to authoritarian civil rule under Gamel Nasser and Anwar Sadat, both military figures, in the 1960's and 1970's.

MODES OF CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL REGIMES

Troubles of Classification

Classification of the political regimes is primarily an effort to pinpoint the mainly significant elements of the political organization from the least significant. Classification presupposes a comparative approach; it is to identify the group of like with like to allow for important comparisons and thereby augment our understanding. The classification scheme may point to the inter-relations flanked by dissimilar variables i.e., the relationship flanked by the kind of political regime. The socio-economic structure is a significant factor in this respect. The number of typologies is extremely wide and the choice will depend upon the kind of variables that are being measured and more importantly, the nature of the questions being asked.

It is significant to keep in mind that classification depends on what aspect of the political regime one wishes to isolate and emphasize. So, there can be no one scheme of classification that is appropriate for all purposes. It is significant to inquire question—what is the purpose of a scrupulous scheme of classification? Although one's conclusion can only be tentative, the spot of good classification is simplicity.

The aim of classification is simplicity, however even here there are a number of difficulties. First, there is the problem of defining the concepts being used. For instance, the meaning of liberty may be dissimilar in America and Russia. Secondly, the political organizations with the similar stage may perform same functions in dissimilar political systems. For instance, the British monarchy has same 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 scrupulous regime. Regimes are labeled democratic or autocratic not only basically to define but also indicate preferences.

Classification in Ancient Era

Aristotle's Classification

The custom of classification of political regimes goes back to the Greek municipality states in the 4th century BC. A systematic revise of the classification of constitutions was undertaken through Aristotle however 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 in relation to the five kinds of states, namely, Timocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. Though, the novelty of Aristotle lays in the information that he based his classification on the investigation of 158 Constitutions existing in his day and offered a scientific and usually 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 established three kinds just as to whether the government was in the hands of one, few or several. Through applying the two bases of excellence and quantity, Aristotle provided six kinds of Constitutions: three good — Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity respectively in the hands of one, few and several, and three bad -

Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy respectively in the hands of one, few and several. His classification can be better understood from the following table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Aristotle's Classification.

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

Just as to Aristotle, monarchy is the rule of one person with supreme virtue as its guiding principle; its perverted form is tyranny that symbolizes force, deceit, selfishness and like. Aristocracy was called as rule of few on behalf of 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 several on behalf of martial and medium virtues, power resting with the transitional class people only, whose perverted form is democracy that symbolizes the principle of excellence without discrimination with power vested in the hands of numerous poor.

A prominent characteristic of Aristotle's classification and political analysis is that no form of state remains static for ever. All the states pass by a cycle of revolutions. Every form degenerates in excess of a era of time giving way to a new one. Therefore a state began with the best form of government, i.e., rule of one man who is supremely virtuous but in excess of a era 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 several that is polity. But polity would easily become license and anarchy; the rule of several cannot help negation of the rule. Out of this darkness then again will raise one virtuous man. The cycle therefore complete will begin once again.

Aristotle's largest concern was to discover out the circumstances under which the states - whether normal or perverted— may enjoy continuity. He held that the underlying reason 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 characteristics and in which the transitional class is in manage. For if the transitional 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 continuity. This form of government was establish in Polity. It was the golden mean flanked by the ideals of monarchy and aristocracy which is hard 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 general substance, i.e., the safety of their association and for this everything necessity be sacrificed to uphold a constitution which is the foundation of that safety. Hence any action on the section of the citizens outside the bounds of the constitution should not be tolerated. Also history has supplied several illustrations of a cycle of deterioration and revolutions. Nevertheless, Aristotle's classification has been abandoned because it is not applicable to the contemporary political circumstances. For instance, it is 110 longer useful to employ the term monarchy to define a contemporary democratic state. Also the term democracy applies to therefore several contemporary states that it no longer helps us to a division of them.

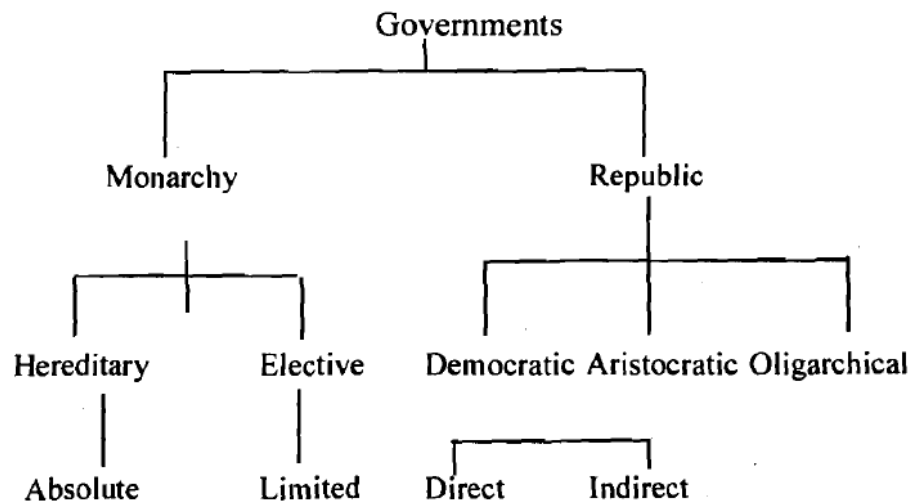
Extension of Aristotle's Classification

In sixteenth century, Bodin pushed Aristotle's classification further. Although he was still primarily interested in identifying the best constitution, he insisted that the kind of government depended on economic and geographical as well as political factors. He also accentuated the legal sovereignty, a concept which became the hallmark of political science. Another French philosopher Montesquieu in the eighteenth century produced one of the mainly favored scheme of classifying governments: Republican, Monarchical and Despotic. His classification was firmly in the classical mould since the kind of government depended on the number of people holding power. In Montesquieu there was an significant recognition of the connection flanked by the kind of government and the kind of community. He suggested that education, morals, patriotism, and the stage of economic excellence- all help to determine the kind of government and the mainly significant variant is the extent of the state's territory. Rousseau, a few years later, classified the shapes of government into three - Autocratic, Aristocratic and Democratic - but he held that there was only one form of state, namely, Republic. Kant saw three types of states corresponding to Rousseau's three shapes of government but only two shapes of government - Republican and Despotic. In our own time, a contemporary German writer, Bluntschli attempted to extend Aristotle's tripe division through adding to it a fourth kind of state which he described Ideocracy or Theocracy in which the supreme ruler is conceived to be God or some superhuman spirit or thought. Though, such classifications carry us no farther in our endeavor to classify states just as to real and existing likeness and differences.

Contemporary Classification

With the rise of sovereign nation-state, development of liberal-constitutional democratic state, formation of American federation throughout eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, etc. the old classification of political regimes lost its relevance. The new growths changed the foundation of classification dramatically. The new manners of classification which appeared were based upon the nature of constitution, concentration or sharing 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. Though, we necessarily stay in mind one significant factor, that is that the totality of power of all the states is the similar. In other languages, every state is a sovereign state; the only manner in which states can be classified is just as to the structural peculiarities of the governmental organization.

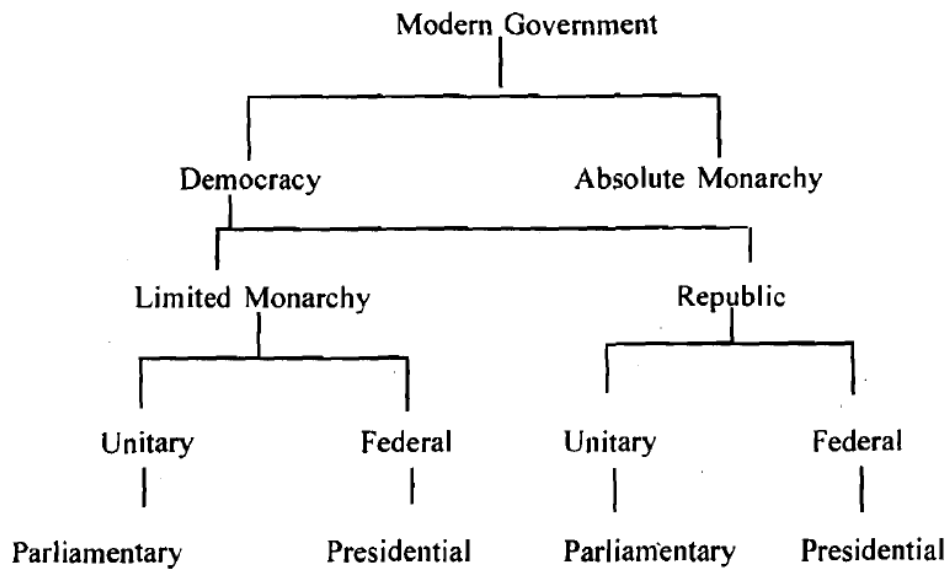
In the context of sovereign state and its structures, attempts have been made through innumerable writers to classify the political institutions from time to time. For instance, Jellenick, a German writer classified political regimes into two broad categories: monarchical and republican. He further divided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



Another writer Burgess presented his classification based upon four separate principles and tried to lay many shapes of government into those categories. The four principles and the shapes of government were:

- Identity or non identity with state and government- primary and representative,
- Tenure of executive- hereditary or elective
- Connection flanked by executive and legislature-parliamentary or presidential, and
- Concentration and sharing of power- unitary and federal.

Leacock presented the shapes of government in a simplified form which can be understood through the following diagram:



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

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 models of classification, we can attract sure conclusions. Firstly, although numerous models have been recognized, there is no consensus on a universal and scientific classification. Secondly, all recognized models are based upon the organizations of state, government and its organs such as legislature, executive and judiciary, constitution, law, and political organization. The socioeconomic, historical and cultural factors affecting the political organization were not taken into consideration. Thirdly, and mainly importantly, these classifications were exclusively convinced through the kind of state organizations which urbanized in Europe and America. The political systems of Asia, Africa or Latin America were totally ignored. It was only after the Second World War, when these countries got independence from the colonial rule, it was establish that their political systems could not be accommodated within the above models. Hence the require was felt to make new models of classification.

Modern Classification

The contemporary classification was primarily based upon liberal democratic governments as urbanized in Europe and North America throughout nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though, after the second world war, new kinds of political regimes appeared at two stages:

- A host of post-colonial states which got independence from the imperialist powers in which the liberal democratic organizations had not evolved, which were economically underdeveloped and had diverse cultural, social organizations and political structures, and
- Emergence of a communist/socialist bloc of states whose objective was the structure of a socialist community of the West and which had dissimilar conceptions of democracy, parliament, party organization, federalism and political powers.

These factors compelled political scientists to evolve new models of classification which would encompass the diversity of political regimes that evolved in the postwar era. The lead in this direction was taken through a number of American political scientists who tried to make a classification which could suit the changed conditions. They tried to integrate the political organizations with growth and modernization. Consequently, they gave new foundation for classification such as industrialization, urbanization, technical growth, stage of education, commerce, cultural and social achievements and communication network. In the past forty years many 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 analyze some of these. Edward Shils in his book *Political Growth in New States* presented a fivefold classification of contemporary political systems:

- Political democracy as in Britain and USA,
- Tutelary democracy - states which are not democratic but attempt to copy the methods of political democracy,
- Modernizing oligarchy - states where the power is in the hands of a few civilians who rule with the help of armed forces or vice-versa,
- Totalitarian oligarchy of either Communist or Fascist kind, and
- Traditional Oligarchy - states which are ruled through dynastic rulers and are associated with traditional religious beliefs.

David Apter has laid emphasis on the developing societies. He talks in relation to the kind of government they have and the value organization they have inherited. In this context he talks in relation to the three kinds of political systems:

- Modernizing autocracy,
- Military oligarchy, or
- Some patterns of both.

S.E. Finer evolved a new foundation for his mode of classification. Just as to him, in all the political systems, the essence is that a few rule in

excess of the several i.e. those who formulate policies and implement them are extremely few. In this context, he talks in relation to the three kinds of political systems:

- Liberal-democratic such as the liberal-capitalist states of Europe and America,
- Totalitarian organization such as prevalent in the communist states,
- Autocracies and oligarchies, i.e. the political systems in which the political action 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 self-governing political factor, often a decisive factor.

Jean Blondel gives a triple foundation for his model of classification of political systems:

- Nature of political organization,
- Social philosophy and policies, and
- Political ideology and the autonomy of the sub-systems.

On this foundation, he classifies two kinds of political systems under each category:

- Monarchy Democracy,
- Traditional and Modern, and
- Liberal and Totalitarian.

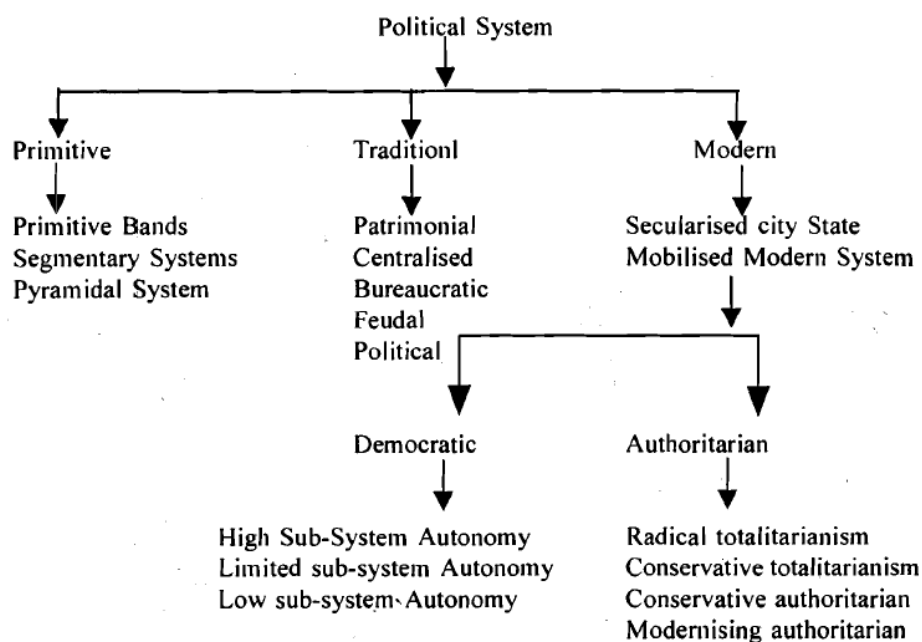
Almond and Powell have also given a triple classification of political systems

based upon structural differences and functions, and cultural secularization. They are:

- Primitive,
- Traditional, and
- Contemporary.

The primitive organization based upon tribal rule could be of three kinds: primitive bands, segmentary organization or the pyramidal systems, The traditional political systems can also be divided into three categories:

patrimonial organization, centralized bureaucratic systems and feudal political systems. These are the kinds of systems based primarily on agriculture, dominated through clergy and feudal lords and lack of industrialization. The mobilized contemporary systems are those based upon *structuralization* as well-as cultural. secularization. They call be democratic as well as authoritarian. We can understand Almond's classification by the following diagram.



Almond and Powell have also classified the political systems on the foundation of political civilization. Depending upon the nature of allegiance, apathy or alienation of the people towards the political organization, the political civilization can be of three kinds: parochial, subjective or participative. On this foundation, they classified four kinds of political regimes:

Anglo American,

Continental European,
Non-Western, and
Totalitarian.

Division of Power as the Foundation of Classification

Contemporary political regimes are classified on the foundation of territorial sharing of powers also, i.e. how the powers of the government are distributed flanked by the centre and the several administrative areas. On this foundation we can identify: Unitary and Federal.

Unitary Government

A political regime in which the whole power is centralized in one government is a unitary government. It is based on the principle of geographical centralization of power. The supreme power is concentrated in a single organ or a set of organs recognized at and operating from a general centre: Just as to Finer, a unitary government is one in which all the power and powers are lodged in a single centre whose will and mediators are legally omnipotent in excess of the entire region. Likewise, just as to Blondel, 'in a unitary state, only the central body is legally self-governing 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-creation body. It can legislate on all subjects and administer them without reservation. It does not, though, mean that the government can take arbitrary decisions. Even in a unitary state organization, the country is divided into many provinces for the sake of administration but what is significant to keep in mind is that they do not enjoy any autonomy. The powers of the provinces are delegated from the centre which can be taken absent whenever desired

through the centre. Therefore the two essential qualities of the unitary state are: the supremacy of the central parliament, and absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

Federal Government

Federalism is a form of government where the powers are distributed flanked by the central and provincial governments and both have their separate and well defined regions of power. Here, the totality of government power is divided and distributed through the national constitution flanked by a central government and those of the individual states. A federal government has an agreement and there are sure essential characteristics that ensure its proper working. They are:

- A written constitution,
- Division of powers, and
- Independence of judiciary.

Firstly, the federal government is the making of agreement which takes lay 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 sufficient therefore that neither centre nor the federating units may transform 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 excellence of the federal government is the sharing of powers of government flanked by central government and the federating units. Normally, the subjects of national importance such as protection, foreign affairs, railways, communications, fund are entrusted to the central government whereas subjects like education, health, agriculture etc. are looked after through the provincial units. The powers may also be distributed

in one of the two methods: either the constitution states the powers that the federal power shall have and leave the reminder to the units, or it states those powers the federating units shall possess and leave the reminder to the federal power. For instance, in the American federation the constitution defines the powers of the federal power 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 leaves the rest to the central government. Though, in India both the powers of the centre and the units have been listed.

Thirdly, there should be an self-governing institution to settle the disputes with regard to the jurisdiction of the centre and the units and in the middle of the units. Such an institution can only be the Supreme Court whose function is to see that the constitution is respected in therefore distant as it distributes the governmental powers flanked by the contracting parties and the federal power which *through their contract they set up power to run the administration*. If a totally federalized state, this court is absolutely supreme in its power to decide in cases of clash flanked by the federal power and the state authorities.

Legislative-Executive Connection as the Foundation of Classification

Political regimes have also been classified on the foundation of the connection flanked by the legislature and executive departments of the government. In this context, historically two shapes have been popular: one in which the legislature and executive work jointly and the executive is responsible to the legislature for all its acts, and two in which they work apart within their own defined spheres. While the former is described Parliamentary form, the latter is recognized as Presidential form of government.

Parliamentary Government

The parliamentary form of government is the result of historical development in Great Britain. It is also recognized as 'Cabinet government', or even 'Prime Ministerial government'. The chief feature of this kind of government is that the executive is a section of the legislature and is responsible to it for all its policies and acts. There are two kinds 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 power is limited. This head of the state may be a monarch or a president. The real executive is the Prime Minister who jointly with his cabinet is a section of the legislature, selected through the members of the legislature and can be removed through the legislature by 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.

Presidential Government

The presidential organization is based upon the doctrine of isolation of powers. It means that the legislature and the executive are kept separately. Just as to Garner, it is a organization of government in which the executive his ministries is constitutionally self-governing 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 through the people for a definite era. Since the executive is not a section of the legislature its cannot be removed from the office through the legislature except for by the legal procedure of impeachment. The executive cannot dissolve the legislature nor can it call for a common election. Generally the executive and the legislature are elected for fixed conditions.

Though, in order to stay the three organs of the government interconnected, a device of checks and balances is adopted therefore that the President may not become a dictator. Constitutional devices are invented therefore 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 through several countries of Latin America and Europe with some modifications.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Define secularism and explain its origins?
- How did the Reformation contribute to the growth of secular authority?
- Why did the emerging middle class support the rise of strong nation-states?
- What is the nature of civil-military relationship in states guided by Marxist ideology?
- What are the typical strategies of rulership adopted by military regimes?
- How would you differentiate between government and the political regimes?
- What are the features of the 'pluralist' democratic regimes?
- Describe the basis on which Aristotle classified states.

Chapter 5

Institutions and Forms of Government

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Republicanism
- Trends in federal systems
- Organs of government: executive, legislature and judiciary
- Review Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of republican government.
- Distinguish between unitary and federal systems
- Discuss different types of federal political arrangements.
- Explain the three principal organs of modern governments.
- Describe the composition and types of executive.

REPUBLICANISM

Republicanism is the ideology of governing a community or state as a republic, where the head of state is appointed through means other than heredity, often by elections. The exact meaning of republicanism varies depending on the cultural and historical context. The term "republic" may indicate 'rule through several people and through law', as opposed to monarchy, or arbitrary rule through one person. Republicanism lived as an identifiable movement in the Roman Republic, where the founder of the Republic, Lucius Junius Brutus denounced the former Roman Kingdom and had the Roman people declare a solemn oath to never allow a monarchy to return again.

Historical Growth of Republicanism

Antique Antecedents

- *Ancient Greece*

In Ancient Greece, many philosophers and historians analyzed and called classical republicanism. Some scholars have translated the Greek concept of "politeia" as "republic," but mainly contemporary scholars reject this thought. There is no single written expression or definition from this period that exactly corresponds with a contemporary understanding of the term "republic." Though, mainly of the essential characteristics of the contemporary definition are present in the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius. These contain theories of mixed government and of civic virtue. Plato's dialogue on the ideal state, *The Republic*, is misnamed through the standards of contemporary political theory.

A number of Ancient Greek states such as Athens and Sparta have been classified as "classical republics", however this uses a definition of "republic" that was not urbanized until much later. Plato measured Carthage to have been a republic as it had a political organization same to that of the Greek municipalities.

- *Ancient Rome*

Both Livy and Plutarch, called how Rome had urbanized its legislation, notably the transition from a *kingdom* to a *republic*, through following the instance of the Greeks. Some of this history, collected more than 500 years after the measures, with scant written sources to rely on, may be fictitious reconstruction - nonetheless the power of Greek ideas on governance is apparent in the organization of the Roman Republic.

The Greek historian Polybius, script more than a century before Livy, became one of the first to define the emergence of the Roman Empire. Polybius exerted a great power on Cicero as he wrote his politico-philosophical works in the 1st century BC. In one of these works, *De re publica*, Cicero connected the Roman concept of *res publica* to the Greek *politeia*".

Though, the contemporary term "republic", despite its derivation, is not synonymous with the Roman *res publica*. In the middle of the many meanings of the term *res publica*, it is mainly often translated "republic" where the Latin expression refers to the Roman state, and its form of government, flanked by the period of the Kings and the period of the Emperors. This Roman Republic would, through a contemporary understanding of the word, still be defined as a true republic, even if not coinciding entirely. Therefore, although Enlightenment philosophers saw the Roman Republic as an ideal organization, and it incorporated a systematic isolation of powers, but depended on slave labor.

Romans still described their state "Res Publica" in the period of the early emperors. Because, on the surface, the organization of the state had been preserved through the first emperors without important alteration. Many offices from the republican period, held through individuals, were combined under the manage of a single person. These changes became permanent, and slowly conferred sovereignty on the Emperor.

Cicero's account of the ideal state, in *De re publica*, does not equate to a contemporary day "republic"; it is more like enlightened absolutism. His philosophical works were influential when Enlightenment philosophers such as Voltaire urbanized their political concepts.

In its classical meaning, a republic was any recognized governed political society. Both Plato and Aristotle saw three kinds of government: democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy. Though, mixed government was measured ideal. First Plato and Aristotle, and then Polybius and Cicero, urbanized the notion that the ideal republic is a mixture of these three shapes of government. The writers of the Renaissance embraced this notion.

Cicero expressed reservations regarding the republican form of government. In his *theoretical* works he defended monarchy, or at least a mixed monarchy/oligarchy and, in his own political life, he usually opposed men trying to realize such ideals, like Julius Caesar, Spot Antony and Octavian. Eventually, that opposition led to his death and Cicero can be seen as a victim of his own republican ideals.

Tacitus, a modern of Plutarch, was not concerned with whether a form of government could be analyzed as a "republic" or a "monarchy". He analyzed how the powers accumulated through the early Julio-Claudian dynasty were all given through a State that was still notionally a republic. Nor was the Roman Republic "forced" to provide absent these powers: it did therefore freely and reasonably, certainly in Augustus' case, because of his several services to the state, freeing it from civil wars and disorder.

Tacitus was one of the first to inquire whether such powers were given to the head of state, because the citizens wanted to provide them, or whether they were given for other causes. The latter case led more easily to abuses of power. In Tacitus' opinion, the trend absent from a true republic was *irreversible* only when Tiberius recognized power, shortly after Augustus' death in AD 14 e start of the Imperial form of government in Rome. Through this time, too several principles defining some powers as "untouchable" had been implemented.

Renaissance Republicanism

In Europe, republicanism was revived in the late Transitional Ages when a number of small states embraced a republican organization of government. These were usually small, but wealthy, trading states in which the merchant class had risen to prominence. Haakonssen notes that through the Renaissance Europe was divided, such that those states controlled through a landed elite were monarchies, and those controlled through a commercial elite were republics. These incorporated the Italian municipality states of Florence and Venice and members of the Hanseatic League.

Structure upon concepts of medieval feudalism, Renaissance scholars used the ideas of the ancient world to advance their view of an ideal government. Therefore the republicanism urbanized throughout the Renaissance is recognized as 'classical republicanism' because it relied on classical models. This terminology was urbanized through Zera Fink in the 1960s but some contemporary scholars, such as Brugger, believe it confuses the "classical republic" with the organization of government used in the ancient world. 'Early contemporary republicanism' has been proposed as an alternative term. It is also sometimes described civic humanism.

Beyond basically a non-monarchy, early contemporary thinkers conceived of an *ideal* republic, in which mixed government was an significant

element, and the notion that virtue and the general good were central to good government. Republicanism also urbanized its own separate view of liberty.

Renaissance authors that spoke highly of republics were rarely critical of monarchies. While Niccolò Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* is the era's key work on republics, he also wrote *The Prince* on how best to run a monarchy. The early contemporary writers did not see the republican model as universally applicable; mainly idea that it could be successful only in extremely small and highly developed municipality-states. Jean Bodin in *Six Books of the Commonwealth* recognized monarchy with republic.

Classical writers like Tacitus, and Renaissance writers like Machiavelli, tried to avoid an outspoken preference for one government organization or another. Enlightenment philosophers, on the other hand, expressed a clear opinion. Thomas More, script before the Age of Enlightenment, was too outspoken for the reigning king's taste, even however he coded his political preferences in a Utopian allegory.

In England a kind of republicanism evolved that was not wholly opposed to monarchy; thinkers such as Thomas More and Sir Thomas Smith saw a monarchy, firmly constrained through law, as compatible with republicanism.

- *Dutch Republic*

Anti-monarchism became more strident in the Dutch Republic throughout and after the Eighty Years' War, which began in 1568. This anti-monarchism was more propaganda than a political philosophy; mainly of the anti-monarchist works emerged in the form of widely distributed pamphlets. This evolved into a systematic critique of monarchy, written through men such as Johan Uytenhage de Mist, Radboud Herman Scheel, Lieven de Beaufort and the brothers Johan and Peter de la Court. These writers saw all monarchies as illegitimate tyrannies that were inherently corrupt. These authors were more concerned with preventing the location of Stadholder from evolving into a

monarchy, than with attacking their former rulers. Dutch republicanism also convinced on French Huguenots throughout the Wars of Religion. In the other states of early contemporary Europe republicanism was more moderate.

- *Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth republicanism was an influential ideology. After the establishment of the Commonwealth of Two Nations, republicans supported the status quo, of having a extremely weak monarch, and opposed those who idea a stronger monarchy was needed. These mostly Polish republicans, such as Łukasz Górnicki, Andrzej Wolan, and Stanisław Konarski, were well read in classical and Renaissance texts and firmly whispered that their state was a republic on the Roman model, and started to call their state the Rzeczpospolita. Atypically, Polish-Lithuanian republicanism was not the ideology of the commercial class, but rather of the landed aristocracy, which would lose power if the monarchy were expanded. This resulted in an oligarchy of the great magnates.

Enlightenment Republicanism

- *England*

Oliver Cromwell set up a republic described the Commonwealth of England and ruled as a close to dictator after the overthrow of King Charles I. James Harrington was then a leading philosopher of republicanism. The collapse of the Commonwealth of England in 1660 and the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II discredited republicanism in the middle of England's ruling circles. Though they welcomed the liberalism, and emphasis on rights, of John Locke, which played a biggest role in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Even therefore, republicanism flourished in the "country" party of the early 18th century, which denounced the corruption of the "court" party, producing a political theory that heavily convinced the American colonists. In common the English ruling classes of the 18th century

vehemently opposed republicanism, typified through the attacks on John Wilkes, and especially on the American Revolution and the French Revolution.

- *French and Swiss Idea*

French and Swiss Enlightenment thinkers, such as Montesquieu and later Rousseau, expanded upon and altered the ideas of what an ideal republic should be: some of their new ideas were scarcely traceable to antiquity or the Renaissance thinkers. Concepts they contributed, or heavily elaborated, were social contract, positive law, and mixed government. They also borrowed from, and distinguished republicanism from, the ideas of liberalism that were developing at the similar time.

Liberalism and republicanism were regularly conflated throughout this era, because they were both opposed to absolute monarchy. Contemporary scholars see them as two separate streams that both contributed to the democratic ideals of the contemporary world. A significant distinction is that, while republicanism sustained to stress the importance of civic virtue and the general good, liberalism was based on economics and individualism. It is clearest in the matter of private property which, just as to some, may be maintained only under defense of recognized positive law.

Jules Ferry, Prime Minister of France from 1880 to 1885, followed both these schools of idea and eventually enacted the Ferry Laws which were designed to overturn the Falloux Laws, through embracing the anti-clerical thinking of the *Philosophes*. These laws ended the Catholic Church's involvement with several government organizations in late 19th-century France, including schools.

Republicanism in the United States

In recent years a debate has urbanized in excess of the role of republicanism in the American Revolution and in the British radicalism of the 18th century. For several decades the consensus was that liberalism, especially

that of John Locke, was paramount and that republicanism had a distinctly secondary role.

The new interpretations were pioneered through J.G.A. Pocock who argued in *The Machiavellian Moment* that, at least in the early 18th century, republican ideas were presently as significant as liberal ones. Pocock's view is now widely carried. Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood pioneered the argument that the American founding fathers were more convinced through republicanism than they were through liberalism. Cornell University professor Isaac Kramnick, on the other hand, argues that Americans have always been highly individualistic and so Lockean.

In the decades before the American Revolution, the intellectual and political leaders of the colonies studied history intently, looking for models of good government. They especially followed the growth of republican ideas in England. Pocock explained the intellectual sources in America:

The Whig canon and the neo-Harringtonians, John Milton, James Harrington and Sidney, Trenchard, Gordon and Bolingbroke, jointly with the Greek, Roman, and Renaissance masters of the custom as distant as Montesquieu, shaped the authoritative literature of this civilization; and its values and concepts were those with which we have grown well-known: a civic and patriot ideal in which the personality was founded in property, perfected in citizenship but perpetually threatened through corruption; government figuring paradoxically as the principal source of corruption and operating by such means as patronage, faction, standing armies, recognized churches of American religion and the promotion of a interest — however the formulation of this last concept was somewhat hindered through the keen desire for readily accessible paper credit general in colonies of resolution. A neoclassical politics provided both the ethos of the elites and the rhetoric of the upwardly mobile, and accounts for the singular cultural and intellectual homogeneity of the Founding Fathers and their generation.

The commitment of mainly Americans to these republican values made the American Revolution inevitable. Britain was increasingly seen as corrupt and hostile to republicanism, and as a threat to the recognized liberties the Americans enjoyed.

Leopold von Ranke in 1848 claimed that American republicanism played a crucial role in the growth of European liberalism:

Through abandoning English constitutionalism and creating a new republic based on the rights of the individual, the North Americans introduced a new force in the world. Ideas spread mainly rapidly when they have established adequate concrete expression. Therefore republicanism entered our Romanic/Germanic world.... Up to this point, the conviction had prevailed in Europe that monarchy best served the interests of the nation. Now the thought spread that the nation should govern itself. But only after a state had actually been shaped on the foundation of the theory of representation did the full significance of this thought become clear. All later revolutionary movements have this similar goal.... This was the complete reversal of a principle. Until then, a king who ruled through the grace of God had been the center approximately which everything turned. Now the thought appeared that power should approach from below.... These two principles are like two opposite poles, and it is the clash flanked by them that determines the course of the contemporary world. In Europe the clash flanked by them had not yet taken on concrete form; with the French Revolution it did.

Républicanisme

Republicanism especially that of Rousseau, played a central role in the French Revolution and foreshadowed contemporary republicanism. The revolutionaries, after overthrowing the French monarchy in the 1790s, began through setting up a republic; Napoleon converted it into an Empire with a new aristocracy. In the 1830s Belgium adopted some of the innovations of the progressive political philosophers of the Enlightenment.

Républicanisme is a French adaptation of contemporary republicanism. It is a form of social contract, deduced from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's thought of a common will. Ideally, each citizen is occupied in a direct connection with the state, removing the require for identity politics based on regional, religious, or racial identification.

Républicanisme, in theory, creates anti-discrimination laws unnecessary, but some critics argue that colour-blind laws serve to perpetuate discrimination.

Contemporary Republicanism

Throughout the Enlightenment, anti-monarchism extended beyond the civic humanism of the Renaissance. Classical republicanism, still supported through philosophers such as Rousseau and Montesquieu, was only one of many theories seeking to limit the power of monarchies rather than directly opposing them. New shapes of anti-monarchism, such as liberalism and later socialism, quickly overtook classical republicanism as the leading republican ideologies. Republicanism gained support and monarchies were challenged during Europe.

Radicalism

Radicalism arose in European states in the 19th century. All 19th century radicals supported a constitutional republic and universal suffrage, while European liberals were at the time in favor of constitutional monarchy and census suffrage. Mainly radical parties later favored economic liberalism and capitalism. This distinction flanked by radicalism and liberalism had not completely disappeared in the 20th century, although several radicals basically joined liberal parties. For instance, the Radical Party of the Left in France or the Transnational Radical Party, which exist today, are more focused on republicanism than on easy liberalism.

Liberalism, was represented in France through the Orleanists who rallied to the Third Republic only in the late 19th century, after the comte de Chambord's 1883 death and the 1891 papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.

But the early Republican, Radical and Radical-Socialist Party in France, and Chartism in Britain, were closer to republicanism, and the left-wing. Radicalism remained secure to republicanism in the 20th century, at least in France, where they governed many times with other left-wing parties.

Discredited after the Second World War, French radicals split into a left-wing party – the Radical Party of the Left, an associate of the Socialist Party – and the Radical Party "valoisien", an associate party of the

conservative Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) and its Gaullist precursors. Italian radicals also maintained secure links with republicanism, as well as with socialism, with the Partito radicale founded in 1955, which became the Transnational Radical Party in 1989.

United States

Republicanism became the dominant political value of Americans throughout and after the American Revolution. The "Founding Fathers" were strong advocates of republican values, especially Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton.

British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations

In some countries of the British Empire, later the Commonwealth of Nations, republicanism taken a diversity of shapes.

In South Africa, republicanism in the 1960s was recognized with the supporters of apartheid, who resented British interference in their treatment of the country's black population.

In Australia, the debate flanked by republicans and monarchists is still active and Julia Gillard, the current Australian Prime Minister, has expressed her wish for Australia to begin the transition stage to a republic on the death of Elizabeth II.

Republican groups are also active in Great Britain, New Zealand, and Canada.

In Jamaica, Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller announced throughout her inaugural address, that Jamaica would begin the procedure of becoming a republic.

In Barbados the government gave the promise of a referendum on becoming a republic in August 2008, but it was postponed due to the transform of government in the 2008 election.

Sweden

In Sweden, a biggest promoter of republicanism is the Swedish Republican Association, which advocates the abolition of the Monarchy of Sweden.

Spain

There is a renewed interest in republicanism in Spain after two earlier attempts: the First Spanish Republic and the Second Spanish Republic. Movements such as Ciudadanos Por la República (es) have appeared, and parties like United Left and the Republican Left of Catalonia increasingly refer to republicanism. In a survey conducted in 2007 it was found that 69% of the population prefers the monarchy to continue, compared with 22% opting for a Republic. In a 2008 survey, 57.9% of Spanish citizens were indifferent, 16.2% favored a Republic, 15.7% were monarchists, and 7% claimed to be *Juancarlistas* Juan Carlos I, without a general location for the fate of the monarchy after his death. In the last years republicanism has been growing, specially in the middle of the young people. Just as to a 2012 poll the 50.4% of Spaniards want a referendum in relation to the monarchy and a

Neo-republicanism

Prominent theorists in this movement are Philip Pettit and Cass Sunstein, who have each written many works defining republicanism and how it differs from liberalism. Michael Sandel is a late convert to republicanism from communitarianism. He advocates replacing or supplementing liberalism with republicanism, as outlined in his *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy*. Though, these theorists have had little impact on government. John W. Maynor, argues that Bill Clinton was interested in these notions and that he integrated some of them into his 1995 "new social compact" State of the Union Address.

This revival also has its critics. David Wootton, for example, argues that during history the meanings of the term *republicanism* have been therefore diverse, and at times contradictory, that the term is all but meaningless and any effort to build a cogent ideology based on it will fail.

Democracy

In the late 20th century there was convergence of democracy and republicanism. Republicanism is a organization that replaces or accompanies inherited rule. There is an emphasis on liberty, and a rejection of corruption. It strongly convinced American Revolution and the French Revolution in the 1770s and 1790s, respectively. Republicans, in these two examples, tended to reject inherited elites and aristocracies, but two questions were left open: whether a republic, in order to restrain unchecked majority rule, should have an unelected upper chamber, with members possibly being appointed meritorious experts, and whether it should have a constitutional monarch.

Although conceptually separate from democracy, republicanism incorporated the key principles of rule through the consent of the governed and sovereignty of the people. In effect republicanism held that kings and aristocracies were not the real rulers, but rather the entire people were. Exactly *how* the people were to rule was an issue of democracy – republicanism itself did not specify how. In the United States, the solution was the making of political parties that reflected the votes of the people, and which controlled the government. Several exponents of republicanism, such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson were strong promoters of representative democracy. Though, other supporters of republicanism, such as John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, were more distrustful of majority rule and sought a government with more power for elites. There were same debates in several other democratizing nations.

Democracy and Republic

In modern usage, the term *democracy* refers to a government chosen through the people, whether it is direct or representative. Today the term *republic* generally refers to a representative democracy with an elected head of state, such as a president, who serves for a limited term; in contrast to states with a hereditary monarch as a head of state, even if these states also are

representative democracies, with an elected or appointed head of government such as a prime minister.

The Founding Fathers of the United States rarely praised and often criticized democracy, which in their time tended to specifically mean direct democracy; James Madison argued, that what distinguished a *democracy* from a *republic* was that the former became weaker as it got superior and suffered more violently from the effects of faction, whereas a republic could get stronger as it got superior and combats faction through its extremely structure. What was critical to American values, John Adams insisted, was that the government should be "bound through fixed laws, which the people have a voice in creation, and a right to defend."

Constitutional Monarchs and Upper Chambers

Some countries, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Scandinavian countries, and Japan turned powerful monarchs into constitutional ones with limited, or eventually merely symbolic, powers. Often the monarchy was abolished beside with the aristocratic organization, whether or not they were replaced with democratic organizations Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Egypt. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Papua New Guinea, and some other countries the monarch, or its representative, is given supreme executive power, but through convention acts only on the advice of his or her ministers. Several nations had elite upper homes of legislatures, the members of which often had lifetime tenure, but eventually these homes lost power, or else became elective and remained powerful.

UNITARY AND FEDEML SYSTEMS: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN FEDERAL SYSTEMS

Unitary State

A unitary state is a state governed as one single unit in which the central government is supreme and any administrative divisions exercise only powers that their central government chooses to delegate. The great majority of states in the world have a unitary organization of government.

Unitary states are contrasted with federal states:

In a unitary state, sub national units are created and abolished and their powers may be broadened and narrowed, through the central government. Although political power in unitary states may be delegated by devolution to regional government through statute, the central government remains supreme; it may abrogate the acts of devolved governments or curtail their powers.

- The United Kingdom is an instance of a unitary state. Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland which, beside with England are the four constituent countries of the United Kingdom, have a degree of autonomous devolved power – the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament in Scotland, the Welsh Government and National Assembly for Wales in Wales, and the Northern Ireland Executive and Northern Ireland Assembly in Northern Ireland. But such devolved power is only delegated through Britain's central government, more specifically through the Parliament of the United Kingdom, which is supreme under the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy. Further, the devolved governments cannot challenge the constitutionality of acts of Parliament, and the powers of the devolved governments can be revoked or reduced through the central government the Cabinet, headed through the Prime Minister. For instance, the Northern Ireland Assembly has been suspended four times, with its powers reverting to the central government's Northern Ireland Office.
- Ukraine is another instance of a unitary state. The Republic of Crimea within the country has a degree of autonomy and is governed through its Cabinet of Ministers and legislative Council. In the early 1990s the republic also had a presidential post which was terminated due to separatist tendencies that designed to transfer Crimea to Russia.

In federal states, through contrast, states or other sub national units share sovereignty with the central government, and the states constituting the federation have an subsistence and power functions that cannot be unilaterally changed through the central government. In some cases, it

is the federal government that has only those powers expressly delegated to it.

- The United States is an instance of a federal state. Under the U.S. Constitution, power is shared flanked by the U.S. federal government and the U.S. states. Several federal states also have unitary lower stages of government; while the United States is federal, the states themselves are unitary under Dillon's Rule – counties and municipalities have only the power granted to them through the state governments under their state constitution or through legislative acts.

Devolution may be symmetrical, with all sub national units having the similar powers and status, or asymmetric, with areas varying in their powers and status.

Federalism

Federalism is a political concept in which a *group* of members are bound jointly through covenant with a governing representative head. The term "federalism" is also used to define a organization of government in which sovereignty is constitutionally divided flanked by a central governing power and constituent political units. Federalism is a organization based upon democratic rules and organizations in which the power to govern is shared flanked by national and provincial/state governments, creating what is often described a federation. Proponents are often described federalists.

European vs. American Federalism

In Europe, "Federalist" is sometimes used to define those who favor a general federal government, with distributed power at local, national and supranational stages. Mainly European federalists want this growth to continue within the European Union. European federalism originated in post-war Europe; one of the more significant initiatives was Winston Churchill's speech in Zurich in 1946.

In the United States, federalism originally referred to belief in a stronger central government. When the U.S. Constitution was being drafted,

the Federalist Party supported a stronger central government, while "Anti-Federalists" wanted a weaker central government. This is extremely dissimilar from the contemporary usage of "federalism" in Europe, and in the United States. The distinction stems from the information that "federalism" is located in the transitional of the political spectrum flanked by a confederacy and a unitary state. The U.S. Constitution was written as a reaction to the Articles of Confederation, under which the United States was a loose confederation with a weak central government. Further, throughout the American Civil War, members of the Confederate States of America, which seceded in favor of a weaker central government, referred to pro-Union soldiers of the United States government as "Federalists." Therefore in the United States "federalism" argued for a stronger central government, comparative to a confederacy.

In contrast, Europe has a greater history of unitary states than North America, therefore European "federalism" argues for a weaker central government, comparative to a unitary state. The contemporary American usage of the word is much closer to the European sense. As the power of the Federal government has increased, some people have perceived a much more unitary state than they consider the Founding Fathers designed. Mainly people politically advocating "federalism" in the United States argue in favor of limiting the powers of the federal government, especially the judiciary.

In Canada, federalism typically implies opposition to sovereigntist movements. The governments of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, India and Mexico, in the middle of others, are also organized beside federalist principles. Federalism may encompass as few as two or three internal divisions, as is the case in Belgium or Bosnia and Herzegovina. In common, two extremes of federalism can be distinguished: at one extreme, the strong federal state is approximately totally unitary, with few powers reserved for regional governments; while at the other extreme, the national government may be a federal state in name only, being a confederation in actuality.

In 1999, the Government of Canada recognized the Forum of Federations as an international network for swap of best practices in the middle of federal and federalizing countries. Headquartered in Ottawa, the Forum of Federations partner governments contain Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Mexico, Nigeria and Switzerland.

Some Christian denominations are organized on federalist principles; in these churches this is recognized as *ecclesiastic* or *theological federalism*.

Examples of Federalism

- ***United States***

Federalism in the United States is the evolving connection flanked by state governments and the federal government of the United States. American government has evolved from a organization of dual federalism to one of associative federalism. In "Federalist No. 46," James Madison asserted that the states and national government "are in information but dissimilar mediators and trustees of the people, constituted with dissimilar powers." Alexander Hamilton, script in "Federalist No. 28," suggested that both stages of government would exercise power to the citizens' benefit: "If their rights are invaded through either, they can create use of the other as the instrument of redress."

Because the states were preexisting political entities, the U.S. Constitution did not require to describe or explain federalism in any one part but it often mentions the rights and responsibilities of state governments and state officials in relation to the federal government. The federal government has sure *express powers* which are powers spelled out in the Constitution, including the right to levy taxes, declare war, and regulate interstate and foreign commerce. In addition, the *Necessary and Proper Clause* provides the federal government the *implied power* to pass any law "necessary and proper" for the execution of its express powers. Other powers—the *reserved powers*—are reserved to the people or the states. The power delegated to the federal

government was significantly expanded through the Supreme Court decision in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, amendments to the Constitution following the Civil War, and through some later amendments—as well as the overall claim of the Civil War, that the states were legally subject to the final dictates of the federal government.

The Federalist party of the United States was opposed through the Democratic-Republicans, including powerful figures such as Thomas Jefferson. The Democratic-Republicans largely whispered that:

The Legislature had too much power and that they were unchecked.

The Executive had too much power, and that there was no check on the executive. A dictator would arise.

A bill of rights should be coupled with the constitution to prevent a dictator from exploiting citizens. The federalists, on the other hand, argued that it was impossible to list all the rights, and those that were not listed could be easily overlooked because they were not in the official bill of rights. Rather, rights in specific cases were to be decided through the judicial organization of courts.

After the American Civil War, the federal government increased greatly in power on everyday life and in size comparative to the state governments. Causes incorporated the require to regulate businesses and industries that span state borders, attempts to close civil rights, and the provision of social services. The federal government acquired no substantial new powers until the acceptance through the Supreme Court of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

From 1938 until 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court did not invalidate any federal statute as exceeding Congress' power under the Commerce Clause. Mainly actions through the federal government can discover some legal support in the middle of the express powers, such as the Commerce Clause, whose applicability has been narrowed through the Supreme Court in recent years. In 1995 the Supreme Court rejected the Gun-Free School Zones Act in the *Lopez* decision, and also rejected the civil remedy portion of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 in the *United States v. Morrison* decision.

Recently, the Commerce Clause was interpreted to contain marijuana laws in the *Gonzales v. Raich* decision.

Dual federalism holds that the federal government and the state governments are co-equals, each sovereign.

Though, since the Civil War Period, the national courts often interpret the federal government as the final judge of its own powers under dual federalism. The establishment of Native American governments exercising limited powers of sovereignty, has given rise to the concept of "bi-federalism."

- *Federalism in Europe*

Many federal systems exist in Europe, such as in Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union. Germany and the EU are the only examples in the world where members of the federal upper houses, are neither elected nor appointed but are collected of the governments of their constituents.

In Germany, federalism was abolished only throughout Nazism and in East Germany throughout mainly of its subsistence. Adolf Hitler viewed federalism as an obstacle to his goals. As he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "National Socialism necessity claims the right to impose its principles on the entire German nation, without regard to what were hitherto the confines of federal states." So the thought of a strong, centralized government has negative associations in German politics, although prior to 1919 or 1933, several social democrats and liberals favored centralization in principle.

Since earlier in Britain, an Imperial Federation was once seen as a way of solving the House of Lords problem in Ireland, federalism has extensive been proposed as a solution to the "Irish Problem", and more lately, the "West Lothian question".

European Union

Following the end of World War II, many movements began advocating a European federation, such as the Union of European Federalists

or the European Movement, founded in 1948. Those institutions were influential in the European unification procedure, but never in a decisive method.

Although federalism was mentioned both in the drafts of the Maastricht treaty and the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, it was never adopted through the representatives of the member countries, all of whom would have to agree to the term. The strongest advocates of European federalism have been Germany, Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg while those historically mainly strongly opposed have been the United Kingdom and France; while other countries that have never campaigned specifically for a scrupulous means of governance in Europe are measured as federalists. Some would believe this to be the case with states such as Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Hungary. It is also extra ordinary that in recent times the French government has become increasingly pro-European Union, while countries like the Czech Republic have taken on the roles of primary opponents to a stronger EU.

Those uncomfortable by the “F” word in the EU context should feel free to refer to it as a quasi-federal or federal-like organization. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the analysis here, the EU has the necessary attributes of a federal organization. It is striking that while several scholars of the EU continue to resist analyzing it as a federation, mainly modern students of federalism view the EU as a federal organization., McKay, Kelemen, Defigueido and Weingast.

- *Australia*

On January 1, 1901 the Australian nation appeared as a federation. The Australian continent was colonized through the United Kingdom in 1788, which subsequently recognized six self-governing colonies there. In the 1890s the governments of these colonies all held referendums on becoming a unified, self-governing nation. When all the colonies voted in favor of federation, the Federation of Australia commenced, resulting in the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. Whilst the Federation of Australia appeared in 1901, the States of Australia remained colonies of Britain until

1986 when the UK and Australia passed the *Australia Acts*. The model of Australian federalism adheres closely to the original model of the United States of America, however by a Westminster organization.

- *Brazil*

In Brazil, the fall of the monarchy in 1889 through a military *coup d'état* led to the rise of the presidential organization, headed through Deodoro da Fonseca. Aided through famous jurist Ruy Barbosa, Fonseca recognized federalism in Brazil through decree, but this organization of government would be confirmed through every Brazilian constitution since 1891, although some of them would distort some of the federalist principles. The 1937 Constitution, for instance, granted the federal government the power to appoint State Governors at will, therefore centralizing power in the hands of President Getúlio Vargas. Brazil also uses the Fonseca organization to regulate interstate trade.

The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 introduced a new component to the ideas of federalism, including municipalities as federal entities. Brazilian municipalities are now invested with some of the traditional powers generally granted to states in federalism, and although they are not allowed to have a Constitution, they are structured through an organic law.

- *Canada*

In Canada, the organization of federalism is called through the division of powers flanked by the federal parliament and the country's provincial governments. Under the Constitution Act of 1867, specific powers of legislation are allotted. Part 91 of the constitution provides rise to federal power for legislation, whereas part 92 provides rise to provincial powers.

For matters not directly dealt with in the constitution, the federal government retains residual powers; though, clash flanked by the two stages of government, relating to which stage has legislative jurisdiction in excess of several matters, has been a longstanding and evolving issue. Regions of

contest contain legislation with respect to regulation of the economy, taxation, and natural possessions.

- *Colombia*

The Colombian Civil War destroyed the newly shaped Granadine Confederation and created the United States of Colombia on likewise federal theories, however their actual policies usually differed.

- *Venezuela*

The Federal War ended in 1863 with the signing of the Treaty of Coche through both the centralist government of the time and the Federal Forces. The United States of Venezuela was subsequently included under a "Federation of Sovereign States" upon principles borrowed from the Articles of Confederation of the United States of America. In this Federation, each State had a "President" of its own that controlled approximately every issue, even the making of "State Armies," while the Federal Army was required to obtain presidential permission to enter any given state.

Though, more than 140 years later, the original organization has slowly evolved into a quasi-centralist form of government. While the 1999 Constitution still defines Venezuela as a Federal Republic, it abolished the Senate, transferred competences of the States to the Federal Government and granted the President of the Republic huge powers to intervene in the States and Municipalities.

- *India*

The Government of India was recognized through the Constitution of India, and is the governing power of a *federal union* of 28 states and 7 union territories.

The governance of India is based on a tiered organization, where in the Constitution of India appropriates the subjects on which each tier of government has executive powers. The Constitution uses the Seventh

Schedule to delimit the subjects under three categories, namely the Union list, the State list and the Concurrent list.

Asymmetric Federalism

A distinguishing aspect of Indian federalism is that unlike several other shapes of federalism, it is asymmetric. Article 370 creates special provisions for the state of Jammu and Kashmir as per its Instrument of Accession. Article 371 creates special provisions for the states of Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Goa, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Sikkim as per their accession or state-hood deals. Also one more aspect of Indian federalism is organization of President's Rule in which the central government takes manage of state's administration for sure months when no party can form a government in the state or there is violent disturbance in the state.

Coalition Politics

Although the Constitution does not say therefore, India is now a multilingual federation. India has a multi-party organization, with political allegiances regularly based on linguistic, local and caste identities, necessitating coalition politics, especially at the Union stage. Coalition politics have created a balance in the legislatures.

- *Russian Federation*

The post-Imperial nature of Russian subdivision of government changed towards a usually autonomous model which began with the establishment of the USSR. It was liberalized in the aftermath of the Soviet Union, with the reforms under Boris Yeltsin preserving much of the Soviet structure while applying increasingly liberal reforms to the governance of the constituent republics and subjects when secessionist rebels throughout the Chechen War. Some of the reforms under Yeltsin were scaled back through Vladimir Putin.

All of Russia's sub divisional entities are recognized as subjects, with some smaller entities, such as the republics enjoying more autonomy than other subjects on explanation of having an extant attendance of a culturally non-Russian ethnic minority.

- *Federalism with Two Components*

Belgium

Federalism in the Kingdom of Belgium is an evolving organization. Belgian federalism reflects both the linguistic societies and the economic areas. These correspond to the language regions in Belgium. Although officially there are three language regions, for all practical purposes only two languages are relevant on the federal stage, Dutch and French:

Brussels is officially a bilingual region, but it has a French-speaking majority.

Flanders is the area associated with the Belgium's Dutch-speaking majority, i.e. the Flemish Society.

Due to its comparatively small size the German-speaking Society of Belgium does not have much power on national politics.

Wallonia is a French-speaking region, except for the East Cantons. French is the second mainly spoken first language in Belgium, following Dutch. Within the French-speaking Society of Belgium, there is a geographical and political distinction flanked by Wallonia and Brussels for historical and sociological causes.

On one hand, this means that the Belgian political landscape, usually speaking, consists of only two components: the Dutch-speaking population represented through Dutch-language political parties, and the majority populations of Wallonia and Brussels, represented through their French-speaking parties. The Brussels area emerges as a third component. This specific dual form of federalism, with the special location of Brussels, consequentially has a number of political issues—even minor ones—that are being fought out in excess of the Dutch/French-language political division. With such issues, a final decision is possible only in the form of a compromise. This tendency provides this dual federalism model a number of

traits that usually are ascribed to confederalism, and creates the future of Belgian federalism contentious.

On the other hand, Belgian federalism is federated with three components. An affirmative settlement regarding Brussels' lay in the federal organization passed in the parliaments of Wallonia and Brussels. These resolutions passed against the desires of Dutch-speaking parties, who are usually in favor of a federal organization with two components Belgium. Though, the Flemish representatives in the Parliament of the Brussels Capital-Area voted in favor of the Brussels settlement, with the exception of one party. The chairman of the Walloon Parliament stated on July 17, 2008 that, "*Brussels would take an attitude*". Brussels' parliament passed the settlement on July 18, 2008:

The Parliament of the *Brussels-Capital Area* approves with great majority a settlement claiming the attendance of Brussels itself at the negotiations of the reformation of the Belgian State.

This aspect of Belgian federalism helps to explain the difficulties of partition; Brussels, with its importance, is connected to both Wallonia and Flanders and vice-versa. This situation, though, does not erase the traits of a confederation in the Belgian organization.

Other Examples

Current examples of two-sided federalism:

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a federation of two *entities*: Republika Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Historical examples of two-sided federalism contain:

Czechoslovakia, until the Czech Republic and Slovakia separated in 1993.
The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, from 1992 to 2003 when it became a confederation titled the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. This confederation expired 2006 as Montenegro declared its independence.

The 1960 Constitution of Cyprus was based on the similar ideas, but the union of Greeks and Turks failed.

United Republic of Tanzania, which was the union of Tanganika and Zanzibar.

Iraq adapted a federal organization in 15 October 2005, and formally established the Kurdistan Area as the country's first and currently only federal area.

The Federal Republic of Cameroun operated flanked by 1961 and 1972

- *Proposed Federalism*

It has been proposed in many unitary states to set up a federal organization, for several causes.

China

China is the main unitary state in the world through both population and land region. Although China has had extensive periods of central rule for centuries, it is often argued that the unitary structure of the Chinese government is distant too unwieldy to effectively and equitably control the country's affairs. On the other hand, Chinese nationalists are defensive of decentralization as a form of secessionism and a backdoor for national disunity; still others argue that the degree of autonomy given to provincial-stage officials in the People's Republic of China amounts to a *de facto* federalism.

Libya

Shortly after the 2011 Libyan civil war, some in the eastern area of the country began to call for the new regime to be federal, with the traditional three areas of Libya being the constituent units. A group calling itself the Cyrenaican Middle Council issued a declaration of autonomy on 6 March 2012; this move was rejected through the National Middle Council in Tripoli.

United Kingdom

Since the 1997 referendums on devolution in Scotland and Wales, and after the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland, three of the four countries of the UK have some stage of autonomy outside of Westminster's rule. To counter the rising popularity of Scottish nationalism and Welsh nationalism, both of which threaten the unity of the United Kingdom there have been some calls for the UK to adopt a federal organization, with each of the four house nations having its own, equal devolved legislatures and law-

creation powers. This is supported through several Liberal Democrats and the Green Party of England and Wales, and would give a solution to the West Lothian Question.

Federalism as the Anarchist Mode of Political Organization

through anarchists, in common, is federalism or confederalism. Though, the anarchist definition of federalism tends to differ from the definition of federalism assumed through pro-state political scientists. The following is a brief account of federalism from part I.5 of *An Anarchist FAQ*:

"The social and political structure of anarchy is same to that of the economic structure, i.e., it is based on a voluntary federation of decentralized, directly democratic policy-creation bodies. These are the neighborhood and society assemblies and their confederations. In these grassroots political units, the concept of "self-management" becomes that of "self-government", a form of municipal organization in which people take back manage of their livelihood spaces from the bureaucratic state and the capitalist class whose interests it serves.

The key to that transform, from the anarchist standpoint, is the making of a network of participatory societies based on self-government by direct, face-to-face democracy in grassroots neighborhood and society assemblies.

Since not all issues are regional, the neighborhood and society assemblies will also elect mandated and recallable delegates to the superior-level units of self-government in order to address issues affecting superior regions, such as urban districts, the municipality or city as a entire, the county, the bio-area, and ultimately the whole planet. Therefore the assemblies will confederate at many stages in order to develop and co-ordinate general policies to trade with general troubles.

This require for co-operation does not imply a centralized body. To exercise your autonomy through joining self-managing organizations and, so, agreeing to abide through the decisions you help create is not a denial of that autonomy where you forsake autonomy within the organization. In a centralized organization, we necessity stress, power rests at the top and the role of those below is basically to obey re elected or not, the principle is the similar. In a federal organization, power is not delegated into the hands of a few e is a centralized organization. Decisions in a federal organization are made at the foundation of the organization and flow upwards therefore ensuring that power remnants decentralized in the hands of all. Working jointly to solve general troubles and organize general efforts to reach general goals is not centralization and those who confuse the two create a

serious error -- they fail to understand the dissimilar relations of power each generates and confuse obedience with co-operation."

Constitutional Structure

- *Division of Powers*

In a federation, the division of power flanked by federal and local governments is generally outlined in the constitution. It is in this method that the right to self-government of the component states is generally constitutionally entrenched. Component states often also possess their own constitutions which they may amend as they see fit, although in the event of clash the federal constitution generally takes precedence.

In approximately all federations the central government enjoys the powers of foreign policy and national protection. Were this not the case a federation would not be a single sovereign state, per the UN definition. Notably, the states of Germany retain the right to act on their own behalf at an international stage, a condition originally granted in swap for the Kingdom of Bavaria's agreement to join the German Empire in 1871. Beyond this the precise division of power varies from one nation to another. The constitutions of Germany and the United States give that all powers not specifically granted to the federal government are retained through the states. The Constitution of some countries like Canada and India, on the other hand, state that powers not explicitly granted to the provincial governments are retained through the federal government. Much like the US organization, the Australian Constitution allocates to the Federal government the power to create laws in relation to the certain specified matters which were measured too hard for the States to control, therefore that the States retain all other regions of responsibility. Under the division of powers of the European Union in the Lisbon Treaty, powers which are not either exclusively of European competence or shared flanked by EU and state are retained through the constituent states.

Where every component state of a federation possesses the similar powers, we are said to discover 'symmetric federalism'. Asymmetric federalism exists where states are granted dissimilar powers, or some possess greater autonomy than others do. This is often done in recognition of the subsistence of a separate civilization in a scrupulous area or areas. In Spain, "historical societies" such as Navarre, Galicia, Catalonia, and the Basque Country have more powers than other autonomous societies, partly to trade with their distinctness and to appease nationalist leanings, partly out of respect of privileges granted earlier in history.

It is general that throughout the historical development of a federation there is a gradual movement of power from the component states to the centre, as the federal government acquires additional powers, sometimes to trade with unforeseen conditions. The acquisition of new powers through a federal government may happen by formal constitutional amendment or basically by a broadening of the interpretation of a government's existing constitutional powers given through the courts.

Generally, a federation is shaped at two stages: the central government and the areas, and little to nothing are said in relation to the second or third stage administrative political entities. Brazil is an exception, because the 1988 Constitution incorporated the municipalities as autonomous political entities creation the federation tripartite, encompassing the Union, the States, and the municipalities. Each state is divided into municipalities with their own legislative council and a mayor, which are partly autonomous from both Federal and State Government. Each municipality has a "little constitution", described "organic law". Mexico is an intermediate case, in that municipalities are granted full-autonomy through the federal constitution and their subsistence as autonomous entities is recognized through the federal government and cannot be revoked through the states' constitutions. Moreover, the federal constitution determines which powers and competencies belong

exclusively to the municipalities and not to the constituent states. Though, municipalities do not have an elected legislative assembly.

Federations often employ the paradox of being a union of states, while still being states in themselves. For instance, James Madison wrote in Federalist Paper No. 39 that the US Constitution "is in strictness neither a national nor a federal constitution; but a composition of both. In its basis, it is federal, not national; in the sources from which the ordinary powers of the Government are drawn, it is partly federal, and partly national..." This stems from the information that states in a federation uphold all sovereignty that they do not yield to the federation through their own consent. This was reaffirmed through the Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which reserves all powers and rights that are not delegated to the Federal Government as left to the States and to the people.

- *Organs of Government*

The structures of mainly federal governments incorporate mechanisms to protect the rights of component states. One way, recognized as 'intrastate federalism', is to directly symbolize the governments of component states in federal political organizations. Where a federation has a bicameral legislature the upper house is often used to symbolize the component states while the lower house symbolizes the people of the nation as a whole. A federal upper house may be based on a special scheme of apportionment, as is the case in the senates of the United States and Australia, where each state is represented through an equal number of senators irrespective of the size of its population.

Alternatively, or in addition to this practice, the members of an upper house may be indirectly elected through the government or legislature of the component states, as occurred in the United States prior to 1913, or be actual members or delegates of the state governments, as, for instance, is the case in the German Bundesrat and in the Council of the European Union. The lower house of a federal legislature is generally directly elected, with apportionment

in proportion to population, although states may sometimes still be guaranteed a sure minimum number of seats.

In Canada, the provincial governments symbolize local interests and negotiate directly with the central government. A First Ministers conference of the prime minister and the provincial premiers is the de facto highest political forum in the land, although it is not mentioned in the constitution.

Federations often have special procedures for amendment of the federal constitution. As well as reflecting the federal structure of the state this may guarantee that the self-governing status of the component states cannot be abolished without their consent. An amendment to the constitution of the United States necessity is ratified through three-quarters of either the state legislatures, or of constitutional conventions specially elected in each of the states, before it can approach into effect. In referendums to amend the constitutions of Australia and Switzerland it is required that a proposal be endorsed not presently through an overall majority of the electorate in the nation as a entire, but also through separate majorities in each of a majority of the states or cantons. In Australia, this latter requirement is recognized as a *double majority*.

Some federal constitutions also give that sure constitutional amendments cannot happen without the unanimous consent of all states or of a scrupulous state. The US constitution gives that no state may be deprived of equal representation in the senate without its consent. In Australia, if a proposed amendment will specifically impact one or more states, then it necessity is endorsed in the referendum held in each of those states. Any amendment to the Canadian constitution that would vary the role of the monarchy would need unanimous consent of the provinces. The German Vital Law gives that no amendment is admissible at all that would abolish the federal organization.

- *Other Technological Conditions*

Fiscal federalism – federalism involving the transfer of funds flanked by dissimilar stages of government.

Formal federalism– the delineation of powers is specified in a written constitution.

Executive federalism.

Federalism as a Political Philosophy

The meaning of *federalism*, as a political movement, and of what constitutes a 'federalist', varies with country and historical context. Movements associated with the establishment or growth of federations can be either centralizing or decentralizing. For instance, at the time those nations were being recognized, factions recognized as 'federalists' in the United States and Australia were those who advocated the making of strong central government. Likewise, in European Union politics, federalists are mostly those who seek greater EU integration. In contrast, in Spain and post-war Germany, federal movements have sought decentralization: the transfer of power from central authorities to regional units. In Canada, where Quebec separatism has been a political force for many decades, the 'federalist' force is specialized to keeping Quebec inside Canada.

ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT: EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY

Executive

The executive is the section of government that has sole power and responsibility for the daily administration of the state. The executive branch executes the law. The division of power into separate branches of government is central to the thought of the isolation of powers.

In some countries, the term "government" connotes only the executive branch. Though, this usage fails to differentiate flanked by despotic and democratic shapes of government. In authoritarian systems, such as a

dictatorship or absolute monarchy, where the dissimilar powers of government are assumed through one person or small oligarchy, the executive branch ceases to exist since there is no other branch with which to share separate but equal governmental powers.

The isolation of powers organization is intended to distribute power absent from the executive branch—an effort to preserve individual liberty in response to tyrannical leadership during history. The executive officer is not supposed to create laws or interpret them. The role of the executive is to enforce the law as written through the legislature and interpreted through the judicial organization.

Responsibility

The top leadership roles of the executive branch may contain:

Head of state—often the *de jure* leader, the chief public representative and livelihood symbol of national unity.

- Head of government—often the *de facto* leader, overseeing the administration of all affairs of state and enforcing the law.
 - Defense minister—overseeing the armed forces, managing and determining military policy.
 - Fund minister—overseeing the treasury and national budget, managing and determining fiscal policy.
 - Foreign minister—overseeing the diplomatic service, managing and determining foreign policy.

In a presidential organization the leader of the executive branch is at once the *head of state and head of government*. In a parliamentary organization, a cabinet minister responsible to the legislature is the head of government, while the head of state is a mainly ceremonial monarch or president.

Legislature

A legislature is a type of deliberative assembly with the power to pass, amend, and repeal laws. The law created through a legislature is described legislation or statutory law. In addition to enacting laws, legislatures generally

have exclusive power to raise or lower taxes and adopt the budget and other money bills. Legislatures are recognized through several names, the mainly general being parliament and congress, although these conditions also have more specific meanings.

In parliamentary systems of government, the legislature is formally supreme and appoints a member from its home as the prime minister which acts as the executive. In a presidential organization, just as to the isolation of powers doctrine, the legislature is measured an self-governing and coequal branch of government beside with both the judiciary and the executive.

The primary components of a legislature are one or more *chambers* or *homes*: assemblies that can debate and vote upon bills. A legislature with only one home is described unicameral. A bicameral legislature possesses two separate chambers, generally called as an upper home and a lower home, which often differ in duties, powers, and the ways used for the selection of members. Much rarer have been tricameral legislatures; the Massachusetts Governor's Council still exists, but the mainly recent national instance lived in the waning years of Caucasian-minority rule in South Africa.

In mainly parliamentary systems, the lower home is the more powerful home while the upper home is merely a chamber of advice or review. Though, in presidential systems, the powers of the two homes are often same or equal. In federations, it is typical for the upper home to symbolize the component states; the similar applies to the supranational legislature of the European Union. For this purpose, the upper home may either include the delegates of state governments, as is the case in the European Union and in Germany and was the case in the United States before 1913, or be elected just as to a formula that grants equal representation to states with smaller populations, as is the case in Australia and the modern United States.

Because members of legislatures generally sit jointly in a specific room to deliberate, seats in that room may be assigned exclusively to members of the legislature. In parliamentary language, the term *seat* is sometimes used to

mean that someone is a member of a legislature. For instance, saying that a legislature has 100 "seats" means that there are 100 members of the legislature, and saying that someone is "contesting a seat" means they are trying to get elected as a member of the legislature. Through extension, the term *seat* is often used in less formal contexts to refer to an electoral district itself, as for instance in the phrases "safe seat" and "marginal seat".

Functions of Legislatures

Since the time of Aristotle it has been carried that the functions of the government can be grouped into three categories; to create laws, to execute them and to adjudicate them. The three organs corresponding to these three functions are the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The legislature unquestionably occupies the mainly significant lay as it formulates and expresses the will of the state. Although the emergence of the welfare state, to a big extent, has minimized the importance of the legislature, the legislature continues to be a important organ of any form of government.

- ***Functions***

The functions of legislatures are not the similar in every country. The form of government in each state determines their function. The nature and extent of role a legislature plays under a monarchy or aristocracy is dissimilar from that of a legislature in a democracy.

The legislature plays extremely important role in a Parliamentary Organization of government under such a organization the legislature is larger to the executive. The executive remnants responsible and answerable to the legislature for all its actions. Continuing in power on the section of the executive depends on the satisfaction and support of the legislature.

Although the organization, nature and functions of the legislatures differ from country to country, their largest functions are more or less the similar. They may be classified as legislative, regulatory, financial, deliberative, judicial, constituent and electoral functions.

Legislative functions: Law creation is the foremost function of a legislature as it is the direct source of legislation. Law is regarded as the expression or the will of the people. The laws reflect the changing circumstances of community and the new social environment. The policies of the government are put to executive however the laws made through legislature. The laws have to adjust themselves to the ever changing necessities of the community. So one of the biggest functions of the legislature besides creation law, amending and repealing them wherever they become obsolete or outdated. Laws are enacted just as to prescribed procedure of the constitution. The law creation powers of the legislatures are absolute. They are limited through the provisions of the constitution.

Regulatory Functions: Under Parliamentary Organization of government the legislature exercises its immediate and direct manage in excess of the executive. The executive is under responsible and answerable to the legislature for all its actions. The legislature exercises its manage through a) asking questions to the ministers to elicit significant information relating to matters of administration and matters of public importance. Secondly b) it, can move adjournment motions or raise debates to point out specific lapses of the government and mainly importantly c) it can move no confidence motion. However such a motion it can express its lack of confidence in the government, which if passed through the legislature forces the party in power to resign. These powers of the legislature regulate the working of the government to a big extent.

Financial Powers: The legislature has extremely significant powers are the field of fund. It acts as the guardian of national purse. It regulates the "income and expenditure of the government in respect of its several projects, administrative and welfare. People's money necessity be controlled and spent under the supervision and manage of their representatives to prevent its misuse and wasteful expenditure. The theory no taxation without representation recognizes the supremacy of the legislature, which is the finance raising and finance granting power. It is a fundamental principle, recognized in all civilized country, that no tax shall be composed or expenditure be made without the approval of the legislature. All proposals for financial legislation are routed by the popular chamber.

Deliberative Functions: The Legislature is a deliberative body, a forum where several persons symbolize numerous interests, several points of view of dissimilar parts of the society. This is a body which facilitates determination of policies and legislation by a procedure of debate and discussion. This discussion gives with opportunities to each member not only to present the view and perception of his party but also permits to mould his own views in light of the discussion made in the Home In excess of and above the several viewpoints presented in the

Home contribute to the development of political consciousness of the people in common and educate the members of executive to discover out the solutions to several troubles in scrupulous. By this power the legislative acts as a link flanked by the public and the government.

Judicial Function: The legislature also exercises some judicial function. Sure countries have entrusted to their legislatures the function of trying high constitutional authorities like the head of the executive, members of judicially and other constitutional bodies by the motion of impeachment. In India the President, the judges of Supreme Court, the members of U.P.S.C, the Comptroller and Auditor Common can be impeached through the Parliament after fulfilling sure constitutional formalities. In England the Upper Home of the Parliament Acts as the highest court of appeal. Also in United States the President can be impeached through the Senate. Extremely often the legislatures appoint commissions of inquiry relating to trade, commerce, agriculture, industry etc.

Constitutional Functions: The legislatures also have constitutional functions to perform. Mainly of the legislatures have been entrusted with the powers to amend the constitution. In India all amendment proposals can be initiated only in the legislature. Therefore is the case with Britain and U.S.A. In all such cases the legislature exercises its constituent powers under a number of procedural restrictions.

Electoral Functions: Several of the legislatures participate in electoral functions. The Indian Parliament takes section in the election of the President and Vice-President of India. It also elects some its members to several committees of the Home. It elects its presiding and deputy presiding administrators.

Kinds of Legislatures

Two general kinds of legislature are those in which the executive and the legislative branches are clearly separated, as in the U.S. Congress, and those in which members of the executive branch are chosen from the legislative membership, as in the British Parliament. Respectively termed presidential and parliamentary systems, there are innumerable variations of the two shapes. It should be noted that while popular assemblies of citizens, as in direct democracy, are often described legislatures, the term should properly be applied only to those assemblies that perform a representative function.

In its early history, the English Parliament, like the States-Common of France and the diet of the Holy Roman Empire consisted of representatives

chosen just as to classes or estates. Out of the estates arose the typical bicameral organization, in which an upper house represented the nobility and clergy and a lower house represented the bourgeoisie. Although the upper house assemblies of several countries are still nonelective or hereditary, they are usually much weaker than the popularly elected lower house and carry out only minor functions. Those states with unicameral legislatures contain Finland and Israel.

The Congress of the United States is bicameral, but rather than being rooted in societal class differences, it is based upon principles of federalism. The founders of the American republic, in order to assure acceptance of the Constitution, gave each state equal representation in the Senate, as a gesture to the smaller states, and made membership in the House of Representatives dependent upon population size, thereby favoring the superior states. Mainly of the American state legislatures are also bicameral.

Decline of the Legislature

In the twentieth century, the power of the legislature is on its decline. The causes are as follows.

The Concept of Welfare State: The two World Wars, economic depression and intricate troubles of contemporary life converted all states into welfare states. The concept of social welfare has strengthened the hands of the executive. The executive has become a multi-functioning organ. The rise in the power of the executive has led to corresponding decline in the powers of the legislature.

Growth of Science and Technology: The growth of science and technology has made the community intricate. Therefore intricate laws are necessary to tackle social troubles. The contemporary legislature, being composed of amateur politicians, lacks scientific and technological knowledge. So, it creates laws in broader principles and delegates some legislative power to the executive.

Rigidity of the Party Organization: The party whip has increased day through day. Rigid party discipline has curtailed the independence of the ordinary members of the legislature and reduced the debate to a mechanical stage. On the other hand, the party whip has strengthened the hands of the executive.

Delegated Legislation: Legislatures lack the time and technological competence to trade with the ever-rising volume of legislation in a contemporary state. As a result, the legislature passes the laws in broad outline and delegates the power of creation details of laws to the executive. Through this delegated legislation the civil servants enjoy enormous power and power. In the welfare states of today the executive has gained leadership in the matter of governmental operation.

Meeting Emergencies and crisis situations: Contemporary states are faced with many crises and emergencies. War, financial crisis, natural disasters like earthquakes, cyclones and floods demand immediate response and that can be done only through the executive. The legislature, being a big body of motley crowd, cannot rise to the occasion. As a result, its importance has declined.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Define monarchy and describe its features.

What is a monarchical form of government?

Compare and contrast a unitary political system with a federal one.

What is a federation?

What is a decentralized union? Explain with examples.

Why has the modern executive become more powerful?

Chapter 6

Patterns of Political Participation and Representation

STRUCTURE

Learning objectives

Electoral Process

Party System

Pressure Groups

Review Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you will be able to:

Explain the meaning of electoral process.

Compare various systems of election.
Recall the origin of party system.
Explain the meaning and nature of political parties.
Analyze the role of pressure groups in democratic politics.
Explain the types of pressure groups.

ELECTORAL PROCESS

Majoritarian Systems

A distinction may be drawn flanked by the absolute majoritarian system, as in France, in which the winner has to achieve at least half the total number of votes polled; the plurality system in India and several English-speaking countries; the several shapes of proportional representation tem.

First-Past-the-Post System

Plurality system o f election is one of the mainly prevalent systems of representation. It is often referred to as 'first-past-the-post', comparative majority, or more commonly called as the easy plurality system. It implies that the winner is the candidate who receives the maximum number of votes. Examples are Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabha elections in India. It is also used in the Philippines, and Venezuela and for members of the lower homes of the legislatures in Canada, United Kingdom, and United States. Just as to the single majority system, it is possible to win an election without winning a majority of votes. For example, in an election, in which three candidates receive 40, 35, and 25 per cent of votes, respectively, the winner is the candidate who received 40 per cent of the vote. In information, in a three-candidate contest, a candidate can win with presently in excess of one-third of the total vote if each of the other two candidates receive presently below one-third of the votes. As the number of candidates increases. the minimum number o f votes that may be enough for election decreases. This way is described first-past-the-post system because it resembles a race in which one who reaches the victory post first is declared the winner irrespective of the

time taken through him. In election, it means the one with maximum number of votes wins the seat, even if it is less than half of total votes polled.

In several democracies the possibility that a candidate can win without receiving a majority of the votes has been measured undesirable. One objection to plurality has been that the democratic principle of majority rule is violated if a candidate is elected who has received less than a majority of the votes and against whom a majority of the votes has been cast.

Second Ballot System

In order to ensure that the candidate who is declared elected secures more than fifty per cent votes, some ways have been used. One of these majority ways is to use, as several rounds of voting as are necessary to elect a candidate with an absolute majority. In the Third and Fourth French Republics the repeated-ballots way was used for the election of the President of the Republic through joint sessions of the two houses of the national legislature. Though, the biggest drawback of the way is that a big number of rounds of voting may be necessary, therefore creation it impractical for mass elections. A diversity of this way is also used through both the biggest American political parties in their national conventions, to select their presidential candidates.

Two rounds of voting constitute the practical limit for mass elections, and there are two ways that are based on this two-ballot or double-ballot, format: the mixed majority-plurality way and the majority-runoff way. The mixed majority-plurality way needs a majority for election on the first ballot; if no candidate has received such a majority, a second ballot is mannered, and the winner is the candidate who wins main number of the votes. The biggest instance is the electoral system for the French National Assembly.

Other Ways

Two additional majoritarian ways that are less commonly practiced but highly recommended through experts on electoral procedure are:

Limited Vote Plan, invented through political scientist Steven J. Branis, entails a slight amendment to the plurality rule: voters can cast votes for as several candidates as they like instead of only for their mainly preferred candidate. For example, if there are five seats, voters call vote for one, two, three, or four of these candidates but not for five candidates to not voting at all. If several voters create use of the opportunity to cast two or more votes, the winner is likely to be a majority winner, even when the field of candidates is comparatively big. Limited Vote Plan, also described Approval voting, has been adopted through many private associations but has not yet been used for the election of public officials. In the 1990 parliamentary elections in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine, though, the electoral formula asked the voters to strike out the names of candidates of whom they disapproved; this way of disapproval voting is logically equivalent to approval voting. The variation in these elections was that additional rules specified that the winner needed to win an absolute majority of the votes and that the turnout had to be 50 per cent or higher - with the election to be repeated if one or both of these necessities was not met.

The Condorcet way, invented through the Marquis de Condorcet, an eighteenth century French mathematician, disaggregates a multi-candidate contest into a series of two-candidate contests. It asks the voters to choose flanked by each of the possible pairs of candidates. For example, when there are three candidates - A, B, and C- voters are asked to choose flanked by A and B, flanked by A and C, and flanked by B and C. The Condorcet winner is the candidate who defeats all other candidates in these pair wise contests. For example, if a majority of the voters prefers A to B and also A to C, candidate A wins.

For some the Condorcet way is the mainly accurate and fairest majoritarian ways but this ways also has some drawbacks. The mainly serious of these is the possibility, exposed through Condorcet himself, that there may not be a single Condorcet winner. The average illustration of this problem involves three voters and three candidates. The first voter has the preference order A-B-C B to C, and A to C; the second voter's preference order is B-C-A,

and the third voter's is C-A-B. Collectively, the three voters prefer A to B, B to C, and C to A. Such examples do not happen often, though, and in case they do they call is resolved through some additional rule like the alternative vote.

Another problem seems to be that the Condorcet way is extremely complicated for both voters and vote counters. When there are three candidates in an election, there are only three pairs of candidates, and the decisions are fairly easy. But when, for example, eight candidates compete, there are twenty-eight pairs to be compared. Voters require not pick their favorites from all possible pairs of candidates, though; they require only indicate their preference orders in the middle of all the candidates. Then their preferences in each pair wise contest can be logically deduced. The counting can be performed easily through computer.

Shortcomings of Majoritarian Systems

One of the serious short comings of majoritarian electoral system has been that when an whole legislature is elected through majoritarian ways, big parties tend to be favored. The cause is that in each single-member constituency the candidates of small parties do not have much of a chance to be elected. Hence majoritarian elections tend to yield considerable disproportional flanked by votes cast and seats won as a result of the overrepresentation of the main parties and the under representation of small parties. British parliamentary elections, which are held just as to easy majority system, or the first-past-the-post system, give a good instance of this pattern. In the four elections flanked by 1979 and 1992, the Conservative Party won an standard of 42.6 per cent of the total vote but 56.0 per cent of the seats. The Labor Party won 32.4 per cent of the vote and 37.8 per cent of the seats. The third party won 19.9 per cent of the vote and only 2.9 per cent of seats. The regionally concentrated ethnic parties jointly received 4.2 per cent of the vote

and 3.2 per cent of the seats. The main party got more than its share and the third party was the mainly disadvantaged. In the 1993 National Assembly elections in France, the two big allied conservative parties won 79.7 per cent of the seats after getting only 39.5 per cent of the first-ballot votes. It can also happen Zealand in 1978 and 1981 that the second main party in conditions of votes wilts through comparatively narrow margins in comparatively several districts - and therefore wins a majority of the seats and the election.

In India, no ruling party at the Centre ever secured fifty per cent or more of the total votes polled. This is because of big number of parties, and candidates. The winning candidates often get lesser number of votes than the number of votes secured through all the defeated candidates taken jointly.

Proportional Representation

Proportional representation to elect an assembly or council. PR means that the number of seats won through a party or group of candidates is proportionate to the number of votes received. For instance, under a PR voting system, if 30% of voters support a scrupulous party then roughly 30% of seats will be won through that party. PR is an alternative to voting systems based on single-member districts or on bloc voting; these non-PR systems tend to produce disproportionate outcomes and to have a bias in favor of superior political groups. PR systems tend to produce a proliferation of political parties. There are several dissimilar shapes of proportional representation. Some are focused solely on achieving the proportional representation of dissimilar political parties while others permit the voter to choose flanked by individual candidates. The degree of proportionality also varies; it is determined through factors such as the precise formula used to allocate seats, the number of seats in each constituency or in the elected body as a entire, and the stage of any minimum threshold for election.

Single Winner Systems

PR is often contrasted with single winner electoral systems. The mainly general of these is the winner-takes-all system general in some countries of the former British empire, such as the United States, the UK, Canada and India. Mainly nations use the alternative systems, called as shapes of "proportional representation". Single Winner Systems tend to promote strongest two-party competition as in the United States, with Canada being a notable exception to this rule. Effectively it eliminates smaller parties from parliament.

Voting Systems that Achieve More Party-Proportional Representation

Proportional systems emphasize the political agenda through parties, since parties often function at the heart of proportional representation. For instance, a party that receives 15% of the votes under such a system receives 15% of the seats for its candidates. Though, nations with proportional voting may differ in that some emphasize the individuals within the parties, such as the system in the Netherlands, while other nations only allow voting for parties, such as in the Italian electoral system.

The majority of debate in relation to the voting systems is in relation to the whether to move to more proportionality. This is because the recognized parties in current US and UK elections can, and mainly often do, win formal manage of the parliament with support from as little as 20-25% of eligible voters, at the cost of smaller parties. In Canada the situation is arguably more biased, with governments frequently shaped through parties with support of under 40% of actual voters holding majority power for full four-year conditions. Coupled with turnout stages in the electorate of less than 60%, this can lead to a party obtaining a majority government through convincing as few as one quarter of the electorate to vote for them.

Dissimilar ways of achieving proportional representation achieve either greater proportionality or a more determinate outcome.

Party-list proportional representation is one approach, in which each political party presents its list of candidates: voters chose a party list. The open list form allows the voter to power the election of individual candidates within a party list. The closed list approach does not: the party chooses the order with its highest ranked candidates more likely to be elected.

Another difference is the single transferable vote parties. Voters rank candidates in order of preference: if their mainly preferred candidate receives insufficient votes, the vote is transferred to the second choice and therefore on. Elections for the Australian Senate use what is referred to as above-the-row voting where candidates for each party are grouped on the ballot, allowing the voter to vote for the group or for a candidate. In elections to the Irish Dáil Éireann, candidates are listed on the ballot in alphabetic order, irrespective of party affiliation.

The parties each list their candidates just as to that party's determination of priorities. In closed list systems, voters vote for a list of candidates, with the party choosing the order of candidates on the list. Each party is allocated seats in proportion to the number of votes it receives, by the party-determined ranking order. In an open list, voters may vote, depending on the model, for one person, or for two, or indicate their order of preference within the list – nevertheless the number of candidates elected from the list is determined through the number of votes the list receives.

This system is used in several countries, including Finland, Latvia, Sweden, Israelis constituency, Brazil, the Netherlands, Russia, South Africa, Democratic Republic of the Congo. For elections to the European Parliament, mainly member states use open lists; but mainly big EU countries use closed lists, therefore that the majority of EP seats are distributed through those.

- *Additional-member System, Mixed-Member System*

Mixed election systems combine a national or local proportional system with single seat constituencies elected through a single winner system,

attempting to achieve some of the positive characteristics of each. Mixed systems are often helpful in countries with big populations, since they balance regional and national concerns. They are used in nations with diverse geographic, social, cultural and economic issues.

Such systems, or variations of them, are used in sections of the United Kingdom, Germany, Lesotho, Mexico, Bolivia and New Zealand. Italy has changed flanked by sub-systems.

- *Single Transferable Vote in a Multi-Member Constituency*

This system uses single transferable vote, a ranked voting system.

Each constituency elects two or more representatives per electorate. Consequently the constituency is equivalent in size to the sum of single member constituencies that would produce the similar number of representatives. Parties tend to offer as several candidates as they optimistically could anticipate to win: biggest parties nominate more than minor parties. Voters rank some or all candidates in order of their choice. A successful candidate necessity achieve a quota, which is "calculated through dividing the Total Valid Poll through one more than the number of seats to be filled, ignoring any remainder and then adding 1 vote." Only in a few cases is this achieved at the first count. For the second count, if a candidate wins election her/his surplus vote is transferred to the voters' second choices; otherwise, the least popular candidate is eliminated and those votes are redistributed just as to the second preference shown on them. If more than one candidate cannot get sufficient votes after the transfer of votes of the least popular candidate, that candidate is also eliminated round anyway.

The procedure repeats until all seats are filled either when the required number of candidates achieve the quota or until the number of remaining candidates matches the number of remaining seats. Although the counting procedure is complicated, voting is clear and mainly voters get at least one of their preferences elected.

All deputies are answerable directly to their regional constituents. Some political scientists argue that STV is more properly classified as 'semi-proportional' as there is no assurance of a proportional result at a national stage. Indeed, several advocates of STV argue that preventing nationwide proportionality is one of the primary goals of the system, to avoid the perceived risks of a fragmented legislature.

This system is used in the Upper House in India, Australia, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Malta, regional government elections in Scotland and selected regional governments in New Zealand.

- *Loser Delegation in a Single-Member Constituency*

"Loser delegation" voting can produce still greater representation in legislatures. This system allows losing candidates to delegate the votes they receive to the winning candidate in their own or in another district without regard to party. Delegated votes don't affect who enters the legislature, but they do affect subsequent legislative votes. Each representative's legislative votes are weighted through the sum of the direct and delegated votes they received. Delegated voting can be combined with first-past-the-post, instant-runoff, or other counting rules that determine the winning candidate.

For instance, believe a district where Alice receives 45% of the votes, while Bob takes 40%, leaving Charlie with the remaining 15%. Under traditional first-past-the-post rules, Alice wins, leaving 55% of the voters without representation. In instant run-off, if 80% of Charlie's voters picked Bob as their second choice, he would win in the second round, with 52% of the final total to Alice's 48%, bringing second-choice representation to 7% of the voters, while leaving Alice's voters without a voice.

Under loser delegation in the instant-runoff case, Bob joins the legislature, while Alice can assign her votes to Dave, who beat Sue with 56% in a surrounding district. Now those who voted for Alice have in relation to the as much voice in legislation as Bob's voters; nobody is left unrepresented.

Bob effectively casts 52 votes, Dave casts $56 + 48$ or 104, and also-moderate Fran casts 58 ct. Of course, the losers in Dave and Fran's districts also get to delegate their votes, therefore Bob could conceivably end up casting $52 + 44 + 42$ or 138 votes.

Though, combining delegation with first-past-the-post may be a bigger choice because that method Charlie can provide his votes to Fran instead of seeing them handed to Bob following the runoff. Now Alice casts 45 as her district's representative, Bob delegates his 40 to Sue to add to her 44, Dave stays at 56, and Fran totals $58 + 15$ or 73.

History

The British schoolmaster Thomas Wright Hill is credited as inventor of the single transferable vote, the use of which he called in 1821 for application in elections at his school. The way, which guarantees proportional representation, was introduced in 1840 through his son Rowland Hill into the public election for the Adelaide Municipality Council. Unlike many later systems, this did not allow for party-list proportional representation.

Single Transferable Vote was first used in Denmark in 1857, creation STV the oldest PR system, but the system used there never really spread. STV was re-invented in the UK, but the British parliament rejected it.

A party-list proportional representation system was first devised and called in 1878 through Victor D'Hondt of Belgium. The procedure, recognized as the D'Hondt way, is still widely used. Victor Considérant, a utopian socialist, devised a same system in an 1892 book. Some Swiss cantons preceded Belgium which was the first to adopt list-PR in 1900 for its national parliament. Several European countries adopted same systems throughout or after World War I.

STV was used in Tasmania in 1907. In the last Irish elections to the UK Parliament in 1919, STV was used in the University of Dublin constituency; two Self-governing Unionists were elected. STV has been in use

since Irish independence. A largely centrist party, Fianna Fáil, typically receives 30%-50% of the vote while opposition parties, traditionally the centre-right Fine Gael and the centre-left Labour Party, are comparatively weak. This has led to a series of coalition governments; there has not been a single-party government since 1989.

PR is used through more nations than the single winner system, and it dominates Europe, including Germany, mainly of northern and eastern Europe, and is used for European Parliament elections. France adopted PR at the end of World War II, but discarded it in 1958. In 1986 it was used for parliament elections.

While First-past-the-post voting is commonly establish in countries based on the British parliamentary system, and in Westminster elections in the United Kingdom, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh National Assembly use a form of PR recognized as the mixed member system, after New Zealand adopted it in 1993. Five Canadian provinces—British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick— are debating whether to abolish FPTP.

PR has some history in the United States. Several municipalities, including New York Municipality, once used it to break up the Democratic Party municipality council's monopolies on elective office. Cincinnati, Ohio, adopted PR in 1925 to get rid of a Republican Party] but the Republicans returned the municipality to FPTP in 1957. From 1870 to 1980, Illinois used a semi-proportional cumulative voting system to elect its State House of Representatives. Each district crossways the state elected both Republicans and Democrats year-after-year. Cambridge, Massachusetts and Peoria, Illinois continue to use PR. San Francisco had municipality-wide elections where people would cast votes for five or six candidates simultaneously, delivering some of the benefits of proportional representation.

Overcoming Practical Difficulties in Creating a World Parliamentary Assembly, Joseph E. Schwartzberg proposes the use of proportional

representation in the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly in order to prevent, for example, lower castes of Indians from being excluded.

Incomplete Proportionality

Some nations with proportional elections, like Israel and the Netherlands, have one electoral district only: the whole nation, and the whole pie are cut up just as to the whole outcome. Mainly nations have district systems in lay where more than one person is elected per district. The constituency or district magnitude the number of seats per constituency. The greater the number of seats in a constituency, the more proportional the outcome will be. PR applied to a single-member district e constituency is in a jurisdiction by list PR in its multimember districts the winning candidate requires a comparative majority of the votes to win, therefore that the election in the SMD is through first-past-the-post. If the constituency is in a jurisdiction by PR-STV in its MMDs, an absolute majority of 50% plus 1 will likely be the minimum required for victory therefore that the election in the SMD is through the alternative vote. Four elected officials per district delivers a threshold of 20% to gain a single seat. Though, constituency borders can still be gerrymandered to reduce proportionality. This may be achieved through creating "majority-minority" constituencies - constituencies in which the majority is shaped through a group of voters that are in the minority at a higher stage. Proportional representation with the whole nation electing the single body cannot be gerrymandered.

Multimember districts do not necessarily ensure that an electoral system will be proportional. The bloc vote can result in "super-majoritarian" results in which geographical variations can make majority-minority districts that become subsumed into the superior districts. Also, a party that does not run sufficient people to fill all the seats it wins may be given those unfilled seats.

Some nations, with either exclusively proportional representation or—as is the case with Germany—additional member systems, need a party list to achieve an election threshold—a set minimum percentage of votes to receive any seats. Typically, this lower limit is flanked by two and five percent of the number of votes cast. Parties who do not reach that support are not represented in parliament, creating majorities, coalitions and therefore governments easier to achieve. Proponents of election thresholds argue that they discourage fragmentation, disproportionate power, or extremist parties. Opponents of thresholds argue that they unfairly redirect support from minor parties, giving parties which cross the threshold disproportionate numbers of seats and creating the possibility that a party or coalition will assume management of the legislature without gaining a majority of votes. The main general method of measuring proportionality is the Gallagher Index.

PARTY SYSTEM

A party system is a concept in comparative political science regarding the system of government through political parties in a democratic country. The thought is that political parties have vital similarities: they manage the government, have a stable foundation of mass popular support, and make internal mechanisms for controlling funding, information and nominations.

The concept was originated through European scholars learning the United States, especially James Bryce and Moisey Ostrogorsky, and has been expanded to cover other democracies. Giovanni Sartori devised the mainly widely used classification way for party systems. He suggested that party systems should be classified through the number of relevant parties and the degree of fragmentation. Party systems can be distinguished through the effective number of parties.

Functions of Political parties

- They contest elections through putting up their selected candidates. Candidates are either selected through members and supporters of a party or top leaders chase candidates for contesting elections.
- Political parties offer dissimilar policies and programs and the voters have the right to choose from them. They reduce a huge multitude of opinions into a few vital positions which it supports. It is the ruling party that decides rows and directions of ruling the government.
- Political parties form and run governments and political executives from such party take large policy decisions. They recruit leaders, train them and create them ministers to run the government as per their requires.
- They play a decisive role in creation laws for a country.
- The losing political party plays the role of opposition to the parties in power. They raise their voice on government failures and wrong policies. These parties also rally opposition to the government.
- Political parties shape public opinion as they raise and highlight significant issues. They along with pressure groups touch movements in the interest of the people.
- Political parties give access to government machinery and welfare schemes implemented through governments.

Principal Kinds of Party Systems

As political parties symbolize several opinions in a democracy, a diversity of political parties should characterize democratic system. In reality, though, number of viable parties differs from country to country in accordance with legal necessities and peculiar conditions obtaining in a scrupulous country. In Great Britain and the United States, for instance, a two-party system prevails, while in majority of countries including India and France, multi-party system has approach in to subsistence. On the other hand, in authoritarian and Communist countries like China one-party system operates. It, so, seems useful to analyze the comparative merits and demerits of these kinds of party systems.

Single-Party State

A single-party state, one-party state, one-party system or single-party system is a kind of state in which a single political party shapes the

government, generally based on the existing constitution. All other parties are either outlawed or allowed to take only a limited and controlled participation in the election.

Sometimes the term *de facto* single-party state is used to define a dominant-party system that, unlike the single party state, allows democratic multiparty elections, but the existing practices or balance of political power effectively prevent the opposition from winning the elections.

Some single party states only outlaw opposition parties, while allowing subordinate allied parties to exist as section of a permanent coalition such as a popular front. Within their own countries, dominant parties ruling in excess of single-party states are often referred to basically as *the Party*. For instance, in reference to the Soviet Union, *the Party* meant the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; in reference to the former People's Republic of Poland it referred to the Polish United Workers' Party.

Some one-party states may allow non-party members to run for legislative seats, as was the case with Taiwan's Tangwai movement in the 1970s and 1980s. Other single-party states may allow limited participation through approved minor parties, such as the People's Republic of China under the United Front, or the National Front in former East Germany.

Mainly single-party states have been ruled either through parties following the ideology of Marxism-Leninism or international solidarity, such as the Soviet Union for mainly of its subsistence, through parties following some kind of nationalist or fascist ideology, such as Germany under Adolf Hitler, or parties that came to power in the wake of independence from colonial rule. One-party systems often arise from decolonization because one party has had an overwhelmingly dominant role in liberation or in independence struggles. Not all authoritarian states and dictatorships operate based on single-party rule. Some, especially absolute monarchies and sure military dictatorships, have made all political parties illegal.

The term "Communist state" is often used in the west to apply to states in which the ruling party subscribes to a form of Marxism-Leninism. Though, such states do not use that term themselves, seeing communism as a stage to develop after the full maturation of socialism, and instead often use the titles of "people's republic," "socialist republic," or "democratic republic." One peculiar instance is Cuba, where the role of the Communist Party is enshrined in the constitution, and no party is permitted to campaign or run candidates for election, including the Communist party. Candidates are elected on an individual referendum foundation without formal party involvement, however elected assemblies predominantly consist of members of the dominant party alongside non-affiliated candidates.

- *Examples*

The True Whig Party of Liberia is measured the founder of the first single-party state in the world, as despite opposition parties never being outlawed, it totally dominated Liberian politics from 1878 until 1980. The party was conceived through the original Black American settlers and their descendants who referred to themselves as Americo-Liberians. Initially, its ideology was heavily convinced through that of the Whig Party in the United States. In excess of time it urbanized into a powerful Masonic Order that ruled every aspect of Liberian community for well in excess of a century until it was overthrown in 1980. While the True Whig Party still exists today, its power has considerably declined.

Two-Party System

A two-party system is a system where two biggest political parties control voting in almost all elections at every stage of government and, as a result, all or almost all elected offices are members of one of the two biggest parties. Under a two-party system, one of the two parties typically holds a majority in the legislature and is generally referred to as the *majority party* while the other is the *minority party*. While the term *two-party system* is

somewhat imprecise and has been used in dissimilar countries to mean dissimilar things, there is considerable agreement that a system is measured to be of a *two-party* nature when election results illustrate uniformly that all or almost all elected officials only belong to one of the two biggest parties, such as in the United States. This can lead to nondemocratic events that reduce ballot access for other parties. In these cases, the chances for third party candidates winning election to any office are remote, although it's possible for groups within the superior parties, or in opposition to one or both of them, to exert power on the two biggest parties.

- *Examples*

There is strong agreement that the United States has a two-party system; historically, there have been few instances in which third party candidates won an election. In countries such as Britain and Spain, two biggest parties emerge which have strong power and tend to elect mainly of the candidates, but a multitude of lesser parties exist with varying degrees of power, and sometimes these lesser parties are able to elect officials who participate in the legislature. A statement in the *Christian Science Monitor*, for instance, suggested that Spain was moving towards a "greater two-party system" while acknowledging that Spain has "several small parties." In political systems based on the Westminster system, which is a scrupulous approach of parliamentary democracy based on the British model and establish in several commonwealth countries, a majority party will form the government and the minority party will form the opposition, and coalitions of lesser parties are possible; in the unusual circumstance in which neither party is the majority, a hung parliament arises. Sometimes these systems are called as *two-party systems* but they are generally referred to as *multi-party systems*. There is not always a sharp frontier flanked by a two-party system and a multi-party system.

Usually, a two-party system becomes a dichotomous division of the political spectrum with an ostensibly right-wing and left-wing party: Nationalist Party vs. Labour Party in Malta, Liberal vs. Labor in Australia, Republicans vs. Democrats in the United States and the Conservative Party vs. the Labour Party in the United Kingdom

Examples of countries with two-party systems contain the United States, Jamaica and Malta. Other parties in these countries may have seen candidates elected to regional or subnational office, though. Historian John Hicks claims that the United States has never possessed for any considerable era of time the two party system in its pure and undefiled form.

In some governments, sure chambers may resemble a two-party system and others a multi-party system. For instance, the politics of Australia are mainly two-party are measured the similar party at a national stage due to their extensive-standing alliance for the Australian House of Representatives, which is elected through Instant Runoff Voting. Though, third parties are more general in the Australian Senate, which uses a proportional voting system more amenable to minor parties.

India too is showing aspects of two party system with United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and National Democratic Alliance (NDA) as the two largest players. It is to be noted that both UPA and NDA are not two political parties but alliances of many smaller parties. Other smaller parties not aligned with either NDA or UPA exist.

The Politics of Malta are somewhat rare in that while the electoral system is single transferable vote optional representation, minor parties have not earned much success. No third parties won any seats in the Parliament in Malta's mainly recent 2009 election, for instance. The Labour Party and the Nationalist Party are the dominant parties. This is not the mainly general party system.

Historically, Brazil had a two-party system throughout its military dictatorship.

- *Comparisons with other Party Systems*

Two-party systems can be compared with:

- Multi-party systems. In these, the effective number of parties is greater than two but generally fewer than five; in a two-party system, the effective number of parties is two number of parties varies flanked by 1.7 and 2.1. The parties in a multi-party system can manage government apart or as a coalition; in a two-party system, though, coalition governments rarely form. Examples of nations with multi-party systems contain Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Taiwan.
- Single-party systems or dominant-party systems happen in nations where opposing parties are outlawed or restricted through the dominant party which wields power. Examples contain rule through the Communist party of China, United Russia, and the People's Action Party of Singapore.

- *Reasons*

There are many causes why, in some systems, two biggest parties control the political landscape. There has been speculation that a two-party system arose in the United States from early political battling flanked by the federalists and anti-federalists in the first few decades after the ratification of the Constitution, just as to many views. In addition, there has been more speculation that the winner-takes-all electoral system as well as scrupulous state and federal laws concerning voting procedures helped to reason a two-party system. Political scientists such as French sociologist Maurice Duverger as well as American professor William H. Riker of the University of Rochester and others claim that there are strong correlations flanked by voting rules and kind of party system. Economist Jeffrey D. Sachs agreed that there was a link flanked by voting arrangements and the effective number of parties. Sachs explained how the First Past The Post voting arrangement tended to promote a two-party system:

- The largest cause for America's majoritarian character is the electoral system for Congress. Members of Congress are elected in single-member districts just as to the "first-past-the-post" principle, meaning that the candidate with the plurality of votes is the winner of the

congressional seat. The losing party or parties win no representation at all. The first-past-the-post election tends to produce a small number of biggest parties, possibly presently two, a principle recognized in political science as Duverger's Law. Smaller parties are trampled in first-past-the-post elections.—Economist Jeffrey D. Sachs, in his book *The Price of Culture*, 2011

Believe a system in which voters can vote for any candidate from any one of several parties; suppose further that if a party gets 15% of votes, then that party will win 15% of the seats in the legislature. This is termed *proportional representation* or more accurately as *party-proportional representation*. Political scientists speculate that proportional representation leads logically to multi-party systems, since it allows new parties to build a niche in the legislature:

- Because even a minor party may still obtain at least a few seats in the legislature, smaller parties have a greater stimulus to organize under such electoral systems than they do in the United States.

In contrast, a voting system that allows only a single winner for each possible legislative seat is sometimes termed a plurality voting system or single-winner voting system and is generally called under the heading of a *winner-takes-all* arrangement. Each voter can cast a single vote for any candidate within any given legislative district, but the candidate with the mainly votes wins the seat, although variants, such as requiring a majority, are sometimes used. What happens is that in a common election, a party that uniformly comes in third in every district is unlikely to win any legislative seats even if there is a important proportion of the electorate favoring its positions. This arrangement strongly favors big and well-organized political parties that are able to appeal to voters in several districts and hence win several seats, and discourages smaller or local parties. Politically oriented people believe their only realistic method to capture political power is to be either a Republican or Democrat. In the U.S. model, forty-eight states have a average *winner-takes-all* electoral system for amassing presidential votes in

the Electoral College system. The *winner-takes-all* principle applies in presidential elections, since if a presidential candidate gets the mainly votes in any scrupulous state, *all* of the electoral votes from that state are awarded. In all but two states, Maine and Nebraska, the presidential candidate winning a plurality of votes wins all of the electoral votes, a practice described the unit rule.

Duverger concluded that "plurality election single-ballot procedures are likely to produce two-party systems whereas proportional representation and runoff designs encourage multipartyism." He suggested there were two causes why *winner-takes-all* systems lead to a two-party system. First, the weaker parties are pressured to form an alliance, sometimes described a *fusion*, to attempt to become large sufficient to challenge a big dominant party and, in therefore doing, gain political clout in the legislature. Second, voters learn, in excess of time, not to vote for candidates outside of one of the two big parties since their votes for third party candidates are generally ineffectual. As a result, weaker parties are eliminated through the voters in excess of time. Duverger pointed to statistics and tactics to suggest that voters tended to gravitate towards one of the two largest parties, which he described *polarization*, and tend to shun third parties. For instance, some analysts suggest that the Electoral College system in the United States, through favoring a system of winner-takes-all in presidential elections, is a structural choice favoring only two biggest parties.

Analyst Gary Cox suggested that America's two-party system was highly related with America's economic prosperity:

- The bounty of the American economy, the fluidity of American community, the extra ordinary unity of the American people, and, mainly significant, the success of the American experiment have all mitigated against the emergence of big dissenting groups that would seek satisfaction of their special requires by the formation of political parties.—Gary Cox, just as to George Edwards

- *Third Parties*

Third parties, meaning a party other than one of the two dominant parties, are possible in two-party systems, but they are unlikely to exert much power through gaining manage of legislatures or through winning elections. While there are occasional opinions in the media expressed in relation to the possibility of third parties emerging in the United States, for instance, political insiders such as the 1980 presidential candidate John Anderson think the chances of one appearing in the early twenty-first century is remote. A statement in *The Guardian* suggested that American politics has been "stuck in a two-method fight flanked by Republicans and Democrats" since the Civil War, and that third-party runs had little meaningful success.

Third parties in a two-party system can be:

- Built approximately a scrupulous ideology or interest group
- Split off from one of the biggest parties or
- Focused on a charismatic individual.

When third parties are built approximately an ideology which is at odds with the majority mindset, several members belong to such a party not for the purpose of expecting electoral success but rather for personal or psychological causes. In the U.S., third parties contain older ones such as the Libertarian Party and the Green Party and newer ones such as the Pirate Party. Several consider that third parties don't affect American politics through winning elections, but they can act as "spoilers" through taking votes from one of the two biggest parties. They act like barometers of transform in the political mood since they push the biggest parties to believe their demands. An analysis in *New York Magazine* through Ryan Lizza in 2006 suggested that third parties arose from time to time in the nineteenth century approximately single-issue movements such as abolition, women's suffrage, and the direct election of senators, but were less prominent in the twentieth century.

A therefore-described *third party* in the United Kingdom is the Liberal Democrats. In the 2010 election, the Liberal Democrats received 23% of the votes but only 9% of the seats in the Home of Commons. While electoral

results do not necessarily translate into legislative seats, the Liberal Democrats can exert power if there is a situation such as a hung parliament. In this example, neither of the two largest parties have enough power to run the government. Accordingly, the Liberal Democrats can in theory exert tremendous power in such a situation since they can ally with one of the two largest parties to form a coalition. This happened in the Coalition government of 2010. Yet in that more than 13% of the seats in the British House of Commons are held in 2011 through representatives of political parties other than the two leading political parties of that nation, modern Britain is measured through some to be a multi-party system, and not a two-party system.

- *Advantages*

Some historians have suggested that two-party systems promote centrism and encourage political parties to discover general positions which appeal to wide swaths of the electorate. It can lead to political continuity which leads, in turn, to economic development. Historian Patrick Allitt of the Teaching Company suggested that it is hard to overestimate the extensive term economic benefits of political continuity. Sometimes two-party systems have been seen as preferable to multi-party systems because they are simpler to govern, with less fractiousness and harmony, while multi-party systems can sometimes lead to hung parliaments. Italy, with a multi-party system, has had years of divisive politics since 2000, although analyst Silvia Aloisi suggested in 2008 that the nation may be moving closer to a two-party arrangement.

- *Disadvantages*

Two-party systems have been criticized for downplaying alternative views, and putting a damper on debate within a nation. In *The Tyranny of the Two-party system*, Lisa Jane Disch criticizes two-party systems for failing to give sufficient options since only two choices are permitted on the ballot. She wrote:

Herein lies the central tension of the two-party doctrine. It specifies popular sovereignty with choice, and then limits choice to one party or the other. If there is any truth to Schattschneider's analogy flanked by elections and markets, America's faith in the two-party system begs the following question: Why do voters accept as the ultimate in political freedom a binary option they would surely protest as consumers?... This is the tyranny of the two-party system, the construct that persuades United States citizens to accept two-party contests as a *condition* of electoral democracy.

There have been arguments that the winner-take-all mechanism discourages self-governing or third-party candidates from running for office or promulgating their views. Ross Perot's former campaign manager wrote that the problem with having only two parties is that the nation loses "the skill for things to bubble up from the body politic and provide voice to things that aren't being voiced through the biggest parties." One analyst suggested that parliamentary systems, which typically are multi-party in nature, lead to a bigger "centralization of policy expertise" in government. Multi-party governments permit wider and more diverse viewpoints in government, and encourage dominant parties to create deals with weaker parties to form winning coalitions. While there is considerable debate in relation to the comparative merits of a constitutional arrangement such as that of the United States versus a parliamentary arrangement such as Britain, analysts have noted that mainly democracies approximately the world have chosen the British multi-party model. Analyst Chris Weigant of the *Huffington Post* wrote that "the parliamentary system is inherently much more open to minority parties receiving much bigger representation than third parties do in the American system."

Multi-Party System

A multi-party system is systems in which multiple political parties have the capability to gain manage of government offices, apart or in coalition. An instance of such a coalition is the one flanked by the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany and Christian Social Union in Bavaria and the Free

Democratic Party ions. The effective number of parties in a multi-party system is normally superior than two but lower than ten. In the huge majority of multi-party systems, numerous biggest and minor political parties hold a serious chance of getting office, and because they all compete, a majority may not manage the legislature, forcing the making of a coalition. In some countries, every government ever shaped since its independence has been through means of a coalition. Multi-party systems tend to be more general in parliamentary systems than presidential systems, and distant more general in countries that use proportional representation compared to countries that use first past the post elections.

- *Examples*

Brazil, Denmark, Finland, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan and Philippines are examples of nations that have used a multi-party system effectively in their democracies. In these countries, generally no single party has a parliamentary majority through itself. Instead, multiple political parties form coalitions for the purpose of developing power blocks for governing.

In some multi-party systems, only two or three parties have a substantial chance of forming a government with or without forming a coalition. An instance of this is the United Kingdom, where only the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, and the Liberal Democrats have a serious chance to win sufficient seats to be a section of the government; the Liberal Democrats have never had sufficient seats to form a Government, but have held sufficient seats to contribute to a Coalition. To date, the Liberal Democrats have been in power only once in a coalition, which is the incumbent Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition.

- *Comparisons with other Party Systems*

Single-party System and Two-party System

A system where only two parties have the possibility of winning an election is described two-party system. A system where only three parties have a *realistic possibility* of winning an election or forming a coalition is sometimes described a "Third-party system". But, in some cases the system is described a "Stalled Third-Party System," when there are three parties and all three parties win a big number of votes, but only two have a chance of winning a common election. Generally this is because the electoral system penalizes the third party, e.g. as in UK politics. In the 2010 elections, the Liberal Democrats gained 23% of the total vote but won less than 10% of the seats due to the First-Past-The-Post electoral system. Despite this, they still had sufficient seats for the other biggest two parties to form coalitions with them, or to create deals in order to gain their support. An instance is the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition shaped after the 2010 common election. Another is the Lib-Lab pact throughout Prime Minister James Callaghan's Minority Labour Government; when Labour lost its three-seat majority in 1977, the pact fell short of a full coalition.

Unlike a single-party system, a multi-party system encourages the common constituency to form multiple separate, officially established groups, usually described political parties. Each party competes for votes from the enfranchised constituents. A multi-party system prevents the leadership of a single party from controlling a single legislative chamber without challenge.

If the government comprises an elected Congress or Parliament, the parties may share power just as to proportional representation or the first-past-the-post system. In proportional representation, each party wins a number of seats proportional to the number of votes it receives. In first-past-the-post, the electorate is divided into a number of districts, each of which selects one person to fill one seat through a plurality of the vote. First-past-the-post is not conducive to a proliferation of parties, and naturally gravitates toward a two-party system, in which only two parties have a real chance of electing their candidates to office. This gravitation is recognized as Duverger's law.

Proportional representation, on the other hand, does not have this tendency, and allows multiple biggest parties to arise. But, recent coalition governments, such as that in the U.K., symbolize two-party systems rather than multi-party systems. This is regardless of the number of parties in government.

A two-party system needs voters to align themselves in big blocs, sometimes therefore big that they cannot agree on any overarching principles. Some theories argue that this allows centrists to gain manage. On the other hand, if there are multiple biggest parties, each with less than a majority of the vote, the parties are strongly motivated to work jointly to form working governments. This also promotes centrism, as well as promoting coalition-structure skills while discouraging polarization.

PRESSURE GROUPS

Meaning of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups are organized associations, unions or system of people having general interest. Their aim is to seek bigger circumstances for their members by organized efforts. They attempt to power the legislature, executive and other decision makers to have decisions made in their favor.

Just as to V.O. Key, a striking characteristic of American politics is the extent to which political parties are complemented through private associations shaped to power public policy. These institutions are commonly described pressure groups. David B.Truman defines an interest group as "a shared attitude group that creates sure claims upon the other groups in the community." One of the biggest trends in democratic political procedure is the rising role of pressure groups. Herman Finer viewed that it is possibly now an axiom of political science that, where political parties are weak in principles and system, the pressure groups will flourish; where pressure groups are strong, political parties will be feeble; and where political parties are strong, pressure groups will be curbed. In the context of the USA, the rigid nature of

its constitution, the doctrine of isolation of powers, difficulties of conveying the grievances of the people to the government, etc. contribute to the development of pressure groups in American politics. American pressure groups are not much convinced through the political parties whereas in Britain pressure groups implicitly or explicitly have attachment with political parties. Indian political parties are weak in principles and system. So, pressure groups are supposed to be extremely important in the functioning of the Indian Political System. In parliamentary system of government, pressure groups exert pressure largely on the executive with the assumption that legislature is under the manage of executive. Here executive comprises both the political and permanent executive.

Role of Pressure Groups

Group activities are usually more effective than individual activities. So, pressure groups play a vital role in a democratic community in conditions of influencing the government for expressing the general concern of a part of community and promote their interest. The vitality of the pressure groups is largely determined through their skill to power government. Influencing the government involves influencing the public policy decision makers, law makers, implementers of policies and decisions, etc. The role of pressure groups is closely linked with politics. Here our assumption is that power is an essential element of politics which implies the revise of power. In this context Harold D. Lasswell in his early work on politics, uses the subtitle, "who gets what, when, how?" and says that, "the revise of politics is the revise of powers and influential." In view of this understanding, the slate of pressure groups in democratic countries constitutes an significant dimension of the revise of politics because the primary objective of any pressure group is to power the government on a specific public policy issue or problem.

Pressure groups do not contest elections and they may not have political programs. Pressure groups informally effort to power the government on a specific public policy issue of a part of community. Freedom of association is usually establish in all democratic societies. This is required in order to identify and promote general interest or well-being of the people by the communal activities. This is regarded as the vital factor which tends to the establishment of pressure groups. Therefore, pressure groups play a crucial role in interest formation and interest aggregation.

Pressure groups play the mediatory role flanked by the people and government. They balance the national interest and interest o f individuals. Usually interests of the general people are not organized. Pressure groups contribute to provide concrete shape to the interests of people. This role of pressure groups is important in interest formation as well as interest aggregation. The groups have to move demands before the government based on the difficulties or grievances of people. Interest formation may happen by the reactions of groups of people on issues of public importance like GATT, Nuclear explosion, reservation policy, environmental issues, price rise, local imbalances, rural growth program, etc.

Just as to Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, converting the demands into policy alternatives is interest aggregation. In this procedure also, pressure groups play a important role in conditions of identifying possible policy alternatives or options. They also explain the pros and cons of each policy alternative which is a extremely helpful information for the policy makers to select the best alternative. This role of pressure groups is to give inputs to public policy creation. On the entire, pressure groups contribute to democratize the public policy creation and law creation. When it is establish that political parties cannot adequately symbolize the aspirations of the people,

pressure groups become the devices for on behalf of the aspirations of the people. In this sense, pressure groups perform the representation function.

In a welfare state, the rising functions of government may tend to affect the responsive capacity of the political system. Besides the members of government may not be able to get enough time to get all the details of a scrupulous issue of public importance as the political elites are preoccupied in the political activities. In view of these, pressure groups are essential to create the political system respond to the aspirations of people and give the details of a scrupulous policy issue of public importance to the ruling political elites. This will contribute to work out growth activities extremely effectively.

Techniques of Pressure Groups

The largest techniques of pressure groups are manipulating public opinion, persuading legislators and officers, etc. When some project, as for example the Sardar Sarovar Project in Karnataka, are likely to affect the interest of a part and area, pressure groups effort to promote environmental awareness through providing the necessary information to the concerned people. This role of pressure groups tends to transform the public attitude towards a specific issue. The extent of power of pressure groups on government is largely determined through their location to symbolize public opinion. Hence it is necessary on the section of pressure groups to power the procedure of formation of public opinion. As a consequence, pressure groups look to manipulate public opinion.

Pressure groups have friends and allies in the legislatures as in the case of American Congress and the Indian Parliament. Power of pressure groups is by the legislators for creation specific provisions or deleting some provision legislation. This involves lobbying and it is particularly influential in the USA. Pressure groups effort to power the procedure of implementation of decisions by the officers. Besides, pressure groups adopt the technique of influencing

the government by public interest litigation in courts of law. When we talk of the techniques of the pressure groups, we should take into explanation the political form in which the pressures are to be exercised. In the U.S., the pressure are exercised in the presidential form. In India, they are to be exercised in the context of the cabinet form of government. The ways of pressure groups in India may be said to be ill-defined and, to some extent, crude. The ways of the American pressure groups are highly urbanized and routine. In the U.S, the require for the pressure groups is felt greatly because the executive is separate from the legislature and both of them of course are separate from the judiciary. In India, the co-ordination flanked by the legislature, the executive and the judiciary is well defined. The judiciary is self-governing but does not have the powers of judicial review as wide as in the U.S. In India, the judiciary is asserting its location under the power of the pressure groups which are bringing before it the public interest litigation which is seen clearly in case of environmental pressure groups and economic pressure groups. Medha Patkar and her associates have exercised a huge amount of pressure on the executive at the state and central stage in excess of the question of the Narmada dam and particularly the resettlement of the people affected through the dam. There are pressure groups which have been working on the troubles of daily wage workers and women and several of them are exercising pressure through bringing their cases before the courts in the form of public interest litigation. Even in the limited context of municipal government, as in case of Bombay, citizens are taking cases to the high courts to exert pressure on the municipal authorities to clean streets and undertake environmental measure. In the context of India, as in many developing countries, these techniques are new. So the pressure groups have to work difficult to organize the members of the public in order to be effective in relation to government and public administration. In active municipalities like Pune, citizens have gone to the extent of bringing back the transferred commissioner in the teeth of opposition of the state government.

Pressure Groups and Political Parties

Pressure groups and political parties constitute extremely significant structure of a political system. Both pressure groups and political parties are extra-constitutional agencies and play a crucial role in the political procedure. Sometimes, pressure groups become political parties. In Maharashtra, the Shiva Sena was a pressure group and it has now become a political party. Likewise, the Karnataka Rajya Sangh in Karnataka, was initially a pressure group. After sometime, the KRRS became a political party in Karnataka.

Pressure groups may provide rise to political parties. The cultural and religious pressure group gave rise to the establishment of Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951. The Indian political parties have corresponding students institutions namely, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Students Federation of India etc. which are regarded as pressure groups of students affiliated with one party, or the other. There can be pressure groups within a political party. The Seva Dal was a unit of the Indian National Congress before independence and it was working as a pressure group. After independence, the Seva Dal has sustained to be a pressure group but it is not therefore effective now as in pre-independence days.

A political party is a superior system, while a pressure group is comparatively a small system. The largest objective of a political party is to approach to power whereas the largest concern of a pressure group is to power the government for promoting its specific interest. Though, political parties have to symbolize the aggregate of diverse interests of the people. That is why pressure groups are regarded as non-political. Parties put up their candidates, attempt to win maximum number of seats in the legislature dry form government, if possible. Pressure Groups do not, on their own, do any of these

things. A political party needs an ideology which enables it to have an identity. Pressure groups do not require ideology and sometimes they may be subjected to the power of an ideology.

Kinds of Pressure Groups

Rationale and ways of operation of several pressure groups may not simply modify from one country to another country. The generalizations that can be made are broadly applicable to understanding of the working of pressure groups in several countries. The origin of pressure groups is diverse since they symbolize a scrupulous dimension of interests like economic, social and political interests. Pressure groups exist for protecting or promoting scrupulous interest into the following categories:

- Business Groups
- Labor Institutions
- Farmers' Groups
- Professional Groups
- Religious Groups

Comparison of Indian and Western Pressure Groups

Both India and Western countries are democracies. But within western countries there are differences flanked by Presidential and Parliamentary shapes of government. India however a parliamentary democracy differs from such countries of the West in conditions of developmental stages. So there are some differences in the role of pressure groups.

Firstly, the American pressure groups are regarded as the fourth organ of the government but the Indian pressure groups are not yet able to play such important role in politics.

Secondly, in India and Great Britain the cabinet and civil service are the largest targets of pressure groups for lobbying purposes rather than the parliament. Though, the targets of American pressure groups are the

Congress and its committees rather than the President for lobbying purposes.

Thirdly, Indian pressure groups based on caste, religion, area, etc. are more powerful than the contemporary groups like business institutions.

Fourthly, a important characteristic of American pressure groups is that in the USA pressure groups take interest in foreign policy issues while in India pressure groups do not look to have interest in foreign policy matters. Comparatively, the Indian pressure groups are concerned more with domestic policy issues and troubles, and less with foreign policy matters.

Though in common despite the differences, democratic political presupposes the crucial role of pressure groups for serving the interests of dissimilar parts of community.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

What is the second ballot (or majority runoff) method?

Why do countries adopt the proportional representation system?

Describe the single transferable vote system.

Discuss briefly the human nature theory of the origin of party system.

Define political parties and distinguish between political parties and pressure groups.

Discuss the role of political parties in a democracy.

Explain the meaning and role of pressure groups in democratic politics.

Chapter 7

Social Movements

STRUCTURE

Learning Objective

Human Rights Movements

Women's movement

Peasantry

Environment

Trade union movement

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter, you should be able to:

Understand the concept of human rights.
Ideas behind the UN Declaration of Human Rights.
Discuss the nature of the women's movements.
Understanding the debate about peasant categories in a comparative perspective.
Meaning and nature of environment movements .
Understand the various theories of Trade Union Movement.

HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Meaning of Human Rights

Human rights are commonly understood as "inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled basically because she or he is a human being." Human rights are therefore conceived as universal and egalitarian. These rights may exist as natural rights or as legal rights, in both national and international law. The doctrine of human rights in international practice, within international law, global and local organizations, in the policies of states and in the activities of non-governmental institutions, has been a cornerstone of public policy approximately the world. *The thought of human rights* states, "if the public discourse of peacetime global community can be said to have a general moral language, it is that of human rights." Despite this, the strong claims made through the doctrine of human rights continue to provoke considerable skepticism and debates in relation to the content, nature and justifications of human rights to this day. Indeed, the question of what is meant through a "right" is itself controversial and the subject of sustained philosophical debate.

Several of the vital ideas that animated the human rights movement urbanized in the aftermath of the Second World War and the atrocities of The Holocaust, culminating in the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of*

Human Rights in Paris through the United Nations Common Assembly in 1948. The ancient world did not possess the concept of universal human rights. Ancient societies had "elaborate systems of duties... conceptions of justice, political legitimacy, and human flourishing that sought to realize human dignity, flourishing, or well-being entirely self-governing of human rights". The contemporary concept of human rights urbanized throughout the early Contemporary era, alongside the European secularization of Judeo-Christian ethics. The true forerunner of human rights discourse was the concept of natural rights which emerged as section of the medieval Natural law custom that became prominent throughout the Enlightenment with such philosophers as John Locke, Francis Hutcheson, and Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, and featured prominently in the political discourse of the American Revolution and the French Revolution.

From this basis, the contemporary human rights arguments appeared in excess of the latter half of the twentieth century. Gelling as social activism and political rhetoric in several nations put it high on the world agenda.

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with cause and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.—Article 1 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

History

The contemporary sense of human rights can be traced to Renaissance Europe and the Protestant Reformation, alongside the disappearance of the feudal authoritarianism and religious conservatism that dominated the Transitional Ages. Human rights were defined as a result of European scholars attempting to form a "secularized adaptation of Judeo-Christian ethics". Although ideas of rights and liberty have lived in some form for much of human history, they do not resemble the contemporary conception of human rights. Just as to Jack Donnelly, in the ancient world, "traditional societies

typically have had elaborate systems of duties... conceptions of justice, political legitimacy, and human flourishing that sought to realize human dignity, flourishing, or well-being entirely self-governing of human rights. These organizations and practices are alternative to, rather than dissimilar formulations of, human rights". The mainly commonly held view is that concept of human rights evolved in the West, and that while earlier cultures had significant ethical concepts, they usually lacked a concept of human rights. For instance, McIntyre argues there is no word for "right" in any language before 1400. Medieval charters of liberty such as the English Magna Carta were not charters of human rights, rather they were the basis and constituted a form of limited political and legal agreement to address specific political conditions, in the case of Magna Carta later being recognized in the course of early contemporary debates in relation to the rights. One of the oldest records of human rights is the statute of Kalisz, giving privileges to the Jewish minority in the Kingdom of Poland such as defense from discrimination and hate speech. The foundation of mainly contemporary legal interpretations of human rights can be traced back to recent European history. The Twelve Articles are measured to be the first record of human rights in Europe. They were section of the peasants' demands raised towards the Swabian League in the German Peasants' War in Germany.

The earliest conceptualization of human rights is credited to ideas in relation to the natural rights emanating from natural law. In scrupulous, the issue of universal rights was introduced through the examination of the rights of indigenous peoples through Spanish clerics, such as Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolomé de Las Casas. In the Valladolid debate, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who maintained an Aristotelian view of humanity as divided into classes of dissimilar worth, argued with Las Casas, who argued in favor of equal rights to freedom of slavery for all humans regardless of race or religion. In Britain in 1683, the English Bill of Rights of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown" and the Scottish Claim of Right each made illegal a

range of oppressive governmental actions. Two biggest revolutions occurred throughout the 18th century, in the United States and in France, leading to the adoption of the United States Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen respectively, both of which recognized sure legal rights. Additionally, the Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776 encoded into law a number of fundamental civil rights and civil freedoms.

We hold these truths to be self-apparent, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed through their Creator with sure unalienable Rights, that in the middle of these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—United States Declaration of Independence, 1776

These were followed through growths in philosophy of human rights through philosophers such as Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill and G.W.F. Hegel throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The term *human rights* almost certainly came into use some time flanked by Paine's *The Rights of Man* and William Lloyd Garrison's 1831 writings in *The Liberator*, in which he stated that he was trying to enlist his readers in "the great reason of human rights".

In the 19th century, human rights became a central concern in excess of the issue of slavery. A number of reformers, such as William Wilberforce in Britain, worked towards the abolition of slavery. This was achieved in the British Empire through the Slave Trade Act 1807 and the Slavery Abolition Act 1833. In the United States, all the northern states had abolished the institution of slavery flanked by 1777 and 1804, although southern states clung tightly to the "peculiar institution". Clash and debates in excess of the expansion of slavery to new territories constituted one of the causes for the southern states' secession and the American Civil War. Throughout the reconstruction era immediately following the war, many amendments to the United States Constitution were made. These incorporated the 13th amendment, banning slavery, the 14th amendment, assuring full citizenship

and civil rights to all people born in the United States, and the 15th amendment, guaranteeing African Americans the right to vote.

Several groups and movements have achieved profound social changes in excess of the course of the 20th century in the name of human rights. In Europe and North America, labour unions brought in relation to the laws granting workers the right to strike, establishing minimum work circumstances and forbidding or regulating child labor. The women's rights movement succeeded in gaining for several women the right to vote. National liberation movements in several countries succeeded in driving out colonial powers. One of the mainly influential was Mahatma Gandhi's movement to free his native India from British rule. Movements through extensive-oppressed racial and religious minorities succeeded in several sections of the world, in the middle of them the African American Civil Rights Movement, and more recent diverse identity politics movements, on behalf of women and minorities in the United States.

The establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the 1864 Lieber Code and the first of the Geneva Conventions in 1864 laid the foundations of International humanitarian law, to be further urbanized following the two World Wars.

The World Wars, and the vast losses of life and gross abuses of human rights that took lay throughout them, were a driving force behind the growth of contemporary human rights instruments. The League of Nations was recognized in 1919 at the negotiations in excess of the Treaty of Versailles following the end of World War I. The League's goals incorporated disarmament, preventing war by communal security, settling disputes flanked by countries by negotiation and diplomacy, and improving global welfare. Enshrined in its charter was a mandate to promote several of the rights later incorporated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the 1945 Yalta Conference, the Allied Powers agreed to make a new body to supplant the League's role; this was to be the United Nations. The

United Nations has played an significant role in international human-rights law since its making. Following the World Wars, the United Nations and its members urbanized much of the discourse and the bodies of law that now create up international humanitarian law and international human rights law.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted through the United Nations Common Assembly in 1948, partly in response to the atrocities of World War II. Although the UDHR was a non-binding settlement, it is now measured through some to have acquired the force of international customary law which may be invoked in appropriate conditions through national and other judiciaries. The UDHR urges member nations to promote a number of human, civil, economic and social rights, asserting these rights as section of the "basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world." The declaration was the first international legal attempt to limit the behavior of states and press upon them duties to their citizens following the model of the rights-duty duality.

...recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world. —Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

The UDHR was framed through members of the Human Rights Commission, with former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt as Chair, who began to talk about an *International Bill of Rights* in 1947. The members of the Commission did not immediately agree on the form of such a bill of rights, and whether, or how, it should be enforced. The Commission proceeded to frame the UDHR and accompanying treaties, but the UDHR quickly became the priority. Canadian law professor John Humphrey and French lawyer René Cassin were responsible for much of the cross-national research and the structure of the document respectively, where the articles of the declaration were interpretative of the common principle of the preamble. The document

was structured through Cassin to contain the vital principles of dignity, liberty, excellence and brotherhood in the first two articles, followed successively through rights pertaining to individuals; rights of individuals in relation to each other and to groups; spiritual, public and political rights; and economic, social and cultural rights. The final three articles lay, just as to Cassin, rights in the context of limits, duties and the social and political order in which they are to be realized. Humphrey and Cassin designed the rights in the UDHR to be legally enforceable by some means, as is reflected in the third clause of the preamble:

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected through the rule of law.—Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

Some of the UDHR was researched and written through a committee of international experts on human rights, including representatives from all continents and all biggest religions, and drawing on consultation with leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi. The inclusion of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights was predicated on the assumption that all human rights are indivisible and that the dissimilar kinds of rights listed are inextricably connected. This principle was not then opposed through any member states Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Ukrainian SSR, Union of South Africa, USSR, Yugoslavia; though, this principle was later subject to important challenges.

The Universal Declaration was bifurcated into treaties, a Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and another on social, economic, and cultural rights, due to questions in relation to the relevance and propriety of economic and social provisions in covenants on human rights. Both covenants begin with the right of people to self-determination and to sovereignty in excess of their natural possessions. This debate in excess of whether human rights are more fundamental than economic rights has sustained to the present day.

The drafters of the Covenants initially designed only one instrument. The original drafts incorporated only political and civil rights, but economic and social rights were also proposed. The conflict in excess of which rights were vital human rights resulted in there being two covenants. The debate was whether economic and social rights are aspirational, as contrasted with vital human rights which all people possess purely through being human, because economic and social rights depend on wealth and the availability of possessions. In addition, which social and economic rights should be recognized depends on ideology or economic theories, in contrast to vital human rights, which are defined purely through the nature of human beings. It was debated whether economic rights were appropriate subjects for binding obligations and whether the lack of consensus in excess of such rights would dilute the strength of political-civil rights. There was wide agreement and clear recognition that the means required to enforce or induce compliance with socio-economic undertakings were dissimilar from the means required for civil-political rights.

This debate and the desire for the greatest number of signatories to human-rights law led to the two covenants. The Soviet bloc and a number of developing countries had argued for the inclusion of all rights in a therefore-described *Unity Settlement*. Both covenants allowed states to derogate some rights. Those in favor of a single treaty could not gain enough consensus.

Non-governmental Institutions and Human Rights

International non-governmental human rights institutions such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, International Service for Human Rights and FIDH monitor what they see as human rights issues approximately the world and promote their views on the subject. Human rights institutions have been said to ""translate intricate international issues into activities to be undertaken through concerned citizens in their own society". Human rights institutions regularly engage in lobbying and advocacy in an attempt to

convince the United Nations, supranational bodies and national governments to adopt their policies on human rights. Several human-rights institutions have observer status at the several UN bodies tasked with protecting human rights. A new nongovernmental human-rights conference is the Oslo Freedom Forum, a gathering called through The Economist as "on its method to becoming a human-rights equivalent of the Davos economic forum." The similar article noted that human-rights advocates are more and more divided amongst themselves in excess of how violations of human rights are to be defined, notably as regards the Transitional East.

There is criticism of human-rights organizations that use their status but allegedly move absent from their stated goals. For instance, Gerald M. Steinberg, an Israel-based academic, maintains that NGOs take advantage of a "halo effect" and are "given the status of impartial moral watchdogs" through governments and the media. Such critics claim that this may be seen at several governmental stages, including when human-rights groups testify before investigation committees.

Human Rights Movement

Human rights movement is a term that refers to several nongovernmental social movements occupied in activism related to the issues of human rights. Tributaries to the global movement contain resistance to colonialism, imperialism, slavery, racism, apartheid, patriarchy, and oppression of indigenous peoples.

A key principle of the human rights movement is its appeal to universality: the thought that all human beings should thrash about in solidarity for a general set of vital circumstances.

History

Human rights activism predates the 20th century, and may contain, for instance, the anti-slavery movement. These movements were generally

concerned with a limited set of issues, and were more regional than global. One explanation specifies the 1899 Hague Convention as a starting point for the thought that humans have rights self-governing of the states that manage them.

The activities of the International Federation for Human Rights organization—founded in France through the international labor movement in the 1920s—can be seen as a precursor to the contemporary movements. This organization was quickly embraced through the United States and European powers, possibly as a method to counteract the Bolshevik call for global solidarity in the middle of workers.

- *Anti-colonialism*

Another biggest global human rights movement grew out of resistance to colonialism. The Congo Reform Association, founded in 1904, has also been called as a foundational contemporary human rights movement. This group used photographs to document terror wrought through Belgians in the course of challenging rubber manufacture in the Congo. These photographs were passed in the middle of sympathetic Europeans and Americans, including Edmund Morel, Joseph Conrad, and Spot Twain—who wrote satirically as King Leopold:

...oh well, the pictures get sneaked approximately everywhere, in spite of all we can do to ferret them out and suppress them. Ten thousand pulpits and ten thousand presses are saying the good word for me all the time and placidly and convincingly denying the mutilations. Then that trivial little kodak that a child can carry in its pocket gets up, uttering never a word, and knocks them dumb!

The photos and subsequent literature successfully triggered international outrage at Belgian crimes committed against the Congolese. As the century went on, African Americans including W. E. B. Du Bois, Walter White, and Paul Robeson joined with leaders of the African Diaspora elsewhere to create a global demand for vital rights. Although the origins of

this movement were multifaceted, a definitive moment of international solidarity came after Italy's annexation of Ethiopia in 1935.

- *World War II and the United Nations*

In the aftermath of World War II, the Pan-Africanist contingent played a biggest role in causing the United Nations to explicitly protect "human rights" in its founding documents. Du Bois compared colonies crossways the world to ghettos in the United States and described for a world document affirming the human rights of all people.

Representatives of small countries, as well as Du Bois and other activists, were unhappy with the adaptation of human rights envisioned for the UN Charter at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944. Du Bois stated at the time that, evidently, "the only method to human excellence is by the philanthropy of the masters". Though, the US government supported powerful domestic institutions willing to promote its concept of human rights, such as the American Bar Association and the American Jewish Committee. These institutions successfully won public approval of the United Nations and the human rights concept.

The concept of human rights was indeed built into United Nations with organizations such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Active diplomacy through Latin American countries was instrumental to the procedure of promoting these ideas and drafting the relevant agreements. As a result of this pressure, more human rights language was adopted at the 1945 San Francisco Conference to make the UN Charter. Revelations in relation to the Holocaust, followed through the Nuremburg Trials, also had a biggest power on the movement, particularly in the middle of Jewish and Christian lobbying groups. Some NGO's represented the UN charter as a victory for the human rights movement, while other activists argued that it paid lip service to human rights while simply serving the interests of the great powers.

Early in the Cold War, the "human rights" concept was used to promote the ideological agendas of the superpowers. The Soviet Union argued that people in colonized lands approximately the world had been exploited through Western powers. A big percentage of Soviet propaganda to the Third World centered on charges of racism and human rights violations. The United States countered with its own propaganda, describing its own community and free and the Soviet Union's as unfree. Human rights language became an international average, which could be used through great powers or through people's movements to create demands.

- *Global Human Rights Struggles*

Within the United States, participants in the African American thrash about for excellence described for human rights in addition to civil rights. Du Bois, the National Negro Congress (NNC), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Civil Rights Congress the U.S. with human rights violations at the U.N. In 1951, Du Bois, William Patterson and the CRC presented a document described "We Charge Genocide" which accused the US of complicity with ongoing systematic violence against African Americans.

An Appeal for Human Rights, published through Atlanta students in 1960, is cited as a key moment in beginning the wave of nonviolent direct actions that swept the American South. In 1967, less than a year before he was assassinated, Martin Luther King, Jr. began to argue that the concept of "civil rights" was laden with isolating, individualistic capitalist values. He said: "It is necessary for us to realize that we have moved from the period of civil rights to the period of human rights. When you trade with human rights you are not relation with something clearly defined in the Constitution. They are rights that are clearly defined through the mandates of a humanitarian concern." For King, who began to organize the multi-racial Poor People's Campaign at the

end of his life, human rights required economic justice in addition to de jure equality.

After the decolonization of Africa and of Asia, former colonies gained majority status in the UN's Commission on Human Rights, and focused their attention on global white supremacy and economic inequality—in doing therefore, choosing to admit other kinds of human rights abuses. Some of these nations argued that focusing on civil rights, as opposed to human rights, was a privilege accessible only to the wealthy nations that had benefited from colonialism. Demands for human rights in the Third World increased during the 1960s, even as the global superpowers turned their attention elsewhere.

- *Changes in the 1970s*

Since the 1970s the human rights movement has played an increasingly significant role on the international scene. Although government support for human rights decreased, international institutions increased in strength and number. Some of the measures of the 1970s, which gave global prominence to the human movements issue, incorporated the abuses of Chilean Augusto Pinochet and American Richard Nixon administrations; the signing of the Helsinki Accords flanked by the West and the USSR; the Soweto riots in South Africa; awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Amnesty International; and the emergence of the Democracy Wall movement in China. Nixon was succeeded through the Jimmy Carter administration, much more supportive of the human rights issues.

Pressure from the international human rights movement brought human rights increasingly to the political agenda of numerous countries and diplomatic negotiations. As the issue of human rights became significant for dissidents in the Eastern Bloc, this era also saw a rising reframing of the thrash about flanked by the West and USSR from the economic conditions into a thrash about for human rights. Since the end of the Cold War, the issues of human rights have been present in a number of biggest political and military

conflicts, debated through global public opinion, from Kosovo to Iraq, Afghanistan, Congo and Darfur.

Originally, mainly international human rights institutions came from France and the UK; since the 1970s American institutions moved beyond rights for Americans to partake in the international scene, and approximately the turn of the century, as noted through Neier, "the movement became therefore global in character that it is no longer possible to ascribe leadership to any scrupulous segment". Though, others, like Ibhawoh, point out that there still is a gap flanked by areas, particularly as mainly of the international human rights movement institutions are situated in the global North, and therefore continuous concerns are raised in relation to their understanding of the situations in the global South.

- *Since the 1990s*

The global human rights movement has become more expansive since the 1990s, including greater representation of women's rights and economic justice as section of the human rights umbrella. Economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights gained new prominence.

Advocates for women's human rights, criticized the early human rights movement for focusing on male concerns and artificially excluding women's issues from the public sphere. Women's rights have nevertheless gained prominence in the international human rights movement, particularly insofar as they contain defense from gender-based violence. In Latin America, the issue of women's human rights intersects with the thrash about against authoritarian governments. In several cases women's groups were some of the mainly prominent advocates of human rights in common. Mainstream acceptance of women's human rights within the international human rights movement has increased since 1989.

The power of the United Nations human rights framework diminished in the 1990s, partly due to the emphasis on economic liberalization that followed the Cold War.

The 1990s also saw a call to "defend the defenders" of human rights—to protect human rights activists from violence and repression.

The internet has expanded the power of the human rights movement through improving communication flanked by activists in dissimilar physical sites.

The human rights movement has historically focused on abuses through states, and some have argued that it has not attended closely sufficient to the actions of corporations. In the 1990s, some first steps were taken towards holding corporations accountable for human rights abuses. For instance, the Parliament of Britain approved a settlement to censure British Petroleum for funding Colombian death squads.

Issues and Activities

The international human rights movement is concerned with issues such as deprivation of life and liberty, deprivation of the right of free and peaceful expressions, gatherings and worship, equal treatment regardless of individual backdrop, and opposition to unjust and cruel practices such as torture, and to child labor.

Much of the human rights movement is regional in nature, concerned with human rights violations in their own countries, but they rely on an international network of support. The international nature of the movement allows regional activists to broadcast their concerns, sometimes generating international pressure on their home government. The movement usually espouses the principle that sovereignty ends where human rights begin. This principle justifies intervention crossways borders to rectify perceived violations.

The human rights movement is also credited with supplying regional activists with a vocabulary to use in support of their claims.

Limitations and Criticism

One biggest schism within the international human rights movement has been flanked by NGOs and activists from the First and Third Worlds. Critics of the mainstream movement have argued that it suffers from systemic biases and is unwilling to confront in excellence on a global level. In scrupulous, some critique the role of neoliberal capitalism in creating economic circumstances that engender 'human rights violations', arguing that the dominant human rights movement is blind to these dynamics. Makau Mutua has written:

As currently constituted and deployed, the human rights movement will ultimately fail because it is perceived as an alien ideology in non-Western societies. The movement does not deeply resonate in the cultural fabrics of non-Western states, except for in the middle of hypocritical elites steeped in Western ideas. In order ultimately to prevail, the human rights movement necessity be moored in the cultures of all peoples.

David Kennedy has criticized a tendency of the international human rights movement to "treat human rights as an substance of devotion rather than calculation", arguing that human rights language is vague and may impede utilitarian assessments of a situation. Kennedy also argues that this vocabulary can be "misused, distorted, or co-opted", and that framing issues in conditions of human rights may narrow the field of possibility and exclude other narratives. Others have also critiqued the movement and its language as vague.

Some have argued that the human rights movement has a tendency to subtly debase people through portraying them as victims of abuse.

- *Institutions*

Particularly since the 1970s, the international human rights movement has been mediated through nongovernmental institutions. Biggest international human rights institutions contain Amnesty International and Human Rights

Watch. Historically, the power of the International Federation for Human Rights is seen as highly significant on the movement. The making of International Criminal Court at the turn of the century is seen as another attainment of the international human rights activists.

United Nations and Human Rights

The promotion and defense of human rights has been a biggest preoccupation for the United Nations since 1945, when the Organization's founding nations resolved that the horrors of The Second World War should never be allowed to recur. Respect for human rights and human dignity "is the basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world", the Common Assembly declared three years later in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In excess of the years, a entire network of human rights instruments and mechanisms has been urbanized to ensure the primacy of human rights and to confront human rights violations wherever they happen.

United Nations Intergovernmental Bodies Relation with Human Rights

The Common Assembly is the largest deliberative body of the United Nations. Made up of 185 Member States, it reviews and takes action on human rights matters referred to it through its Third Committee and through the Economic and Social Council.

A subsidiary body of the Common Assembly concerned with human rights is the *Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and other Arabs of the Engaged Territories*.

The Economic and Social Council, collected of 54 member Governments, creates recommendations to the Common Assembly on human rights matters, and reviews reports and resolutions of the Commission on Human Rights and transmits them with amendments to the Common Assembly. To assist it in its work, the Council recognized the Commission on

Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women and the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice. It also works closely with agencies of the United Nations organization which have a special interest in human rights matters.

The Commission on Human Rights is the largest policy-creation body relation with human rights issues. Collected of 53 member Governments, it prepares studies, creates recommendations and drafts international human rights conventions and declarations. It also investigates allegations of human rights violations and handles communications relating to them.

The Commission has recognized a number of subsidiary bodies, including the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Defense of Minorities.

The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Defense of Minorities undertakes studies and creates recommendations to the Commission regarding the prevention of discrimination against racial, religious and linguistic minorities. Collected of 26 experts, the Sub-Commission meets each year for four weeks. It has set up working groups and recognized Special Rapporteurs to assist it with sure tasks.

The Commission on the Status of Women, collected of 32 members, prepares recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on the promotion of women's rights in political, economic, social and educational meadows. It creates recommendations to the Council on troubles requiring attention in the field of women's rights.

The Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, collected of 40 members, is the largest United Nations policy-creation body on criminal justice. It develops and monitors the United Nations programme on crime prevention.

To enhance respect for fundamental human rights and to further progress towards their realization, the United Nations adopted a three-pronged approach: United Nations technological assistance.

Establishment of International Standards

International Human Rights standards were urbanized to protect people's human rights against violations through individuals, groups or nations.

The following declarations adopted through the international society are not legally binding: the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *Declaration on the Right to Growth* and the *Declaration on the Defense of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance*. Several countries have included the provisions of these declarations into their laws and constitutions. International covenants and conventions have the force of law for the States that ratify them.

The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* are legally binding human rights agreements. Both were adopted in 1966 and entered into force 10 years later, creating several of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights effectively binding. Conventions contain the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*; the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Shapes of Racial Discrimination*; the *Convention on the Elimination of All Shapes of Discrimination against Women*; the *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*; the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*; and the *International Convention on the Defense of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*.

Defense

Conventional mechanisms, and extra-conventional mechanisms esentatives, experts and working groups have been set up in order to monitor compliance with the several international human rights instruments and to investigate alleged human rights abuses.

Under the conventional mechanisms the following treaty bodies, collected of experts serving in their personal capability, were recognized to monitor compliance with United Nations human rights instruments: the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the Human Rights Committee and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. It should be noted that these Committees are recognized under the respective instruments, with members elected through the States parties, with the exception of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, whose membership is elected through ECOSOC.

To monitor the implementation of treaty obligations at the national stage, the treaty bodies analyze reports of States parties. Each year they engage in dialogue with almost 100 national Governments and issue concluding observations, commenting on the situations of the countries and offering suggestions and recommendations for improvement. In addition, the Committees are entitled to hear and believe sure individual communications.

Under the extra-conventional mechanisms, a number of procedures have been recognized to monitor compliance with human rights norms. Thematic procedures contain the Representative of the Secretary-General on internally displaced persons; working groups on enforced or involuntary disappearances and on arbitrary detention; and special reporters relation with extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions; torture; the independence and impartiality of the judiciary; jurors and assessors and the independence of lawyers; religious intolerance; the use of mercenaries; freedom of opinion and expression; racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia; the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; and the elimination of violence against women.

In addition, there exists a procedure, recognized through the Economic and Social Council in 1970, for relation with communications relating to gross and attested violations of human rights. If measured admissible,

communications are reviewed through a Working Group of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Defense of Minorities, which decides whether to transfer the communication to the Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights. Communications remain confidential until such time as the Commission may decide to create recommendations to the Economic and Social Council.

Dialogue flanked by States and United Nations bodies has led to concrete results, such as the suspension of executions, release of detainees and medical treatment for prisoners, as well as changes in the domestic legal organization of States parties to human rights instruments.

UN Human Rights Advisory Services and Technological Assistance

The United Nations advisory services programme began in 1955 on a small level, providing institution-structure assistance and other services to Member States at their request. In 1987, the Secretary-General recognized the Voluntary Finance for Advisory Services and Technological Assistance in the field of Human Rights.

In excess of the last few years, the United Nations Centre for Human Rights and Electoral Assistance Division have received rising numbers of requests for technological assistance, which is generally offered in the following regions:

Reforming national laws: Incorporation of international human rights norms into national laws and constitutions is a key element in the defense of human rights. Assistance in drafting new constitutions and laws in row with human rights conventions has been provided to, *inter alia*, Bulgaria, Malawi and Mongolia.

Supporting democratization and advising on electoral procedures: Since democratization has been a priority issue for advisory services, assistance has been provided to many nations on holding elections and setting up national human rights organizations. The Centre for Human Rights advised many countries, including Romania and Lesotho, on the legal and technological characteristics of democratic elections.

Assisting in the drafting of national laws and preparation of national reports: Local and sub regional training courses have been held in Africa, Latin America and Asia and the Pacific.

Strengthening national and local organizations: Assistance has been provided to organizations in several countries to strengthen human rights defense and promotion activities.

Training criminal justice personnel--judges, lawyers, prosecutors and police: Training in the field of human rights comprises seminars, courses, workshops, fellowships, scholarships, the provision of information and documentation.

Good Offices of the Secretary-Common

The Secretary-Common can use his "good offices" confidentially to raise human rights concerns with Member States, including issues such as the release of prisoners and commutation of death sentences. Results of such communications are accounted to the Security Council.

Although the thought of creating a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights dates back to the 1960s, the Common Assembly recognized the post of High Commissioner only in December 1993.

The High Commissioner carries out the "good offices" function in the field of human rights on behalf of the Secretary-Common and is so now the United Nations official with principal responsibility for human rights activities. He is responsible for promoting and protecting human rights for all and maintains a continuing dialogue with Member States. His functions may be summarized as follows:

- Crisis management

- Prevention and early warning

- Assistance to States in periods of transition

- Promotion of substantive rights

- Coordination and rationalization of the human rights programme

The Centre for Human Rights in Geneva, section of the United Nations Secretariat, in this relationship implements the policies proposed through the High Commissioner.

Human Rights in India

Human rights in India is an issue complicated through the countries big size, its tremendous variety, its status as a developing country and a sovereign, secular, democratic republic. The Constitution of India gives for Fundamental rights, which contain freedom of religion. Clauses also give for Freedom of Speech, as well as isolation of executive and judiciary and freedom of movement within the country and abroad.

Just as to the United States Library of Congress, although human rights troubles do exist in India, the country is usually not regarded as a human rights concern, unlike other countries in South Asia. Based on these thoughts, the 2010 statement of Freedom in the World through Freedom Home gave India a political rights rating of 2, and a civil liberties rating of 3, earning it the highest possible rating of *free*

In its statement on human rights in India throughout 2010, Human Rights Watch stated India had "important human rights troubles". They recognized lack of accountability for security forces and impunity for abusive policing including "police brutality, extrajudicial killings, and torture" as biggest troubles. An self-governing United Nations expert in 2011 expressed concern that she establish human rights workers and their families who "have been killed, tortured, ill-treated, disappeared, threatened, arbitrarily arrested and detained, falsely charged and under surveillance because of their legitimate work in upholding human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Chronology of Measures Concerning Human Rights in India

1829 – The practice of sati was formally abolished through Governor Common William Bentick after years of campaigning through Hindu reform movements such as the Brahmo Samaj of Ram Mohan Roy against this orthodox Hindu funeral tradition of self-immolation of widows after the death of their husbands.

1929 – *Child Marriage Restraint Act*, prohibiting marriage of minors under 14 years of age is passed.

- 1947 – India achieves political independence from the British Raj.
- 1950 – The Constitution of India establishes a sovereign democratic republic with universal adult franchise. Section 3 of the Constitution contains a Bill of Fundamental Rights enforceable through the Supreme Court and the High Courts. It also gives for reservations for previously disadvantaged parts in education, employment and political representation.
- 1952 – Criminal Tribes Acts repealed through government, former "criminal tribes" categorized as "denotified" and Habitual Offenders Act enacted.
- 1955 – Reform of family law regarding Hindus provides more rights to Hindu women.
- 1958 -Armed Forces Act, 1958-
- 1973 – Supreme Court of India rules in *Kesavananda Bharati case* that the vital structure of the Constitution is unalterable through a constitutional amendment.
- 1975–77 – State of Emergency in India – long rights violations take lay.
- 1978 – SC rules in *Menaka Gandhi v. Union of India* that the right to life under Article 21 of the Constitution cannot be suspended even in an emergency.
- 1978-Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, 1978
- 1984 – Operation Blue Star and the subsequent 1984 Anti-Sikh riots

1984 - 2006 Extrajudicial disappearances in Punjab through the police

- 1985-6 – The Shah Bano case, where the Supreme Court recognised the Muslim woman's right to maintenance upon divorce, sparks protests from Muslim clergy. To nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, the Rajiv Gandhi government enacted The Muslim Women Act 1986
- 1987 - Hashimpura massacre throughout communal riots in Meerut.
- 1989 – *Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Act, 1989* is passed.
- 1989–present – Kashmiri insurgency sees ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits, desecrating Hindu temples, killing of Hindus and Sikhs, and abductions of foreign tourists and government functionaries.
- 1992 – A constitutional amendment establishes Regional Self-Government as a third tier of governance at the village stage, with one-third of the seats reserved for women. Reservations were provided for scheduled castes and tribes as well.
- 1992 – Babri Masjid demolished through Hindu mobs, resulting in riots crossways the country.
- 1993 – National Human Rights Commission is recognized under the *Defense of Human Rights Act*.
- 2001 – Supreme Court passes long orders to implement the right to food.
- 2002 – Violence in Gujarat, chiefly targeting its Muslim minority, claims several lives.

- 2005 – A powerful *Right to Information Act* is passed to provide citizen's access to information held through public authorities.
- 2005 – *National Rural Employment Guarantee Act* guarantees universal right to employment.
- 2005 – Disappearance of Jaswant Singh Khalra through the Punjab Police 1 disappearances in Punjab.
- 2006 – Supreme Court orders police reforms in response to the poor human rights record of Indian police.
- 2009 – Delhi High Court declares that Part 377 of the Indian Penal Code, which outlaws a range of unspecified "unnatural" sex acts, is unconstitutional when applied to homosexual acts flanked by private consenting individuals, effectively decriminalizing homosexual relationships in India.

Use of Torture through Police

The Asian Centre for Human Rights estimated that flanked by 2002 and 2008, in excess of four people per day died while in police custody, with "hundreds" of those deaths being due to police use of torture. Just as to a statement written through the Institute of Correctional Administration in Punjab, up to 50% of police administrators in the state have used physical or mental abuse on prisoners. Instances of torture, such as by a lack of sanitation, legroom, or water have been documented in West Bengal as well.

Indian Administered Kashmir

Many international agencies and the UN have accounted human rights violations in Indian-administered Kashmir. In a recent press release the OHCHR spokesmen stated "The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is concerned in relation to the recent violent protests in Indian-administered Kashmir that have reportedly led to civilian casualties as well as restrictions to the right to freedom of assembly and expression.". A 1996 Human Rights Watch statement accuses the Indian military and Indian-government backed paramilitaries of "committ[ing] serious and widespread human rights violations in Kashmir." One such alleged massacre occurred on January 6, 1993 in the city of Sopore. *TIME Magazine* called the incident as such: "In retaliation for the killing of one soldier, paramilitary forces

rampaged by Sopore's market setting structures ablaze and shooting bystanders. The Indian government pronounced the event 'unfortunate' and claimed that an ammunition dump had been hit through gunfire, setting off fires that killed mainly of the victims." In addition to this, there have been claims of disappearances through the police or the army in Kashmir through many human rights institutions.

Several human rights institutions such as Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch in Kashmir through Indians such as "extra-judicial executions", "disappearances", and torture; the "Armed Forces Special Powers Act", which "gives impunity for human rights abuses and fuels cycles of violence. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act grants the military wide powers of arrest, the right to shoot to kill, and to inhabit or destroy property in counterinsurgency operations. Indian officials claim that troops require such powers because the army is only deployed when national security is at serious risk from armed combatants. Such conditions, they say, call for extraordinary events." Human rights institutions have also asked Indian government to repeal the Public Safety Act, since "a detainee may be held in administrative detention for a maximum of two years without a court order.". One 2008 statement determined that Indian Administered Kashmir, was 'partly Free',

Freedom of Expression

Just as to the estimates of Reporters Without Borders, India ranks 122nd worldwide in 2010 on the press freedom index. The press freedom index for India is 38.75 in 2010 on a level that runs from 0 to 105.

The Indian Constitution, while not mentioning the word "press", gives for "*the right to freedom of speech and expression*" ct to restrictions under subclaus for causes of "sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, preserving decency, preserving morality, in relation to contempt of court, defamation, or incitement to an offence". Laws such as the Official Secrets Act and

Prevention of Terrorism Act have been used to limit press freedom. Under POTA, person could be detained for up to six months before the police were required to bring charges on allegations for terrorism-related offenses. POTA was repealed in 2004, but was replaced through amendments to UAPA. The Official Secrets Act 1923 is abolished after right to information act 2005

For the first half-century of independence, media manage through the state was the biggest constraint on press freedom. Indira Gandhi famously stated in 1975 that All India Radio is "a Government organ, it is going to remain a Government organ..." With the liberalization starting in the 1990s, private manage of media has burgeoned, leading to rising independence and greater scrutiny of government. Institutions like Tehelka and NDTV have been particularly influential, e.g. in bringing in relation to the resignation of powerful Haryana minister Venod Sharma. In addition, laws like Prasar Bharati act passed in recent years contribute significantly to reducing the manage of the press through the government.

LGBT Rights

Until the Delhi High Court decriminalized consensual private sexual acts flanked by consenting adults on July 2, 2009, homosexuality was measured criminal as per interpretations of the ambiguous Part 377 of the 150 year old Indian Penal Code sh authorities. Though, this law was extremely rarely enforced. In its ruling decriminalizing homosexuality, the Delhi High Court noted that lived law conflicted with the fundamental rights guaranteed through the Constitution of India, and such criminalizing is violative of Articles 21, 14 and 15 of the Constitution.

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a \$8 million illegal business in India. Approximately 10,000 Nepali women are brought to India annually for commercial sexual use. Each year 20,000–25,000 women and children are trafficked from Bangladesh.

Babubhai Khimabhai Katara was a Member of Parliament when arrested for smuggling a child to Canada.

Religious Violence

Communal conflicts flanked by religious groups have been prevalent in India since approximately the time of its independence from British Rule. In the middle of the oldest incidences of communal violence in India was the Moplah rebellion, when Militant Islamists massacred Hindus in Kerala. Communal riots took lay throughout the partition of India flanked by Hindus/Sikhs and Muslims where big numbers of people were killed in big-level violence.

The 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots was a four-day era throughout which Sikhs were massacred through members of the secular-centrist Congress Party of India; some estimates state that more than 2,000 were killed. Other incidents contain the 1987 Hashimpura massacre throughout communal riots in Meerut, 1992 Bombay Riots and the 2002 Gujarat violence—in the latter, more than 100 Muslims were killed following a militant Islamist attack on a train full of Hindu pilgrims in the Godhra Train Burning, where 58 Hindus were killed. Lesser incidents plague several cities and villages; representative was the killing of five people in Mau, Uttar Pradesh throughout Hindu-Muslim rioting, which was triggered through the proposed celebration of a Hindu festival. Other such communal incidents contain the 2002 Marad massacre, which was accepted out through the militant Islamist group National Growth Front, as well as communal riots in Tamil Nadu executed through the Islamist Tamil Nadu Muslim Munnetra Kazagham against Hindus.

Caste Related Issues

Just as to a statement through Human Rights Watch, "Dalits and indigenous peoples continue to face discrimination, exclusion, and acts of communal violence. Laws and policies adopted through the Indian

government give a strong foundation for defense, but are not being faithfully implemented through regional authorities."

The UN stated in 2011 that the caste organization of India will be declared a human rights abuse. The UN's Human Rights Council, meeting in Geneva, is expected to ratify draft principles which recognises the level of persecution suffered through 65 million 'untouchables' or 'Dalits' who carry out the mainly menial and degrading work.

Amnesty International says "it is the responsibility of the Indian government to fully enact and apply its legal provisions against discrimination on the foundation of caste and descent.

Denotified tribes of India, beside with several itinerant tribes collectively 60 million in population, continue to face social stigma and economic hardships, despite the information Criminal Tribes Act 1871, was repealed through the government in 1952 and replaced through Habitual Offenders Act new list out of the old list of therefore-described "criminal tribes. These tribes even today face the consequences of the 'Prevention of Anti-Social Action Act', which only adds to their everyday thrash about for subsistence as mainly of them live below poverty row. National Human Rights Commission and UN's anti-discrimination body Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination have asked the government to repeal this law as well, as these former "criminalized" tribes continue to suffer oppression and social ostracization at big and several have been denied SC, ST or OBC status, denying them access to reservations which would elevated their economic and social status.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The feminist movement's Liberation, or Women's refers to a series of campaigns for reforms on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, women's suffrage, sexual harassment, and sexual violence, all of which fall under the label of feminism. The movement's priorities modify in the middle of nations and societies and range

from opposition to female genital mutilation in one country or to the glass ceiling in another.

The movement began in the western world in the late 18th century and has gone by three waves. First-wave feminism was oriented approximately the station of transitional- or upper-class white women and involved suffrage and political equality. Second-wave feminism attempted to further combat social and cultural inequalities. Third-wave feminism comprises renewed campaigning for women's greater power in politics.

History

The history of feminist movements has been divided into three "waves" through feminist scholars. Each deals with dissimilar characteristics of the similar feminist issues.

The history, measures, and structure of the feminist movement is closely related to the individuals at the time, specific protests that took lay, and the broader transformations taking lay in American civilization. The feminist movement worked and continues to work against the status quo in American community. Just as to bell hooks, "Feminism is a thrash about against sexist oppression. So, it is necessarily a thrash about to eradicate the ideology of power that permeates Western civilization on several stages, as well as a commitment to reorganizing community therefore that the self-growth of people can take precedence in excess of imperialism, economic expansion and material desires."

First Wave

The first wave refers to the feminist movement of the 19th by early 20th centuries, which focused largely on women's suffrage. Writers such as Virginia Woolf are associated with the ideas of the first wave of feminism. In her book *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf "describes how men socially and psychically control women." The argument of the book is that "women are

simultaneously victims of themselves as well as victims of men and are upholders of community through acting as mirrors to men." A general interpretation of this work is that Woolf recognizes the social constructs that restrict women in community and uses literature to contextualize it for other women.

The first women's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York. After 2 days of discussion and debate, 68 women and 32 men signed a Declaration of Sentiments, which outlined grievances and set the agenda for the women's rights movement. A set of 12 resolutions was adopted calling for equal treatment of women and men under the law and voting rights for women.

The term "first-wave" was coined retrospectively after the term second-wave feminism began to be used to define a newer feminist movement that focused as much on fighting social and cultural inequalities as further political inequalities.

In Britain, the Suffragettes campaigned for the women's vote, which was eventually granted – to some women in 1918 and to all in 1928 – as much because of the section played through British women throughout the First World War, as of the efforts of the Suffragists. In the United States leaders of this movement incorporated Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who each campaigned for the abolition of slavery prior to championing women's right to vote. Other significant leaders contain Lucy Stone, Olympia Brown, and Helen Pitts. American first-wave feminism involved a wide range of women, some belonging to conservative Christian groups, others resembling the variety and radicalism of much of second-wave feminism. Alice Paul helped to pass the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution through founding the National Woman's Party with Lucy Burns. The National Woman's Party pushed for an amendment to the Constitution to legalize women's right to vote, which was ratified in 1920. In the United States, first-wave feminism is measured to have ended with the passage of the

Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution granting women the right to vote.

Some of the earlier shapes of feminism have been criticized for being geared towards white, transitional-class, educated perspectives. This led to the making of ethnically specific or multiculturalists shapes of feminism.

Second Wave

The second wave was concerned with gender in excellence in laws and civilization. It built on what had been achieved in the first wave, and began adapting the ideas to America. Simone de Beauvoir is associated with this wave because of her thought of women as "the other". This thought was touched on in the script of Woolf, and was adapted to apply both to the gender roles of women in the household or at work, and also their sexuality. Beauvoir set the tone for later feminist theory.

The second wave of feminist action began in the early 1960s and lasted by the late 1980s. What helped trigger this second wave was the book written through Betty Friedan.

"The key event that marked the reemergence of this movement in the postwar period was the surprise popularity of Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique*. Script as a housewife and mother activism, as well, Friedan called the problem with no name the dissatisfaction of educated, transitional class wives and mothers like herself who, looking at their nice houses and families, wondered guiltily if that was all there was to life was not new; the vague sense of dissatisfaction plaguing housewives was a staple topic for women's magazines in the 1950s. But Friedan, instead of blaming individual women for failing to adapt to women's proper role, blamed the role itself and the community that created it.

Throughout this time, feminists campaigned against cultural and political inequalities, which they saw as inextricably connected. The movement encouraged women to understand characteristics of their own personal lives as deeply politicized, and reflective of a sexist structure of power. If first-wave feminism focused upon absolute rights such as suffrage, second-wave feminism was mainly concerned with other issues of equality,

such as the end to discrimination. The feminist activist and author Carol Hanisch coined the slogan "The Personal is Political", which became synonymous with the second wave.

Another largest movement, the Women's Health Movement, appeared in 1960s and 1970s and involved multiple groups such as the Boston Women's Health Book Communal, the National Women's Health Network, and the National Black Women's Health Project. It illuminated how the United States health care organization was failing women. Male manage in excess of the organization was questioned, which led to women enrolling in medical school, midwives becoming licensed, and women becoming more involved. The movement then sprung many Acts to be passed such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 and the Equal Opportunity in Science and Engineering Act of 1980 which specifically targeted the underrepresented groups in medicine, science, and engineering and get them more involved. Through 1986, the Advisory Committee on Women's Health Issues was recognized through the NIH to recommend rising women's participation in federally funded bio medical research.

Third Wave

In the early 1990s, a movement, now termed the third wave of feminism, arose in response to the perceived failures of the second wave feminism. In addition to being a response to the backlash against initiatives and movements created through second-wave feminism, the third wave was less reactive, and had a greater focus on developing the dissimilar achievements of women in America. The feminist movement as such grew throughout the third wave, to incorporate a greater number of women who may not have previously recognized with the dynamics and goals that were recognized at the start of the movement. However criticized as merely a continuation of the second wave, the third wave made its own unique contributions.

Feminist leaders rooted in the second wave, such as Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks, Chela Sandoval, Cherrie Moraga, Audre Lorde, Maxine Hong Kingston, and several other feminists of color, described for a new subjectivity in feminist voice. They sought to negotiate prominent legroom within feminist idea for consideration of race-related subjectivities. This focus on the intersection flanked by race and gender remained prominent by the Hill-Thomas hearings, but began to shift with the Freedom Ride 1992. This drive to register voters in poor minority societies was bounded with rhetoric that focused on rallying young feminists. For several, the rallying of the young is the emphasis that has stuck within third wave feminism.

Scope

As a movement, these women produced the deepest transformation in American community and enlisted the main number of participants. Underlying the specific conflicts in political economy and civilization evoked an intensified awareness of gender issues to activists on all sides of the issue and to millions of other ordinary citizens. Historian Nancy Cott wrote "feminism was an impulse that was impossible to translate into a program without centrifugal results" in relation to the first wave of the movement. What made a transform in gender order feel necessary to therefore much of community was the fate of the family wage organization: the male breadwinner/female homemaker thought that formed government policies and employment in businesses. In the years of the movement women accomplished several of the goals they set out to do. They won defense from employment discrimination, inclusion in affirmative action, abortion law reform, greater representation in media, equal access to school athletics, congressional passage of an equal rights movement, and more.

Demographic changes started sweeping industrial community: birth rates declined, life expectancy increased, and women were entering the paid labor force in big numbers. New public policies appeared fitted to changing

family shapes and individual life cycles. The work of these women also changed the popular understanding of marriage and the extremely meaning of life; women came to want more out of their marriages and from men, education, and themselves.

The efforts and accomplishments of these women and institutions during the women's movement inspired several authors of that time to write in relation to their personal experiences with feminism. Jo Freeman and Sara Evans were two such authors. Both women participated in the movement and wrote in relation to their firsthand knowledge of feminism. Freeman, American feminist and writer, wrote many feminist articles on issues such as social movements, political parties, public policy toward women and several other significant pieces in relation to the women. Evans wrote her experiences in books such as *The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* and *Born for Liberty*. Her works focused more on young women activists recognizing that the "personal is political" as well as showing how these women used discussion sessions to expand understanding of the social roots of personal troubles and worked towards developing dissimilar practices to address those issues.

Section of what made feminism therefore successful was the method women in dissimilar situations urbanized their own variants and organized for the goals mainly significant to them. All women - Native American women, working class women, Jewish women, Catholic women, sex workers, and women with disabilities - called what gender excellence would mean for them and worked jointly to achieve it.

Cultural Dynamics

The feminist movement's agenda comprises acting as a counter to the putatively patriarchal strands in the dominant civilization. While differing throughout the progression of waves, it is a movement that has sought to

challenge the political structure, power holders, and cultural beliefs or practices.

Although antecedents to feminism may be establish distant back before the 18th century, the seeds of the contemporary feminist movement were planted throughout the late section of that century. Christine de Pizan, a late medieval writer, was perhaps the earliest feminist in the western custom. She is whispered to be the first woman to create a livelihood out of script. Feminist idea began to take a more substantial shape throughout the Enlightenment with such thinkers as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Marquis de Condorcet championing women's education. The first scientific community for women was founded in Middelburg, a municipality in the south of the Dutch republic, in 1785. Journals for women that focused on issues like science became popular throughout this era as well.

The women who made the first efforts towards women's suffrage came from more stable and privileged backgrounds, and were able to dedicate time and power into creation transform. Initial growths for women, so, largely benefited white women in the transitional and upper classes. Therefore, the beginning of the feminist movement in America was a specific agenda for a sure group of women.

The dissimilar waves of feminism are not only reflective of the cultural development in America since the 1920s. It is also the method in which the feminist movement used dissimilar social movement tactics to encourage women in America to become active and motivate individuals to create transform for all women in America. Although the feminist movement has spanned approximately a century, there are methods in which to break down the timeline and recognize how women have framed the methods they have achieved dissimilar goals during history. "Through rendering measures or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or communal".

The feminist movement has been an ongoing attendance in American civilization, and the group of women targeted at the beginning has since changed. The beginning of the feminist movement was seen as exclusive in that, just as to bell hooks, "women... felt that our only response to white, bourgeois, hegemonic dominance of feminist movement is to trash, reject, or dismiss feminism."

Often, the three waves of Feminism are established as examples of how values have been recognized, shared, and transformed, and the feminist movement as a entire has worked to redefine sure standards of its agenda in order to contain a broader spectrum of people. For instance, the movement later incorporated women of dissimilar races and sexual orientations. It was only in the fall of 1971 that NOW "acknowledged, 'the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate concern of feminism'"

The feminist movement continues to support and encourage women to pursue their goals as individuals who deserve equal opportunity. "The Basis of future feminist thrash about necessity be solidly based on a recognition of the require to eradicate the underlying cultural foundation and reasons of sexism and other shapes of group oppression," just as to bell hooks.

Liberation in the U.S.

The phrase "Women's Liberation" was first used in the United States in 1964, and first emerged in print in 1966. Through 1968, although the term *Women's Liberation Front* emerged in the magazine *Ramparts*, it was starting to refer to the entire women's movement. Bra-burning also became associated with the movement, although this term is a misnomer as no bras were actually burned at the Miss America protest. The work of the feminist movement has had liberation as a specific goal for women but the agenda has evolved as civilization has transformed and the issues being addressed through the feminist movement have increased. Keeping in mind that the "Optimism in relation to the outcome of a communal challenge will therefore enhance the

probability of participation; pessimism will diminish it" allowed women who so achieved some sense of liberation to feel accomplished with the time and power they were dedicating to the movement.

Participation lacked in respect to the broader spectrum of women in America, specifically women who were not white and section of the transitional to upper class. The transitions made during history, though, helped to expand the efforts of the feminist movement to contain women of dissimilar race, class, and sexual orientation. Dissimilar actions have been seen to be highlights of women's liberation, but it was a goal of the greater movement rather than one specific moment in history. One of the mainly vocal critics of the women's liberation movement has been the African-American feminist and intellectual Gloria Jean Watkins, who argues that this movement glossed in excess of race and class and therefore failed to address "the issues that divided women". She highlighted the lack of minority voices in the women's movement in her book *Feminist theory from periphery to center*.

This division flanked by women in America was the result of differences of race, class, and sexual orientation. It has been "Racism keeps women from uniting against sexism." It is significant not to view race or gender with an eye of oppression. The origins of women's liberation in America can be recognized as being section of two branches that essentially started the feminist movement and more specifically the actions towards women's liberation. The older of the two branches incorporated the formation of institutions such as Women's Equity Action League, Human Rights of Women, and the National Organization of Women concerned with the legal and economic obstacles facing women. Men and women worked to address issues of working women, gender roles, salary, and opportunities of women in the workforce. The second branch recognized as the younger branch incorporated a superior number of smaller groups that focused specifically on dissimilar activities. The efforts of the younger branch was convinced through the measures and actions of the Civil Rights Movement, and the motivation to

make transform came from groups like Students for a Democratic Community ties to get involved. Through rising awareness in relation to the women's issues individuals were motivated to educate themselves, whether it was by experience or academics.

The variation flanked by the older and younger branches is their organization and structure. The older branch is more likely to work with the structure of community whereas the younger group tend to defy the institutionalized aspect of working with the organization. The younger branch creates up several dissimilar groups which tended to form in the middle of friend circles creating challenges like diversifying the groups. These two branches are significant to recognize because they allow the history of the feminist movement to be contextualized within American civilization. The branches help to identify the efforts that have gone on in social circles, college campuses, and municipalities all in excess of the country.

Black Feminism in the US

First Wave Black Feminism

In the United States of America, the early 19th century marked the beginning of the black feminist movement. The first wave of black feminism lasted from the early 1820s to the early 1830s. Black Feminism as a movement precedes what is popularly measured the beginning of the feminist movement in United States which is based off the belief that feminism only came into subsistence as an organized movement throughout the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. The Seneca Falls Convention is pinpointed in several historical accounts as the beginning of First Wave Feminism, which focused essentially on white females only.

Beverly Guy-Sheftall coined the term "Black Feminist Abolitionists" to define the first wave black feminists. This term arose from the historical measures that led to the rise of these feminists throughout the antebellum era: slavery. The abolition movement helped black females of the time era

converge and make a movement which would bring light to their situation of “triple jeopardy.” Some of the mainly prominent feminists of this time era were Maria Stewart, Frances E. W. Harper, and Sojourner Truth, who were extremely vocal in relation to the black women’s rights and wrote several well-known works on the subject of black female oppression. The abolitionist movement was the background for black women to converge and begin their feminist movement. The location of the female slave throughout this time gave her a unique perspective to see the oppression that she faced in comparison to both her black male and white female counterparts. The movement began as a method to liberate black women from oppression that was generated from the intersection of race, gender and class, which placed black women at the lowest stratum of community in an economically exploitative organization. Black feminist theory is built upon the belief that black women face more oppression than their white female equivalents within community because of sexist, racist and classist hierarchies. Throughout the active slave trade, black women were oppressed not only through white chauvinistic perspectives, but also that of the patriarchal community which held her under the power of both her white masters and her fellow black male slaves. Nearing the end of the 19th century and throughout the beginning of the 20th century, black women had created several clubs and institutions to progress their message and reason. These networks helped to set up the social and political agenda that the women would pursue such as suffrage and demanding ideals of racism and sexual stereotypes placed upon black women.

Second Wave Black Feminism

Second wave black feminism, a post World War II movement also preceded the more documented second wave white feminism. Second wave black feminism lasted from the end of World War II into the mid 1960s. This secondary movement focused more on the black woman's role in community and the methods these women were both oppressed and represented within the

social structure. The second wave was the beginning of black internationalist feminism, a movement which connects America's use of black countries on the international level and the plight of black people at home in the United States. Black women in the United States who felt they were in a location of statelessness drove this movement because they felt unnoticed and unprotected through the United States government. This movement also dealt with the use of black female domestic workers, who were underpaid and overworked and were subservient to their white masters. Going into the Civil Rights Movement, black feminists played an extremely crucial role, although they often went unrecognized for their efforts. This time era was predominantly used for black women to further the issue of male dominance within the black society throughout the civil rights and black power movements.

Social Changes

The feminist movement effected transform in Western community, including women's suffrage, the right to initiate divorce proceedings and "no fault" divorce, the right of women to create individual decisions concerning pregnancy and the right to own property. It has also led to broad employment for women at more equitable wages, and access to university education.

The *United Nations Human Development Report 2004* estimated that when both paid employment and unpaid household tasks are accounted for, on standard women work more than men. In rural regions of selected developing countries women performed an average of 20% more work than men, or 120% of men's total work- an additional 102 minutes per day. In the OECD countries surveyed, on standard women performed 5% more work than men, or 105% of men's total work-an additional 20 minutes per day. Though, men did up to 19 minutes more work per day than women in five out of the eighteen OECD countries surveyed: Canada, Denmark, Hungary, Israel, and The Netherlands. Just as to UN Women, "Women perform 66 percent of the

world's work, produce 50 percent of the food, but earn 10 percent of the income and own 1 percent of the property."

The social climate in America has definitely evolved during history. The definitions of feminism, feminist, and feminist theory are no longer a monolithic term. There are multiple dimensions to the movement that encompass all dissimilar characteristics of American civilization. In America "mainly people are socialized to think in conditions of opposition rather than compatibility". Social changes have not only incorporated the right to vote, greater excellence in the workforce, as well as reproductive rights, but also the recognition of injustices and the methods in which both men and women can work to transform them. Just as to bell hooks, in order to make transform it is essential to recognize that "exploited and oppressed groups of women are generally encouraged through those in power to feel that their situation is hopeless, that they can do nothing to break the pattern of power"

Language

Feminists are often proponents of by non-sexist language, by "Ms." to refer to both married and unmarried women, for instance, or the ironic use of the term "herstory" instead of "history". Feminists are also often proponents of by *gender-inclusive* language, such as "humanity" instead of "mankind", or "he or she" in lay of "he" where the gender is strange.

Gender-neutral language is a account of language usages which is aimed at minimizing assumptions concerning the biological sex of human referents. The advocacy of gender-neutral language reflects, at least, two dissimilar agendas: one aims to clarify the *inclusion* of both sexes or genders; the other proposes that gender, as a category, is rarely worth marking in language. Gender-neutral language is sometimes called as *non-sexist language* through advocates and *politically correct language* through opponents.

Not only has the movement approach to transform the language into gender neutral but the feminist movement has brought up how people use

language. Emily Martin describes the concept of how metaphors are gendered and ingrained into everyday life. Metaphors are used in everyday language and have become a method that people define the world. Martin explains that these metaphors structure how people think and in regards to science can shape what questions are being asked. If the right questions are not being asked then the answers are not going to be the right either. For instance, the aggressive sperm and passive egg is a metaphor that felt 'natural' to people in history but as scientists have reexamined this phenomenon they have approach up with a new answer. "The sperm tries to pull its getaway act even on the egg itself, but is held down against its struggles through molecules on the surface of the egg that hook jointly with counterparts on the sperm's surface, fastening the sperm until the egg can absorb it." This is a goal in feminism to see these gendered metaphors and bring it to the public's attention. The outcome of looking at things in a new perspective can produce new information.

Heterosexual Relationships

The increased entry of women into the workplace beginning in the 20th century has affected gender roles and the division of labor within households. Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild in *The Second Shift* and *The Time Bind* presents proof that in two-career couples, men and women, on standard, spend in relation to the equal amounts of time working, but women still spend more time on housework. Feminist writer Cathy Young responds to Hochschild's assertions through arguing that in some cases, women may prevent the equal participation of men in housework and parenting.

Feminist criticisms of men's contributions to child care and domestic labor in the Western transitional class are typically centered approximately the thought that it is unfair for women to be expected to perform more than half of a household's domestic work and child care when both members of the connection perform an equal share of work outside the house. Many studies

give statistical proof that the financial income of married men does not affect their rate of attending to household duties.

In *Dubious Conceptions*, Kristin Luker discusses the effect of feminism on teenage women's choices to bear children, both in and out of wedlock. She says that as childbearing out of wedlock has become more socially acceptable, young women, especially poor young women, while not bearing children at a higher rate than in the 1950s, now see less of a cause to get married before having a child. Her account for this is that the economic prospects for poor men are slim, hence poor women have a low chance of finding a husband who will be able to give reliable financial support due to the rise of unemployment from more workers on the market, from presently men to women and men.

Some studies have suggested that both men and women perceive feminism as being incompatible with romance. Though, a recent survey of U.S. undergraduates and older adults establish that feminism actually has a positive impact on connection health for women and sexual satisfaction for men, and establish no support for negative stereotypes of feminists.

Virginia Satir said the require for connection education appeared from shifting gender roles as women gained greater rights and freedoms throughout the 20th century:

"As we moved into the 20th century, we arrived with a extremely clearly prescribed method that males and females in marriage were to behave with one another... The pattern of the connection flanked by husband and wife was that of the dominant male and submissive female... A new period has since dawned... the climate of relationships had changed, and women were no longer willing to be submissive... The end of the dominant/submissive model in relationships was in sight. Though, there was extremely little that had urbanized to replace the old pattern; couples floundered... Retrospectively, one could have expected that there would be a lot of chaos and a lot of fall-out. The transform from the dominant/submissive model to one of excellence is a monumental shift. We are studying how a connection based on genuine feelings of excellence can operate practically."— *Virginia Satir, Introduction to PAIRS*

Religion

Feminist theology is a movement that reconsiders the traditions, practices, scriptures, and theologies of religions from a feminist perspective. Some of the goals of feminist theology contain rising the role of women in the middle of the clergy and religious authorities, reinterpreting male-dominated imagery and language in relation to the God, determining the lay of women in relation to career and motherhood, and learning images of women in the religion's sacred texts.

The feminist movement has affected religion and theology in profound methods. In liberal branches of Protestant Christianity, women are now allowed to be ordained as clergy, and in Reform, Conservative and Reconstructionist Judaism, women are now allowed to be ordained as rabbis and cantors. In some of these groups, some women are slowly obtaining positions of power that were formerly only held through men, and their perspectives are now sought out in developing new statements of belief. These trends, though, have been resisted within mainly sects of Islam, Roman Catholicism, and Orthodox Christianity.

Christian feminism is a branch of feminist theology which seeks to reinterpret and understand Christianity in light of the excellence of women and men. While there is no average set of beliefs in the middle of Christian feminists, mainly agree that God does not discriminate on the foundation of biologically determined aspects such as sex. Their biggest issues are the ordination of women, male dominance in Christian marriage, and claims of moral deficiency and inferiority of abilities compared to men. They also are concerned with the balance of parenting flanked by mothers and fathers, and the overall treatment of women in the church.

Early feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton concentrated approximately solely on "creation women equal to men". Though, the Christian feminist movement chose to concentrate on the language of religion because they viewed the historic gendering of God as male as a result of the

pervasive power of patriarchy. Rosemary Radford Ruether provided a systematic critique of Christian theology from a feminist and theist point of view.

Islamic feminism is concerned with the role of women in Islam and aims for the full excellence of all Muslims, regardless of gender, in public and private life. Although rooted in Islam, the movement's pioneers have also utilized secular and Western feminist discourses. Advocates of the movement seek to highlight the deeply rooted teachings of excellence in the Quran and encourage a questioning of the patriarchal interpretation of Islamic teaching by the Quran, *hadith*, and *sharia* and presently community.

Jewish feminism seeks to improve the religious, legal, and social status of women within Judaism and to open up new opportunities for religious experience and leadership for Jewish women. In its contemporary form, the movement can be traced to the early 1970s in the United States. Just as to Judith Plaskow, who has focused on feminism in Reform Judaism, the largest issues for early Jewish feminists in these movements were the exclusion from the all-male prayer group or *minyan*, the exemption from positive time-bound *mitzvot*, and women's inability to function as witnesses and to initiate divorce.

Women's Health

Historically there has been a require to revise and contribute to the health and well-being of a woman that previously has been lacking. Londa Schiebinger suggests that the general biomedical model is no longer adequate and there is a require for a broader model to ensure that all characteristics of a woman are being cared for. Schiebinger describes six contributions that necessity happen in order to have success: political movement, academic women studies, affirmative action, health excellence act, geo-political forces, and professional women not being afraid to talk openly in relation to the women issues.

Political movements approach from the streets and are what the people as a entire want to see changed. An academic women revise is the support from universities in order to teach a subject that mainly people have never encountered. Affirmative action enacted is a legal transform to acknowledge and do something for the times of neglect people were subjected to. Women's Health Equity Act legally enforces the thought that medicine requires to be tested in appropriate standards such as including women in research studies and is also allocates a set amount of money to research diseases that are specific towards women. Geo-political forces can improve health, when the country is not at a sense of threat in war there is more funding and possessions to focus on other requires, such as women's health. Lastly, professional women not being afraid to talk in relation to the women's issues moves women from entering into these occupations and preventing them for presently acting as men and instead embracing their concerns for the health of women. These six factors require to be incorporated in order for there to be transform in women's health.

Women Movements in India

Feminism in India is a set of movements aimed at defining, establishing, and defending equal political, economic, and social rights and equal opportunities for Indian women. It is the pursuit of women's rights within the community of India. Like their feminist counterparts all in excess of the world, feminists in India seek gender equality: the right to work for equal wages, the right to equal access to health and education, and equal political rights. Indian feminists also have fought against civilization-specific issues within India's patriarchal community, such as inheritance laws and the practice of widow immolation recognized as Sati.

The history of feminism in India can be divided into three phases: the first stage, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, initiated when male European colonists began to speak out against the social evils of Sati; the

second stage, from 1915 to Indian independence, when Gandhi included women's movements into the Quit India movement and self-governing women's institutions began to emerge; and finally, the third stage, post-independence, which has focused on fair treatment of women in the work force and right to political parity.

Despite the progress made through Indian feminist movements, women livelihood in contemporary India still face several issues of discrimination. India's patriarchal civilization has made the procedure of gaining land-ownership rights and access to education demanding. In the past two decades, there has also appeared a disturbing trend of sex-selective abortion. To Indian feminists, these are seen as injustices worth struggling against.

As in the West, there has been some criticism of feminist movements in India. They have especially been criticized for focusing too much on women already privileged, and neglecting the requires and representation of poorer or lower caste women. This has led to the making of caste-specific feminist institutions and movements.

Defining Feminism in the Indian Context

Women's role in Pre-colonial social structures reveals that feminism was theorized differently in India than in the West. In India, women's issues first began to be addressed when the state commissioned a statement on the status of women to a group of feminist researchers and activists. The statement established the information that in India, women were oppressed under a organization of structural hierarchies and injustices. Throughout this era, Indian feminists were convinced through the Western debates being mannered in relation to the violence against women. Though, due to the variation in the historical and social civilization of India, the debate in favor of Indian women had to be mannered creatively and sure Western ideas had to be rejected. Women's issues began to gain an international prominence when the decade of 1975-1985 was declared the United Nations Decade for Women.

Historical conditions and values in India have caused feminists to develop a feminism that differs from Western feminism. For instance, the thought of women as "powerful" is accommodated into patriarchal civilization by religion, which has retained visibility in all parts of community. This has provided women with traditional "cultural places." Furthermore, in the West the notion of "self" rests in competitive individualism where people are called as "born free yet everywhere in chains." In India the individual is generally measured to be presently one section of the superior social communal. Survival of the individual is dependent upon cooperation, and self-denial for the greater good is valued.

Indian women negotiate survival by an array of oppressive patriarchal family structures: age, ordinal status, connection to men by family of origin, marriage and procreation as well as patriarchal attributes. Examples of patriarchal attributes contain: dowry, siring sons etc., kinship, caste, society, village, market and the state. It should though be noted that many societies in India, such as the Nairs of Kerala, Shettys of Mangalore, sure Maratha clans, and Bengali families exhibit matriarchal tendencies. In these societies, the head of the family is the oldest woman rather than the oldest man. Sikh civilization is also regarded as comparatively gender-neutral.

The heterogeneity of the Indian experience reveals that there are multiple patriarchies, contributing to the subsistence of multiple feminisms. Hence, feminism in India is not a singular theoretical orientation; it has changed in excess of time in relation to historical and cultural realities, stages of consciousness, perceptions and actions of individual women, and women as a group. The widely used definition is "An awareness of women's oppression and use in community, at work and within the family, and conscious action through women and men to transform this situation." Acknowledging sexism in daily life and attempting to challenge and eliminate it by deconstructing mutually exclusive notions of femininity and masculinity as biologically

determined categories opens the method towards an equitable community for both men and women.

The male and female dichotomy of polar opposites with the former oppressing the latter at all times is refuted in the Indian context because it was men who initiated social reform movements against several social evils. Patriarchy is presently one of the hierarchies. Relational hierarchies flanked by women within the similar family are more adverse. Here women are pitted against one another. Not all women are powerless at all times.

There have been intense debates within the Indian women's movements in relation to the connection flanked by Western and Indian feminisms. Several Indian feminists simultaneously claim a specific "Indian" sensitivity as well as an international feminist solidarity with groups and individuals worldwide. The rise of liberal feminism in the West in the 1970s focused deeply on demands for equal opportunities in education and employment, as well as ending violence against women. To a big extent, the emerging feminist movement in India was convinced through Western ideals. These described for education and equal rights, but also adapted their appeals to regional issues and concerns, such as dowry-related violence against women, Sati, sex selective abortion and custodial rape. Some Indian feminists have suggested that these issues are not specifically "Indian" in nature but rather a reflection of a wider trend of patriarchal oppression of women.

History

Unlike the Western feminist movement, India's movement was initiated through men, and later joined through women. The efforts of these men incorporated abolishing sati, which was a widow's death through burning on her husband's funeral pyre, the tradition of child marriage, abolishing the disfiguring of widows, banning the marriage of upper caste Hindu widows, promoting women's education, obtaining legal rights for women to own

property, and requiring the law to acknowledge women's status through granting them vital rights in matters such as adoption.

The 19th century was the era that saw a majority of women's issues approach under the spotlight and reforms began to be made. Much of the early reforms for Indian women were mannered through men. Though, through the late 19th century they were joined in their efforts through their wives, sisters, daughters, proteges and other individuals directly affected through campaigns such as those accepted out for women's education. Through the late 20th century, women gained greater autonomy by the formation of self-governing women's own institutions. Through the late thirties and forties a new narrative began to be constructed concerning "women's activism". This was newly researched and expanded with the vision to make 'logical' and organic links flanked by feminism and Marxism, as well as with anti-communalism and anti-casteism, etc. The Constitution of India did guarantee 'excellence flanked by the sexes,' which created a comparative lull in women's movements until the 1970s.

Throughout the formative years of women's rights movements, the variation flanked by the sexes was more or less taken for granted in that their roles, functions, aims and desires were dissimilar. As a result, they were not only to be reared differently but treated differently also. In excess of the course of time, this variation itself became a biggest cause for initiating women's movements. Early 19th century reformers argued that the variation flanked by men and women was no cause for the subjection of women in community. Though, later reformers were of the opinion that indeed it was this scrupulous variation that subjugated women to their roles in community, for instance, as mothers. So, there was a require for the proper care of women's rights. With the formation of women's institutions and their own participation in campaigns, their roles as mothers was again stressed but in a dissimilar light: this time the argument was for women's rights to speech, education and emancipation. Though, the image of women with the mother as a symbol

underwent changes in excess of time - from an emphasis on family to the making of an archetypal mother figure, evoking deep, often atavistic images.

- *First Stage: 1850–1915*

The colonial venture into modernity brought concepts of democracy, excellence and individual rights. The rise of the concept of nationalism and introspection of discriminatory practices brought in relation to the social reform movements related to caste and gender relations. This first stage of feminism in India was initiated through men to uproot the social evils of sati, to allow widow remarriage, to forbid child marriage, and to reduce illiteracy, as well as to regulate the age of consent and to ensure property rights by legal intervention. In addition to this, some upper caste Hindu women rejected constraints they faced under Brahminical traditions. Though, efforts for improving the status of women in Indian community were somewhat thwarted through the late nineteenth century, as nationalist movements appeared in India. These movements resisted 'colonial interventions in gender relations' particularly in the regions of family relations. In the mid to late nineteenth century, there was a national form of resistance to any colonial efforts made to 'modernize' the Hindu family. This incorporated the Age of Consent controversy that erupted after the government tried to raise the age of marriage for women.

- *Second Stage: 1915–1947*

Throughout this era the thrash about against colonial rule intensified. Nationalism became the pre-eminent reason. Claiming Indian superiority became the tool of cultural revivalism resulting in an essentializing model of Indian womanhood same to that of Victorian womanhood: special yet separated from public legroom. Gandhi legitimized and expanded Indian women's public activities through initiating them into the non-violent civil disobedience movement against the British Raj. He exalted their feminine roles of caring, self-abnegation, sacrifice and tolerance; and carved a niche for

those in the public arena. Women-only institutions like All India Women's Conference and the National Federation of Indian Women appeared. Women were grappling with issues relating to the scope of women's political participation, women's franchise, communal awards, and leadership roles in political parties.

The 1920s was a new period for Indian women and is defined as 'feminism' that was responsible for the making of localized women's associations. These associations accentuated women's education issues, urbanized living strategies for working class women, and also organized national stage women's associations such as the All India Women's Conference. AIWC was closely affiliated with the Indian National Congress. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it worked within the nationalist and anti-colonialist freedom movements. This made the mass mobilization of women an integral section of Indian nationalism. Women so were a extremely significant section of several nationalist and anti-colonial efforts, including the civil disobedience movements in the 1970s.

After independence, the All India Women's Conference sustained to operate and in 1954 the Indian Communist Party shaped its own women's wing recognized as the National Federation of Indian Women. Though, feminist agendas and movements became less active right after India's 1947 independence, as the nationalist agendas on nation structure took precedence in excess of feminist issues.

Women's participation in the thrash about for freedom urbanized their critical consciousness in relation to the their role and rights in self-governing India. This resulted in the introduction of the franchise and civic rights of women in the Indian constitution. There was provision for women's upliftment by affirmative action, maternal health and child care provision, equal pay for equal work etc. The state adopted a patronizing role towards women. For instance, India's constitution states that women are a "weaker part" of the population, and so require assistance to function as equals.

Therefore women in India did not have to thrash about for vital rights as did women in the West. The utopia ended soon when the social and cultural ideologies and structures failed to honor the newly acquired concepts of fundamental rights and democracy.

- *Feminism: Post-1947*

Post independence feminists began to redefine the extent to which women were allowed to engage in the workforce. Prior to independence, mainly feminists carried the sexual divide within the labor force. Though, feminists in the 1970s challenged the inequalities that had been recognized and fought to reverse them. These inequalities incorporated unequal wages for women, relegation of women to 'unskilled' spheres of work, and restricting women as a reserve army for labor. In other languages, the feminists' aim was to abolish the free service of women who were essentially being used as cheap capital. Feminist class-consciousness also came into focus in the 1970s, with feminists recognizing the inequalities not presently flanked by men and women but also within power structures such as caste, tribe, language, religion, area, class etc. This also posed as a challenge for feminists while shaping their overreaching campaigns as there had to be a focus within efforts to ensure that fulfilling the demands of one group would not make further inequalities for another. Now, in the early twenty-first century, the focus of the Indian feminist movement has gone beyond treating women as useful members of community and a right to parity, but also having the power to decide the course of their personal lives and the right of self-determination.

Issues

Despite “on-paper” advancements, several troubles still remain which inhibit women from fully taking advantage of new rights and opportunities in India. There are several traditions and customs that have been an significant section of Indian civilization for hundreds of years. Religious laws and expectations, or “personal laws” enumerated through each specific religion,

often clash with the Indian Constitution, eliminating rights and powers women should legally have. Despite these crossovers in legality, the Indian government does not interfere with religion and the personal laws they hold. Religions, like Hinduism, call for women to be faithful servants to God and their husbands. They have a term described *pativrata* that describes a wife who has carried service and devotion to her husband and her family as her ultimate religion and duty. Indian community is mainly collected of hierarchical systems within families and societies. These hierarchies can be broken down into age, sex, ordinal location, kinship relationships, and caste, lineage, wealth, jobs, and connection to ruling power. When hierarchies emerge within the family based on social convention and economic require, girls in poorer families suffer twice the impact of vulnerability and continuity. From birth, girls are automatically entitled to less; from playtime, to food, to education, girls can anticipate to always be entitled to less than their brothers. Girls also have less access to their family's income and assets, which is exacerbated in the middle of poor, rural Indian families. From the start, it is understood that females will be burdened with strenuous work and exhausting responsibilities for the rest of their lives, always with little to no compensation or recognition.

India is also a patriarchal community, which, through definition, describes cultures in which males as fathers or husbands are assumed to be in charge and the official heads of households. A patrilineal organization governs the community, where descent and inheritance are traced by the male row and men are usually in manage of the sharing of family possessions.

These traditions and methods of Indian life have been in effect for therefore extensive that this kind of lifestyle is what women have become accustomed to and anticipate. Indian women often do not take full advantage of their constitutional rights because they are not properly aware or informed of them. Women also tend to have poor utilization of voting rights because they possess low stages of political awareness and sense of political efficacy.

Women are not often encouraged to become informed in relation to the issues. Due to this, political parties do not invest much time in female candidates because there is a perception that they are a "wasted investment."

The female-to-male ratio in India is 933 to 1000, showing that there are numerically fewer women in the country than men. This is due to many factors, including infanticides, mainly commonly in the middle of female infants, and the poor care of female infants and childbearing women. Although outlawed, infanticides are still highly popular in rural India, and are continuing to become even more prominent. This is due to the information, mainly especially in rural regions, that families cannot afford female children because of the dowry they necessity pay when their daughter gets married. Like infanticide, the payment of dowry is also illegal, but is still a frequent and prevalent occurrence in rural India. Women are measured to be "worthless" through their husbands if they are not "able" to produce a male child, and can often face much abuse if this is the case.

- *Birth Ratio*

Flanked by the years of 1991 to 2001, the female-male ratio of the population of India fell from 94.5 girls per 100 boys to 92.7 girls per 100 boys. This is proof of nationality inequality, and an indication that sex-selective abortion has become more pervasive. The Indian parliament has banned the use of sex determination techniques for fetuses due to this, but enforcement of this law has been mainly ignored.

- *Marriage*

Mainly of the standard Indian woman's life is spent in marriage; several women are still married before the legal age of 18, and the incidence of non-marriage is low in India. Childbearing and raising children are the priorities of early adulthood for Indian women. Therefore, if they enter the workforce at all, it is distant later than Indian men. Urban Indian men reach the peak of their labor force participation flanked by the ages of 25 and 29,

while urban Indian women do therefore flanked by the ages of 40 and 44. Because of this, women have less time for the acquisition of skills and fewer opportunities for occupation improvements.

There is a poor representation of women in the Indian workforce. Females have a ten percent higher drop-out rate than males from transitional and primary schools, as well as lower stages of literacy than men. Since unemployment is also high in India, it is easy for employers to manipulate the law, especially when it comes to women, because it is section of Indian civilization for women not to argue with men. Additionally, labor unions are insensitive to women's requires. Women also have to settle for occupations that comply with their obligations as wives, mothers, and homemakers.

Theology

- ***Hindu Feminism***

In the Hindu religion, there has been incomplete success in conditions of gender excellence reform laws and family law. While this is a biggest advancement comparative to other religions in India, it is still not a complete triumph in conditions of feminism and relieving oppression. Gandhi came up with the term *stree shakti* for the concept of womanhood. In the Hindu religion, Gods are not exclusively male. Hinduism sheds a positive light on femininity; females are measured to complement and complete their male counterparts. It is significant to note that the deities of both knowledge and wealth are female.

There has been some criticism from Dalit groups that Indian feminism tends to symbolize "upper caste" and upper class Hindu women, while ignoring and marginalizing the interests of Dalit women. Debates on caste and gender oppression have been furthered through Other Backward Classiest, arguing in state assemblies that "lower caste" women's interests are best represented through women from these castes. Working towards this end, women within Dalit castes have shaped institutions such as the All India Dalit

Women's Forum and the National Federation of Dalit Women and Dalit Solidarity, which focus on the gendered implications of caste based violence and oppression, such as the methods in which Dalit women suffer from urban poverty and displacement.

- *Islamic Feminism*

The Hindu and Muslim societies in India were treated differently through the government in that separate kinds of concessions were made for each society in order to accommodate their separate religious laws and regulations. The case of Shah Bano begun in 1985 was one such instance of Rajiv Gandhi attempting to create "concessions" for the Muslim society to in turn close support for the Congress. Shah Bano, a 73-year-old Muslim woman, was divorced through her husband after forty-three years of marriage. Just as to the Sharia or Muslim Law, her husband was not required to pay her alimony. Shah Bano challenged this decision in the Supreme Court, which ultimately ruled in her favor and ordered her husband to pay her a monthly maintenance allowance. This caused chaos amongst the Muslim clerics who denounced the judgment and suggested that their religion, Islam was under attack in the country. In a fear of losing overall Muslim support, Rajiv succumbed to the pressures of the Muslim society and his own party and backed the Muslim Women Bill that overruled the Supreme Court's decision. This caused an outcry from Hindu nationalists who establish the appeasement of minorities through the Congress for political purposes wrong and opportunistic.

Feminism was challenged through several minority groups for not entirely addressing the requires of minority populations. It was suggested that 'mainstream' feminism was upper caste and Hindu in its orientation and did not address the concerns of minority women. This led to the formation of the Awaaz-e-Niswaan in 1987 in Mumbai in mainly Muslim section of the

municipality. The Muslim society has been subjected to personal laws that often were measured harmful to the rights of Muslim women.

Impact

Western-educated Indians introduced excellence in the early nineteenth century. Though, the term did not gain meaning or become an operational principle in Indian life until the country gained independence in 1947 and adopted a democratic government. The Indian Constitution then granted equality, freedom from discrimination based on gender or religion, and guaranteed religious freedoms. Also, seven five-year plans were urbanized to give health, education, employment, and welfare to women. The sixth five-year plan even declared women “partners in growth.”

- ***Employment***

In common in the uneducated and rural part of the Indian community, which shapes a biggest percentage of the total population, women are seen as economic burdens. Their contributions to productivity are mostly invisible as their familial and domestic contributions are unfairly overlooked. Indian women were contributing almost 36 percent of total employment in agriculture and related activities, almost 19 percent in the service sector, and almost 12.5 in the industry sector as of the year 2000. The unfortunate reality is that the high illiteracy rate in the middle of women confines them to lower paying, unskilled occupations with less occupation security than men. Even in agricultural occupations where the work of men and women are highly same, women are still more likely to be paid less for the similar amount and kind of work as men. Though in the urban part of Indian community, women are empowered with laws such as IPC 498a which are heavily biased against the men in the community. Educated women are sometimes accused of by such laws to unleash legal terrorism on husbands through disgruntled wives.

- *Globalization*

Feminists are also concerned in relation to the impact of globalization on women in India. Some feminists argue that globalization has led to economic changes that have raised more social and economical challenges for women, particularly for working class and lower caste women. Multinational companies in India have been seen to use the labor of 'young, underpaid and disadvantaged women' in free trade zones and sweat shops, and use "Young lower transitional class, educated women," in call centers. These women have few effective labor rights, or rights to communal action.

In addition to this, multinational corporations are seen to advertise a homogenous image of ideal women crossways the country is argued to reason an augment in the commodification of women's bodies. This is also manifested in the form of nationalist pride exhibited by Indian women winning international beauty pageants. Just as to some feminists, such growths have offered women greater sexual autonomy and more manage in excess of their bodies. Though, several other feminists feel that such commodification of female bodies has only served the purpose of feeding to male fantasies.

- *Education*

Some of the largest causes that girls are less likely to reach optimal stages of education contain the information that girls are needed to assist their mothers at house, have been raised to consider that a life of domestic work is their destined job, have illiterate mothers who cannot educate their children, have an economic dependency on men, and are sometimes subject to child-marriage.

In 1986, the National Policy on Education launched the program described Mahila Samakhya, whose focus was on the empowerment of women. The program's goal is to make a studying environment for women to realize their potential, learn to demand information and discover the knowledge to take charge of their own lives. In sure regions of India, progress

is being made and an augment in the enrollment of girls in schools and as teachers has begun to augment. Through 2001 literacy for women had exceeded 50% of the overall female population, however these statistics were still extremely low compared to world standards and even male literacy within India. Efforts are still being made to improve the stage of education that females receive to match that of male students.

- *Modernization*

Contemporary powers are affecting the younger generations in sections of India, where girls are beginning to forgo the more traditional methods of Indian life and break gender stereotypes. In more flourishing sections of the country, the thought of “dating,” or more specifically *openly* dating, has approach into play, and the conditions “girlfriend” and “boyfriend” are being used. Some women have landed highly respectable careers, and can be seen crossways Bollywood billboards and advertisements. Though, this is not the norm during the country; such modernizations and the women behind them face serious resistance from anti-liberalists. The country is still severely male-dominant and unwelcoming to such movements that go against sex and gender traditions in India.

PEASANTRY

Definition and Problem of Identifying Peasantry

There is no single definition of the concept of peasantry. This is largely due to the ambiguities while adding or excluding big number of rural categories and also due to the incomplete understanding of the historical role that the peasantry played. The term peasant literally means a person working on the land with easy apparatus. Even the whole rural population including the large landlords and the agricultural laborers have been treated as peasantry. This treatment does overlook the differences flanked by and in the middle of

the categories both in conditions of the land holdings, technology, employment of labor etc.

There are few definitions in relation to the peasantry. Eric Wolf, an expert on peasant struggles defines them as " population that are existentially involved in farming and create autonomous decisions concerning the procedure of farming ". His definition leaves out sure categories such as poor and marginal peasantry including the share croppers. On the other hand another expert Theodor Shanin defines them as " consist of small agricultural producers who with the help of easy equipment and labor of their families produce largely for their consumption and for the fulfillment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power". This definition too does not take into explanation rich and capitalist farmers who attempt to maximize the profit through method of entering into superior market. A easy definition has been given through Irfan Habib. He defines peasantry as " a person who undertakes agriculture on his own, working with his own implements of his family". Here the definition excludes rich and capitalist farmers/peasants. Taking all these definitions one can describe the peasantry as a category of population having sure patches of land, mainly dependent upon labor, family or the hiring in - for the manufacture of agriculture, who believes in competitive market or restricted market organization.

Nonetheless not all the categories can be described peasantry. There are rural categories like farmers and landless laborers. The farmer, for instance exploits alternative uses of factors of manufacture and is always in search of maximum returns and is subjected to market risk. A shift from the peasant to farmer is not only psychological but also materialistic one. Though he becomes another name for peasant as he is also connected to the land. Agricultural laborers can also be incorporated in the category of peasantry for the easy cause that their involvement in the growth of land and its allied

products is as significant a matter to them as those who own and cultivate the land. The land constitutes a general denominator and any transform whether social, economic or technical will affect both the owner/cultivator and the agricultural laborers.

A landless laborer is dissimilar from the peasantry for the cause that he is psychologically and behaviorally dissimilar. He would prefer standardized wages, average working hours, adequate educational and medical facilities, and augment in purchasing power. Even tribal are treated as peasantry, especially those who have settled down for a extensive time in a scrupulous region and have been working on the land. Any transform in the land structure also effects them equally.

Categories of Peasantry

There are big number of categories within the peasantry: Small, large, rich, transitional, marginal etc. This heterogeneity of categories is done depending upon the economic location including the land holdings of the peasantry. Marxists like Engels for instance contain the classes of feudal peasants, tenants and poor peasants and farm laborers, who respectively perform curve service to their land lords, create payments of higher rents, cultivate and own small patches of lands. In a situation of revolution in Russia, Lenin classified the peasantry into five categories- transitional, rich, small, agricultural proletariat and semi proletariat. The agricultural laborers were recognized as those categories livelihood on hiring out their labor. The semi proletariat were those owning small patches of land, and partly working as wage laborers; small peasants are tenant holders, and livelihood on hiring out their labor. The large peasants, a category of capitalist entrepreneur employing considerable labor. He recognized rich with "Kulaks" who are reactionary too. Though, the transitional peasant is a self supporting, oscillating category who

would in due course either be pushed to the ranks of rich peasantry or proletariat category.

In a situation of revolution in China, Mao classified the peasantry into landlord, transitional peasantry, poor peasantry and workers. Though he did not use the category of capitalist landlords as it was either too weak or was unable to assert itself as a strong force. The landlord is a semi-entrepreneur who exploits the others through extracting rents. Even however transitional peasants can not use the labor of others, though this is not the case with well to do peasants. The poor peasants sell their labor power and are subjected to the use by rent, and interest on loan. But workers live through hiring out their labor. In the Indian situation the similar troubles are prevailing largely due to cultural Varieties, differences in agrarian structures, land holdings and also due to the prevalence of numerous castes in India. In the Indian context broadly three categories can be made: Maliks, consisting of big absentee land lords and small proprietors who use the tenants and sub-tenants through means of rents; Kisans who consist of small land owners and existence tenants having property interests and filially Mazdoors who contain poor tenants and landless laborers who live on selling of their labor.

Determinants of Mobilization

There are several determinants that have helped the peasant mobilization. Some of the determinants are technology, historical conjunctures, ecological conditions, agrarian structures and relationships, Government policies, caste and society. bonds.

Technical Growth

Technical advancement has had an effect on the agrarian relations. The introduction of irrigation, seed technology, high yielding diversities, green revolution, introduction of chemical fertilizers in the lay of organic fertilizers, introduction of tractors and tillers in the lay of bullock carts etc. has helped in the development of agrarian capitalism in dissimilar countries. In information industrialization / industrial capitalism in the Western world urbanized largely due to the primitive accumulation from agriculture. This is evident in the former colonial countries like France, England etc. In other languages agriculture in the Western countries had undergone the capitalist transformation much earlier than the third world countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, China, Nigeria etc. In these countries capitalism in agriculture was introduced either throughout the transitional of the colonial rule or at the fag end of the colonialism. Interestingly in these countries capitalism was introduced from above which is why these countries have not seen uniform growth taking lay. Mainly of the time agrarian capitalism compromised and co-lived with the pre capitalist social structure. This is the cause why the growth remained unstill, lopsided and sporadic. Though in the Western world which comprises Russia, U.S.A, England etc. the capitalism urbanized from within either through the destruction of feudalism or through the use of the colonies or through the state policy. There are two paths accessible for the growth of agrarian capitalism- *American path and Prussian path*. The weak agrarian capitalism in the third world has not been able to pose challenges to the Western countries. Nonetheless introduction of agrarian capitalism has given rise to new categories to emerge. In Russia it has given rise to Kulaks, which acted as a reactionary force and also gave places to agricultural laborers. In India it has given rise to *bullock capitalist or gentleman farmers or Maliks*. At the similar time it has had other effects too: A class of agricultural laborers have been able to demand more wages, fixing of working hours, medical and maternal facilities etc. In other languages

agrarian capitalism has increased the bargaining capability of the agricultural laborers as well as the capitalist peasants both at the grassroots stage as well as national and international stages. This is evident in the demand for the defense through the wine brewing peasants, in the European continent in the background of liberalization and integration of European continent in recent years.

Historical Conjunctures

Historical conjunctures like colonial rule, victory or defeat in war, inflation, nationalism, invention of new ways of growth have also convinced the mobilization. Even the issues like land reforms, while changing the social relations, have also affected the mobilization procedure. In China, India, Algeria, Vietnam, etc. colonial rule had the superior bearings; In Japan, Taiwan, the land reforms have affected the mobilization. Interestingly augment in the oil prices throughout the early seventies slowed down the pace of green revolution in dissimilar continents including India and Pakistan.

Ecological Parameters

Ecological parameters like cropping pattern, adoption of improved seeds, irrigation pattern also have affected the peasant mobilization. In recent years new cropping pattern that the multi-nationals are introducing in the third world countries have created the fear of loss to the peasants. In third world countries like India the peasants are resisting such seeds as terminator seeds through method of destroying and uprooting the saplings.

Agrarian Structures and Societies Role

Agrarian structures that contain land rights, sharing of land, social relations, patterns of tenancy or tenancy rights, manage in excess of lands etc.

also have bearings on mobilization. These factors have helped in raising issues like tenancy rights, land to the tiller, land reforms, security of tenants etc. This also comprises such other issues as abolition of serf-doom or feudalism, slavery and bondedness. These issues are evident in the mobilization of peasants in dissimilar levels of history: In India in 1950-60, England, Russia in early-1900, China, Philippines 1946-52., Germany.

The role of the societies or the caste can also not be ruled out. Although caste is a predominant characteristic of India, society too has played a dominant role in excess of the years. This shows that peasant mobilization either in India or elsewhere is not an exclusive class phenomena. In India throughout the British rule castes like Wattars, Jats, etc., mobilized themselves against the landlords. Even societies like Kunbi and Pattidars etc., mobilized themselves against the issues of feudal oppression, high rents, etc. In other sections of the world societies like Huks in Philippines and Cheapas in Latin America have mobilized on the foundation of societies against the state, Government, land lords etc. Even the Governmental policies like industrialization, liberalization, land reforms, bank nationalization etc. have been viewed as anti-peasant in dissimilar spaces like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria etc.

Diversities of Peasant Struggles

Given the factors that determine the mobilization of peasants, it is true that the peasant thrash about can take dissimilar shapes. Though, there are differences of opinion as to the class that takes the leadership in the peasant thrash about or revolution. One opinion is that in the peasant struggles mainly of the time the "transitional peasant " takes the lead because of vulnerability and the economic autonomy that the category has vis-à-vis other categories. Second opinion is that in the situation of nationalist movement, the "rich peasants" take the lead for two obvious causes: one, its superior agenda to

capture the superior market. Thereby they emerge at the national stage as a large power or the force. And two, eliminate any obstacles coming its method of growth. This can be done either through directly participating in the nationalist movement or supporting it. Though, it is also true that several a times in the history the poor peasantry has taken the lead. At the similar time it is a information that peasants sometimes rather than becoming revolutionaries become reactionaries. The role that the "Kulaks" played in the former Soviet Union is a classic case, wherein they opposed tooth and nail the extremely Soviet state. Nonetheless, in Indian context three factors have been attributed to the comparative passivity of peasantry when compared to the other sections of the world: Caste organization, power of bourgeoisie and the power of Gandhi. This cannot be fully comprehended largely because of the sheer number of struggles that the peasants waged or undertook in excess of the years. One scholar has estimated seventy seven peasant revolts flanked by Mughal era and 1970s. Even Ministry of House Affairs in 1960s had estimated 5 agitations in Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Uttar Pradesh, three in Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan and two in Tamil Nadu. In the European continent flanked by 1736 and 1789 one scholar has estimated 125 peasant revolts.

In a comparative perspective peasant struggles take dissimilar shapes and they can be divided into four categories:

- Nationalist,
- Anti Feudal,
- Anti-state Anti Government and finally,
- Anti-globalization or new peasant farmers' movement.

They may also take the form of terrorist, religious, banditry, and liberal reformist etc.

Nationalist

This diversity is also described anti colonial/anti imperialist thrash about which the peasants accepted out either independently or as section of the nationalist movement. Their participation was prompted through the information that they were directly exploited through the colonialist or the dissimilar agencies of the colonialism including new social relations that the colonialists introduced in the colonial countries, Peasants wholeheartedly participated in the nationalist thrash about of Cuba. Russia. Vietnam. China, Algeria and India. In the Indian contest colonialism exploited the peasantry both through direct ways and through introducing new agrarian structures like Zamindari and Ryotwari organization. This organization in turn created a hierarchy of feudal structures which made the life of peasants miserable. Throughout the British era a big number of anti colonial struggles came to surface which were either section of the superior nationalist thrash about or self-governing of it with several of them being spearheaded through the tribal's and the poor peasants. Following are the biggest tribal as well as the peasant struggles against the Britishers or the British colonialists or their colonial agencies.

Sanyasi Revolt:	1771 – 1789
The Munda uprising:	1797
Rajas of Dalbhum:	1769- 1774
The Kolis, Hos and Mundas of Chotanagapur:	183 1-32
Tarar revolt:	1820
The Santhals of Bihar:	1855-56
The Bhokta Uprising:	1857
The Birsa Uprising:	1890-95
The Kol Insurrection:	1831-32
The Deccan Revolt:	19 century.
The Thrash about of Worlis:	19 century

Nonetheless, throughout the British rule peasant issues also became section of the nationalist discourse especially when Gandhi as well as Congress took up the issues of peasants. Gandhi, in information, led three

significant struggles which made the peasants to become a section of political discourse/struggle about waged through the nationalist movement under him. Gandhi led struggles in Champaran, Kheda and Bardoli. In these struggles the largest issues were remissions at the time of calamity, revenue concessions. or concessions in rents or Thakariya organization.. Though, in 1936 Congress adopted well-known Agrarian Program at the Faizpur Congress.

Farmers' Movement

This article is in relation to the specific 19th century movement in USA. The Farmers Movement was, in American political history, the common name for a movement flanked by 1867 and 1896 extra ordinary for a radical socio-economic propaganda that came from what was measured the mainly conservative class of American community.

The Grange, or Order of the Patrons of Husbandry organization, while the former was the name of regional chapters, including a supervisory National Grange at Washington, was a secret order founded in 1867 to advance the social requires and combat the economic backwardness of farm life. It was founded through Oliver H. Kelly, at that time an official working in Washington DC for the Dept. of Agriculture. He had been sent to Virginia to assess Southern agricultural possessions and practices. He establish them to be usually poor, and became determined to establish an organization of farmers for the dissemination of information. As a Government official from the North, he necessity have received a usually hostile reception, but he was a Mason, which no doubt gave him some entree, and ended through founding his organization on the structure of that order. In addition to cultivation practices, it was to give insurance and benevolent aid to members. He was in correspondence with his niece throughout the early era and both promoted the equal status of women and the principle of equal pay for equal work. The Grange grew extraordinarily throughout the early years: at its peak, its membership rose to almost 1.5 million. The reasons of its development were

much broader than presently the financial crisis of 1873; a high tariff, railway freight rates and other grievances were mingled with agricultural troubles like the fall of wheat prices and the augment of mortgages. The condition of the farmer seemed desperate. The original objects of the Grange were primarily educational, but these were soon overborne through an anti-middleman, co-operative movement. Grange mediators bought everything from farm machinery to women's dresses; hundreds of grain elevators and cotton and tobacco warehouses were bought, and even steamboat rows; mutual insurance companies were shaped and joint-stock stores. Nor was co-operation limited to distributive procedures; crop reports were circulated, co-operative dairies multiplied, flour mills were operated, and patents were purchased, that the Grange might manufacture farm machinery. The outcome in some states was ruin, and the name, Grange, became a reproach. Nevertheless these efforts in co-operation were exceedingly significant both for the results obtained and for their wider significance. Nor could politics be excluded, however officially taboo, for economics necessity be measured through social idealists, and economics everywhere ran into politics. Therefore it was with the railway question. Railways had been extended into boundary states; there were heavy crops in sparsely settled areas where freight-rates were high, therefore that given the existing distributive organization there were in excess of manufacture and waste; there was notorious stock manipulation and discrimination in rates; and the farmers regarded absentee ownership of railways through New York capitalists much as absentee ownership of land has been regarded in Ireland. The Grange officially disclaimed enmity to railways: However the organization did not attack them, the Grangers, by political farmers clubs and the like, did. In 1867, the Grange began efforts to set up regulation of the railways as general-carriers, through the states. Such laws were recognized as Granger Laws, and their common principles, endorsed in 1876 through the Supreme Court of the United States, have become an significant chapter in the laws of the land. In a declaration of

principles in 1874 Grangers were declared not to be enemies of railroads, and their reason to stand for no communism nor agrarianism. To conservatives, though, cooperation seemed communism, and Grange laws agrarianism; therefore, in 1873-1874, the development of the movement aroused extraordinary interest and much uneasiness. In 1874, the order was reorganized, membership being limited to persons directly interested in the farmers' reason Grange on Broadway, and after this there were consistent quarrels in the order; moreover, in 1875, the National Grange mainly lost manage of the state Granges, which discredited the organization through their disastrous co-operation ventures. Therefore, through 1876, it had already ceased to be of national political importance. In relation to the 1880, a renaissance began, particularly in the Transitional States and New England; this revival was marked through a recurrence to the original social and educational objects. The national Grange and state Granges were still active in 1909, especially in the old cultural movement and in such economic movements, notably the improvement of highways as mainly directly concern the farmers. The initiative and referendum, and other proposals of reform politics in the direction of a democratic advance, also enter in a measure into their propaganda.

The Alliance accepted the movement farther into economics. The National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, shaped in 1889, embraced many originally self-governing institutions shaped from 1873 onwards; it was mainly confined to the South and was secret. The National Farmers Alliance, shaped in 1880, went back likewise to 1877, was much smaller, Northern and non-secret. The Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union Alliance in 1890 was the second greatest organization. With these three were associated several others, state and national, including an annual, non-partisan, deliberative and advisory Farmers National Congress. The Alliance movement reached its greatest power in relation to the 1890, in which year twelve national farmers institutions were represented in conventions in St Louis, and the six

leading ones alone almost certainly had a membership of 5,000,000. As with the Grange, therefore in the ends and declarations of the entire later movement, concrete remedial legislation for agricultural or economic ills was mingled with principles of vague radical tendency and with lofty idealism. For the Southern farmer a chief concrete evil was the crop-lien organization, mortgages on their future crops for furnished supplies through which cotton farmers fell into debt to country merchants. In the North the farmer attacked a wide range of capitalistic legislation that hurt him, he whispered, for the benefit of other classes, notably legislation sought through railways. Practically all the great institutions demanded the abolition of national banks, the free coinage of silver, a enough issue of government paper money, tariff revision, and a secret ballot. Only less commonly demanded were an income tax, taxation of proof of debt, and government loans on lands. All of these were principles of the two great Alliances, as were also pure food legislation, abolition of landholding through aliens, reclamation of unused or unearned land grants, and either rigid federal regulation of railways and other means of communication or government ownership thereof. The Southern Alliance put in the forefront a sub treasury scheme just as to which cheap loans should be made through government from regional sub-treasuries on non-perishable farm products stored in government warehouses; while the Northern Alliance demanded restriction of the liquor traffic and for woman suffrage. Still other issues were a modification of the patent laws to stifle competition, postal currency swap, the eight-hour day, inequitable taxation, the single tax on land, trusts, educational qualification for suffrage, direct popular election of federal judges, of senators, and of the president, special-interest lobbying, &c.

In 1889-1890 with the rapid development in membership, the political movement urbanized astonishing strength; it captured the Republican stronghold of Kansas, brought the Democratic Party to vassalage in South Carolina, revolutionized legislatures even in conservative states like Massachusetts, and seemed likely totally to control the South and West. All its

work in the South was accomplished within the old-party institutions, but, in 1890, the demand became strong for an self-governing third party, for which several consolidations since 1887 had prepared the method. Through 1892, a big section of the strength of the farmer's institutions, with that of several industrial and radical orders, was united in the People's Party, which had its beginnings in Kansas in 1890, and received national organization in 1892. This party accentuated free silver, the income tax, eight-hour day, reclamation of land grants, government ownership of railways, telephones and telegraphs, popular election of federal senators, and the initiative and referendum. In the presidential election of 1892, it cast 1,041,021 votes, and elected 22 presidential electors, the first chosen through any third party since 1856. In 1896, the People's Party fused with the Democratic Party in the presidential campaign, and again in 1900. Throughout this era, indeed, the greatest section of the People's Party was reabsorbed into the two great parties from which its membership had originally been drawn; in some northern states apparently mainly into the Republican ranks, but largely into the Democratic Party, to which it gave a powerful radical impulse.

The Farmers' movement was much misunderstood, abused and ridiculed through the societal forces it challenged. Though, it accomplished a huge amount of good. The movement -- and especially the Grange, for on mainly significant points the latter movements only followed where it had led -- contributed the initial impulse and prepared the method for the establishment of traveling and regional rural libraries, reading courses, lyceums, farmers institutes and rural free mail delivery as section of the permanent postal organization of the country in 1902; for agricultural exhibits and an improved agricultural press; for encouragement to and increased profit from the work of agricultural colleges, the establishment and great services of the United States Department of Agriculture, -- in short, for an extraordinary lessening of rural separation and the betterment of the farmers opportunities; for the irrigation of the semi-dry West, adopted as a national policy in 1902,

the pure-food laws of 1906, the interstate-commerce law of 1887, the railway-rate laws of 1903 and 1906, even the great Bureau of Commerce-and-Labor law of 1903, and the Anti-trust laws of 1903 and later. The Alliance and Populist movements were bottomed on the thought of "ethical gains by legislation." In its regional manifestations the entire movement was often marked through eccentric ideas, narrow prejudices and weaknesses in economic reasoning. It is not to be forgotten that owing to the movement of the boundary the United States has always been "at once a urbanized country and a primitive one. The similar political questions have been put to a community advanced in some areas and undeveloped in others.... On specific political questions each economic region has reflected its peculiar interests". That this thought necessity not, though, be in excess of-accentuated, is admirably enforced through observing the great mass of farmer radicalism that has, since in relation to the 1896, become an carried Democratic and Republican principle in excess of the entire country. The Farmers movement was the beginning of widespread, effective protest against "the menace of privilege" in the United States.

ENVIRONMENT

Definitions

Ecology

Ecology means a continuous symbiosis—mutual dependence of all the Constituents of the planet earth —on water and land - forming a general pool utilizing each other yet replenishing the general pool of resourcefulness. So, all constituents ultimately balance each other - soil, water, plants, animals, minerals, atmosphere, power and humans. All these are distributed on earth in dissimilar combinations and permutations. Each of such units is described an Ecosystem with its diagnostic and distinguishing aspects.

Environment

Environment suggests that human species considers himself as external to the symbiotic milieu of all other components and treats them merely as his possessions for his satisfaction. So, SWAMPEAH became the environment of human community.

Possessions

Water, soil and land, plants, animals, microbes, minerals and atmosphere constitute the resource foundation of humankind besides themselves. These have a diversity of distributional patterns and productivity profiles both in excellence and quantity.

Ecosystems

The possessions are distributed on the planet in relation to the 40+ ecosystems accommodating dissimilar kinds of the above and developing distinguishing characteristics of themselves in due course of development, such as forests, deserts, wetlands, seas, islands, rivers, grasslands, savannahs in equatorial, tropical, subtropical, temperate and other climatic and geographic zones and convinced through longitudes and altitudes.

Growth

Possessions present in several systems are exploited for human consumption and growth through the use of knowledge, experiences and experimental knowledge by science and technology. This usage is done through a scheduling through the political authorities following a political procedure by administrative mechanisms taking into consideration the social and economic well being of people. Consequently the sharing of possessions as well as the products of growth constitute a vital ingredient of all these

procedures for equity and justice to be ensured. Industry, trade, commerce and markets, so, are inseparable. Throughout these procedures many consequences have resulted.

Consequences

Growth changes however intended to be good to all concerned have bad consequences in time and legroom on as a entire, i.e., ecosystems and their ecology, is a transform in the existing scenarios - depletion of possessions, degradation of the systems and ecological imbalances where the ownership of possessions and/or growth changes hands sowing the seeds of injustice, inequalities, discontent and ferment.

The second consequence is economic - reorientation in the internal manufacture and sharing, external trade deficits, internal and external loans and investments, debt burdens and the economic back lashes on parts of people who have nothing to fall back.

The third consequence is social - inequalities, hopes and despair, divisions, conflicts, hatred and violence. As the traditional values disappear beside with the traditional possessions and usage patterns the world gets divided into rich nations, poor nations, rich people, poor people with buffers everywhere becoming fixed stars, while hopes and despairs alternate periodically as per the whims of people in power. Goodness and other human values continuously vane-inexorably creation mainly lives worthless. This is the inherent meaning of Dandekar's Poverty Row.

The fourth kind of consequences are the backlashes in the environmental and ecological procedures which often defy even a comprehension leave alone alleviations. Once these are set in, it is hard to reverse. Examples: Acid Rain, Ozone depletion, etc.

Responses

Consequently people react to adversities responding to the challenges to their ecological security. This happened in the past and continues to happen in dissimilar sections of the planet earth. These are outlined later in this unit. The responses were first expressions of concern, advises and cautions. They slowly grew into protests and resistances- regional, local and even global in character and magnitude. These resistances assumed legal form, social movements and finally crossing the normally carried political mechanisms of

transform. These are the social movements in protection of human environment or environmental movements for social harmony.

Imperatives

All in excess of the world, the Altruists have approach to the open in the form of voluntary institutions committed to social justice and ecological security and recovery, first as adjuncts to governmental action, later as bigger mediators of transform, and now as weak political forces. India's environment movement is a product of its democratic organization. It essentially rests on three planks—rising involvement of voluntary agencies and social activist's crossways the country— their rising access to the country's media and the courts. Indian environmental groups have organized numerous protest movements against deforestation, construction of high dams, mining, pollution and nuclear power plants with varying degrees of success.

Movements in Some Countries

Sarawak Tribal Movement

Sarawak is an enclave of Malaysia in the island of Kalimantan which mostly belong to Indonesia. Malaysian government started felling trees on a big level for export to Japan en circuit to Europe. The trade profits went to some contractors of Malay origin through executive orders. The mainland people were debarred from access to Sarawak through law. There was a veil of secrecy in relation to the entire operations. The natives of Sarawak, victimized both through a depletion of possessions, as well as deprivation of the accrued profits, were outraged through the censorship of the information flow also — adding insult to injury. There was a popular upsurge against timber mining led through an educated young tribal. Harrison Ngao until some concessions were

extracted. And the outrage on possessions and profits were mitigated substantially and the entire world came to know of this macabre episode climaxing with the alternate Nobel Prize to Ngao.

The Rainforest Defense in Brazil

Rain forests in Brazil were under consistent stress of cattle ranches, mineral prospecting, rubber farming besides timber mining. In some sections rubber plantations were replacing pristine forests forcing the regional tribal's into cheap labor hood in the rubber plantations. This victimization was sought to be resisted through the regional tribal under the leadership of Chico Mendes. While the governments and media were alerted and some semblance of justice was forthcoming Chico was murdered through the mediators of Rubber Mafia. But the movement was not in vain.

Maoist Movement in Tree Planting in China

Throughout the cultural revolution in China Mao Tse Tung realized the value of trees in revitalizing the ecology and provision for a welcome environment to Humans as no Marxist leader has ever realized. Consequently 500 million trees were planted all in excess of China through the young revolutionaries and were mandated to 'uphold them until developing permanency in the habitat.

Tribal Resistance in Mexico

As a sequel to North American Free Trade Agreement in the middle of Mexico, USA and Canada the agricultural pattern was sought to be altered in the South- East Aztec Area of Mexico. The regional tribal resisted the implementation of any changes in their traditional mores with an armed

rebellion. NAFTA itself was questioned forcing the government to intervene in their favor.

Chico Movement in Philippines

Chico river in Northern Philippines was sought to be dammed for electricity generation and irrigation of the plains. The construction was objected because this area was uncared for despite being undeveloped for decades. It has been, so, agreed through the government to develop the area simultaneously on a priority foundation. But nothing of this type has happened. The workers on the dam face struck work inviting repression from the government. The response was a counter action through the regional people. The perception of the regional people was that the irrigation dry electricity benefits other people while they are not even in a location to appreciate them leave alone utilize them. The counter violence slowly became a Guerrilla warfare. The Manila Government has not been able to quell this armed rebellion in protection of their natural possessions from receiving hijacked for other peoples.

Southern Nigeria's Resistance Movement

Southern Nigeria is a contrast to the rest of the country. It is richer in possessions of nature; bigger educated and cultured: preponderously Christian dry politically uninfluential. The regional people resented the siphoning of their possessions. A movement for human rights was organized through them under the leadership of Ken Sarowiwo which grew from strength to strength in popularity. The movement demanded a share of the revenues from petroleum in their area. The companies as well as the government became restive as the field operations came to a stand still and a little violence erupted which is natural in all confrontations. The leadership was rounded up and the supreme

leader Ken Sarowivo hanged extremely cruelly ignoring the protests from global leaderships.

Other Contributors to Environmental Movements

World Watch Institute, World Possessions Institute, Friends of the Earth and a score of others in Europe and America have been either conducting information campaigns to help initiate changes or environmental movements. Mainly of the people who were felicitated with Right Living Awards, popularly recognized as Alternate Nobel Prizes, were activists in protection of human environment - Rosalie Bettrell, 'Vandana Shiva. Harrison Ngao et at.

Movements In India

Chipko Movement

The Chipko movement or Chipko Andolan is a movement that practised the Gandhian ways of satyagraha and non-violent resistance, by the act of hugging trees to protect them from being felled. The contemporary Chipko movement started in the early 1970s in the Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand. Then in Uttar Pradesh with rising awareness towards rapid deforestation. The landmark event in this thrash about took lay on March 26, 1974, when a group of peasant women in Reni village, Hemwalghati, in Chamoli district, Uttarakhand, India, acted to prevent the cutting of trees and reclaim their traditional forest rights that were threatened through the contractor organization of the state Forest Department. Their actions inspired hundreds of such actions at the grassroots stage during the area. Through the 1980s the movement had spread during India and led to formulation of people-sensitive forest policies, which put a stop to the open felling of trees in areas

as distant reaching as Vindhyas and the Western Ghats. Today, it is seen as an inspiration and a precursor for Chipko movement of Garhwal.

The Chipko movement, however primarily a living defense movement rather than a forest conservation movement, went on to become a rallying point for several future environmentalists, environmental protests and movements the world in excess of and created a precedent for non-violent protest. It occurred at a time when there was hardly any environmental movement in the developing world, and its success meant that the world immediately took notice of this non-violent movement, which was to inspire in time several such eco-groups through helping to slow down the rapid deforestation, expose vested interests, augment ecological awareness, and demonstrate the viability of people power. It stirred up the existing civil community in India, which began to address the issues of tribal and marginalized people. Therefore much therefore that, a quarter of a century later, *India Today* mentioned the people behind the "forest satyagraha" of the Chipko movement as amongst "100 people who formed India". Today, beyond the eco-socialism hue, it is being seen increasingly as an ecofeminism movement. Although several of its leaders were men, women were not only its backbone, but also its mainstay, because they were the ones mainly affected through the rampant deforestation,, which led to a lack of firewood and fodder as well as water for drinking and irrigation. In excess of the years they also became primary stakeholders in a majority of the afforestation work that happened under the Chipko movement.

In 1987 the Chipko Movement was awarded the Right Living Award

Save the Silent Valley Campaign

This is the first biggest campaign against a dam in India, which started in the early 1980s. It successfully saved a genetically rich and one of the last remaining rainforests in Kerala from being submerged. The campaign was

spearheaded through the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parisbad, and supported through all specialists in India.

Save the Taj Campaign

Environmentalists feared that pollution from the Mathura refinery, situated 40 kms. absent, could damage the Taj Mahal. The heat they generated forced the authorities to take precautionary events and monitor the monument from any sign of deterioration from air pollution.

Save the Soil Campaign

Recognized as the Mitti Bachao Abhiyan, the movement was launched in 1977 against the water logging and salinity caused through the Tawa dam in Madhya Pradesh. The campaign mobilized regional farmers to demand compensation for the lands affected.

Thai Vaishet Campaign

The setting of the world's major urea plant presently 21 km. from Bombay at Thai Vaishet evoked enormous opposition from municipality groups notably the Bombay Environmental Action Group, which feared that the plant will augment Bombay's pollution and in excess of congestion. Their concerted efforts delayed the project in excess of two years but failed to transform the location.

Bedthi Campaign

This hydroelectric project situated in Karnataka was the second in India - after Silent Valley - to be abandoned after environmental protests. The project would have submerged tracts of forests dry wealthy areca nut,

cardamom and pepper gardens. Regional farmers and eminent scientists from Bangalore campaigned against the project.

Stop Bhopalpatnam - Inchampal Dams

These two dams on the Indravati river in Maharashtra were stopped due to regional protests from tribal led through the Jungle Bachao Manav Bachao Andolan - a coalition of activists, politicians and social workers.

Doon Mining

Limestone mining in the Doon valley and Mussorie hills has left permanent scars on the well-known hill, destroying forests and permanent water sources. The Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra in Dehra Dun filed a public interest case in the Supreme Court and the Court in a historic judgment ordered the closure of the mines on grounds of environmental destruction.

Karnataka's Degraded Forests

The Karnataka government's decision to grant almost 80,000 acres of degraded forest land and revenue land to a joint sector company, for afforestation was opposed through environmentalists. Samaj Parivartana Samudaya, a regional voluntary agency has filed a petition in the Supreme Court contending that people's access to government forest land is crucial to their survival and therefore the government's decision to undertake afforestation by commercial interests, affects their fundamental right to life.

Kaiga Campaign

Opposition to the nuclear power plant at Kaiga in Karnataka started in 1984. In spite of the government's decision to go ahead with the project, regional groups comprising farmers, betel nut growers, fisher folk, journalists and writers wanted the project to fold up. The project sustained with considerable improvements to allay the fears of regional people.

Gandhamardhan Bauxite Mining

The proposal to mine bauxite in the Gandhamardhan reserve forest in Orissa even though formally cleared through the government, has been stalled because of the intense agitation of the regional tribal's who do not want to see their forests destroyed.

Narmada Bachao Andolan

Narmada Bachao Andolan is a social movement consisting of tribal people, *adivasis*, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists against the Sardar Sarovar Dam being built across the Narmada river, Gujarat, India. Friends of River Narmada is the unofficial website of the NBA.

Their mode of campaign comprises hunger strikes and garnering support from noted film and art personalities. Narmada Bachao Andolan, jointly with its leading spokespersons Medha Patkar and Baba Amte, were the 1991 recipient of the Right Living Award.

Post-1947 investigations were accepted out to evaluate mechanisms in utilizing water from the Narmada river, which flows into the Arabian Sea after passing by the states of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Due to inter-state differences in implementing schemes and distribution of water, the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal was constituted through the Government of

India on 6 October 1969 to adjudicate in excess of the water disputes. This Tribunal investigated the matters referred to it and responded after more than 10 years. On 12 December 1979, the decision as given through the Tribunal, with all the parties at dispute binding to it, was released through the Indian Government.

As per the Tribunal's decision, 30 biggest, 135 medium, and 3000 small dams, were granted approval for construction including raising the height of the Sardar Sarovar dam.

In 1985, after hearing in relation to the Sardar Sarovar dam, Medha Patkar and her colleagues visited the project location and noticed the project work being shelved due to an order through the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India. The causes for this was cited as "non-fulfillment of vital environmental circumstances and the lack of completion of crucial studies and plans". What she noticed was that the people who were going to be affected were given no information, but for the offer for rehabilitation. Due to this, the villagers had several questions right from why their permission was not taken to whether a good assessment on the ensuing destruction was taken. Furthermore, the officials related to the project had no answers to their questions. While World Bank, the financing agency for this project, came into the picture, Patkar approached the Ministry of Environment to seek clarifications. She realized, after seeking answers from the ministry, that the project was not sanctioned at all, and wondered as to how funds were even sanctioned through the World Bank. After many studies, they realized that the officials had overlooked the post-project troubles.

By Patkar's channel of communication flanked by the government and the residents, she provided critiques to the project authorities and the governments involved. At the similar time, her group realized that all those displaced were only given compensation for the immediate standing crop and not for displacement and rehabilitation.

As Patkar remained immersed in the Narmada thrash about, she chose to quit her Ph. D. studies and focus entirely on the Narmada action. Thereafter, she organized a 36-day extensive, solidarity march in the middle of the neighboring states of the Narmada valley from Madhya Pradesh to the Sardar Sarovar dam location. She said that the march was "a path symbolizing the extensive path of thrash about that really had". This march was resisted through the police, who just as to Patkar were "caning the marchers and arresting them and tearing the clothes off women activists".

Save the Western Ghats March

This padyatra, together organized through a number of environmental groups in 1988, sheltered in excess of 1,300 km., crossways the States of Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu dry Kerala. The March focused attention on the environmental troubles of the Western Ghats.

Tehri Dam Campaign

The construction of Tehri dam in seismic Himalayas has been challenged through several environmental groups. Protests through the Tehri Bandh Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti, a regional organization, have sustained for in excess of 20 years. Setting of industries and power plants has increasingly become a reason of protest because of fears of possible pollution and destruction of the nearby environment. In recent years, there have also been protests against nuclear power plants at Narora, Kakrapur, Kaiga, Koodankulam and Nagarjunasagar and against their possible setting in Kerala.

Rayon Factory Pollution

The case of "Mayur" in Kerala illustrates what law can do. The Birlas built a Rayon factory there taking advantage of abundant availability of bamboo in that region. Soon the regional population began to enjoy a bigger

stage of prosperity than before. The water consequently became non potable. An agitation forced it to secure up. The community went back to its earlier poverty. A new agitation to get the factory reopened succeeded ensuring steps to prevent air and water pollution.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Anarcho-syndicalism

The principles of anarcho-syndicalism are workers' solidarity, direct action, and workers' self-management. Workers' solidarity means that anarcho-syndicalists consider all workers, no matter what their gender or ethnic group, are in a same situation in regard to their bosses. Furthermore, it means that, in a capitalist organization, any gains or losses made through some workers from or to bosses will eventually affect all workers. So, to liberate themselves, all workers necessity support one another in their class clash.

Anarcho-syndicalists consider that only direct action — that is, action accepted out through the workers themselves, which is concentrated on attaining a goal directly, as opposed to indirect action, such as electing a representative to a government location — will allow workers to liberate themselves.

Anarcho-syndicalists consider that workers' institutions — the institutions that thrash about against the wage organization, and which, in anarcho-syndicalist theory, will eventually form the foundation of a new community — should be self-managing. They should not have bosses or "business mediators"; rather, the workers alone should decide on that which affects them.

Marxism–Leninism

Marxism–Leninism is a communist ideology, officially based upon the theories of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin, that promotes the growth and making of an international communist community by the leadership of a vanguard party presiding in excess of a revolutionary socialist state that symbolizes a dictatorship of the proletariat. Marxism–Leninism was the dominant ideology of the international Communist movement following the ascension of Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union, and as such, it is the political ideology and movement mainly often associated with the word "Communism".

From the early 1930s up until the Tito-Stalin split of 1948 and in the Soviet Union until the Khrushchev speech of 1956, Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism were usually measured to be one and the similar.

A community organized by a vanguard party on Marxist-Leninist principles seeks to purge anything measured bourgeois, or idealist from it; in addition, it seeks to implement universal atheism by the abolition of religion. It supports the making of a single-party state; it rejects political pluralism external to communism, claiming that the proletariat require a single, able and unifying political party by which to symbolize themselves and exercise political leadership. By the policy of democratic centralism, the communist party is the supreme political institution of the Marxist-Leninist state and is the prime legal force of societal organization.

Marxism–Leninism is a distant-left ideology based on principles of class clash, egalitarianism, dialectical materialism, rationalism, and social progress. It is anti-bourgeois, anti-capitalist, anti-conservative, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-liberal, anti-reactionary, and is opposed to bourgeois democracy.

Additionally, Marxism–Leninism opposes sure characteristics of other shapes of Marxian socialism, including left communism and council

communism, as well as sure characteristics of non-Marxist socialist movements, such as anarchism and syndicalism.

The Marxist-Leninist state utilizes a state socialist economy, based on scientific scheduling and democratic consensus. It supports public ownership and organization of the economy by the abolition of private ownership of land and the means of manufacture, which become general property utilized through the people by the state. In the past, it typically replaced the role of market in the capitalist economy with centralized state management of the economy, which is recognized as a command economy. Though in recent decades an alternative Marxist-Leninist economy that exists is the Socialist market economy that has been used through the People's Republic of China and the socialist-oriented market economy in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Etymology

- *Historical*

Within five years of Vladimir Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin completed his rise to power in the Soviet Union. Just as to G. Lisichkin, Marxism–Leninism as a separate ideology was compiled through Stalin in his book "The questions of Leninism". Throughout the era of Stalin's rule in the Soviet Union, Marxism–Leninism was proclaimed the official ideology of the state.

Whether Stalin's practices actually followed the principles of Karl Marx and Lenin is still a subject of debate in the middle of historians and political scientists. Trotskyists in scrupulous consider that Stalinism contradicted authentic Marxism and Leninism, and they initially used the term "Bolshevik–Leninism" to define their own ideology of anti-Stalinist communism. Left communists rejected "Marxism–Leninism" as an anti-Marxist current.

The term "Marxism–Leninism" is often used through those who consider that Lenin's legacy was successfully accepted forward through Joseph

Stalin. Though, it is also used through some who repudiate the repressive characteristics of Stalinism, such as the supporters of Nikita Khrushchev.

After the Sino–Soviet split, communist parties of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China each claimed to be the sole intellectual heir to Marxism–Leninism. In China, the claim that Mao had "adapted Marxism–Leninism to Chinese circumstances" evolved into the thought that he had updated it in a fundamental method applying to the world as a entire; consequently, the term "Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Idea" was increasingly used to define the official Chinese state ideology as well as the ideological foundation of parties approximately the world who sympathized with the Communist Party of China. Following the death of Mao, Peruvian Maoists associated with the Communist Party of Peru subsequently coined the term Marxism–Leninism–Maoism, arguing that Maoism was a more advanced level of Marxism.

Following the Sino–Albanian split, a small portion of Marxist–Leninists began to downplay or repudiate the role of Mao Zedong in the International Communist Movement in favor of the Party of Labor of Albania and a stricter adherence to Stalin.

In North Korea, Marxism–Leninism was officially superseded in 1977 through Juche, in which concepts of class and class thrash about, in other languages Marxism itself, play no important role. Though, the government is still sometimes referred to as Marxist–Leninist—or, more commonly, Stalinist—due to its political and economic structure.

In the other four *de jure* socialist states existing today—China, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam—the ruling Parties hold Marxism–Leninism as their official ideology, although they provide it dissimilar interpretations in conditions of practical policy.

- *Current Usage*

Some modern communist parties continue to regard Marxism–Leninism as their vital ideology, although some have customized it to adapt to new and regional political conditions.

In party names, the appellation "Marxist–Leninist" is normally used through a communist party who wishes to distinguish itself from some other communist party in the similar country.

Popular confusion abounds regarding the intricate terminology describing the several schools of Marxist-derived idea. The appellation "Marxist–Leninist" is often used through those not well-known with communist ideology in any detail as a synonym for any type of Marxism.

Components

- *Social*

Marxism–Leninism supports widespread universal social welfare. Improvements in public health and education, provision of child care, provision of state-directed social services, and provision of social benefits are deemed through Marxist-Leninists to help to raise labour productivity and advance a community in growth towards a communist community. This is section of Marxist-Leninists' advocacy of promoting and reinforcing the operation of a intended socialist economy. It advocates universal education with a focus on developing the proletariat with knowledge, class consciousness, and understanding the historical growth of communism.

Marxist-Leninist policy on family law has typically involved: the elimination of the political power of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of private property, and an education that teaches citizens to abide through a disciplined and self-fulfilling lifestyle dictated through the social norms of communism as a means to set up a new social order.

Marxism–Leninism supports the emancipation of women and ending the use of women. The advent of a classless community, the abolition of

private property, community collectively assuming several of the roles traditionally assigned to mothers and wives, and women becoming integrated into industrial work has been promoted as the means to achieve women's emancipation.

Marxist-Leninist cultural policy focuses upon modernization and distancing community from: the past, the bourgeoisie, and the old intelligentsia. Agitprop and several associations and organizations are used through the Marxist-Leninist state to educate community with the values of communism. Both cultural and educational policy in Marxist-Leninist states have accentuated the growth of a "New Man" – a class conscious, knowledgeable, heroic proletarian person devoted to work and social cohesion as opposed to the antithetic "bourgeois individualist" associated with cultural backwardness and social atomization.

- *Economic*

The economy of a Marxist-Leninist state is a socialist economy, based on workers' ownership and manage of the means of manufacture. The state, being the dictatorship of the proletariat, serves as a safeguard for the ownership and as the coordinator of manufacture by a universal economic plan. For the purpose of reducing waste and rising efficiency, scientific scheduling replaces market mechanisms and price mechanisms as the guiding principle of the economy. The Marxist-Leninist state's vast purchasing power replaces the role of market forces, with macroeconomic equilibrium not being achieved by market forces but through economic scheduling based on scientific assessment. In the socialist economy, the value of a good or service is based on its use value, rather than its cost of manufacture or its swap value. The profit motive as a driving force for manufacture is replaced through social obligation to fulfill the economic plan. Wages are set and differentiated just as to ability and intensity of work. While socially utilized means of manufacture are under public manage, personal belongings or property of a personal nature

that doesn't involve mass manufacture of goods remnants comparatively unaffected through the state.

Because Marxism-Leninism has historically only been the state ideology of countries who were economically undeveloped prior to socialist revolution through war, such as the German Democratic Republic, the primary goal before achieving full communism was the growth of socialism in itself. Such was the case in the Soviet Union, where the economy was mainly agrarian and urban industry was in a primitive level. To develop socialism, the economy went by a era of huge industrialization, in which much of the peasant population moved into urban regions while those remaining in the rural regions began working in the new communal agricultural organization. Since the mid-1930s, Marxism-Leninism has advocated a socialist consumer community based upon egalitarianism, asceticism, and self-sacrifice. Previous attempts to replace the consumer community as derived from capitalism with a non-consumerist community failed and in the mid-1930s permitted a consumer community, a biggest transform from traditional Marxism's anti-market and anti-consumerist theories. These reforms were promoted to encourage materialism and acquisitiveness in order to stimulate economic development. This pro-consumerist policy has been advanced on the rows of "industrial pragmatism" as it advances economic progress by bolstering industrialization.

The ultimate goal of the Marxist-Leninist economy is the emancipation of the individual from alienating work, and so freedom from having to perform such labour to receive access to the material requirements for life. It is argued that freedom from necessity would maximize individual liberty, as individuals would be able to pursue their own interests and develop their own talents while only performing labour through free will without external coercion. The level of economic growth in which this is possible is contingent upon advances in the productive capabilities of community. This advanced

level of social relations and economic organization is described *pure communism*.

- *Political Organization*

Marxism–Leninism supports the making of a single-party state led through a Marxist-Leninist communist party as a means to develop socialism and then communism. The political structure of the Marxist-Leninist state involves the rule of a communist vanguard party in excess of a revolutionary socialist state that symbolizes the will and rule of the proletariat. By the policy of democratic centralism, the communist party is the supreme political institution of the Marxist-Leninist state.

Elections are held in Marxist-Leninist states for all positions within the legislative structure, municipal councils, national legislatures and presidencies. In mainly Marxist-Leninist states this has taken the form of directly electing representatives to fill positions, however in some states; such as China, Cuba, and the former Yugoslavia; this organization also incorporated indirect elections such as deputies being elected through deputies as the after that lower stage of government. These elections are not competitive multiparty elections and mainly are not multi-candidate elections; generally a single communist party candidate is chosen to run for office in which voters vote either to accept or reject the candidate. Where there have been more than one candidates, all candidates are officially vetted before being able to stand for candidacy and the organization has regularly been structured to provide advantage to official candidates in excess of others. Marxism–Leninism asserts that community is united upon general interests represented by the communist party and other organizations of the Marxist-Leninist state and in Marxist-Leninist states where opposition political parties have been permitted they have not been permitted to advocate political platforms significantly dissimilar from the communist party. Marxist-Leninist communist parties have typically exercised secure manage in excess of the electoral procedure of such

elections, including involvement with nomination, campaigning, and voting – including counting the ballots.

- *International Relations*

Marxism–Leninism aims to make an international communist community. It opposes colonialism and imperialism and advocates decolonization and anti-colonial forces. It supports anti-fascist international alliances and has advocated the making of "popular fronts" flanked by communist and non-communist anti-fascists against strong fascist movements.

History

- *Founding of Bolshevism, 1905–1907 Russian Revolution, and World War I*

Marxism–Leninism is the descendant of interpretation of the theories of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Lenin. It was officially created after Lenin's death throughout the regime of Josef Stalin in the Soviet Union and sustained to be the official ideology of the Soviet Communist Party after de-Stalinization. Though the foundation for elements of Marxism–Leninism predate this. Marxism–Leninism descends from the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party that was founded in the RSDLP's Second Congress in 1903. The Bolshevik faction led through Lenin advocated an active, politically committed vanguard party membership while opposing trade union based membership of social democratic parties. The Bolsheviks supported a vanguard Marxist party collected of active militants committed to socialism who would initiate communist revolution. The Bolsheviks advocated the policy of democratic centralism that would allow members to elect their leaders and decide policy but that once policy was set, members would be obligated to have complete loyalty in their leaders.

Lenin attempted and failed to bring in relation to the communist revolution in Russia in the Russian Revolution of 1905–7. Throughout the

revolution, Lenin advocated mass action and that the revolution "accept mass terror in its tactics". Throughout the revolution Lenin advocated militancy and violence of workers as a means to pressure the transitional class to join and overthrow the Tsar. Bolshevik emigres briefly poured into Russia to take section in the revolution. Prior and after the failed revolution, the Bolshevik leadership voluntarily resided in exile to evade Tsarist Russia's secret police, such as Lenin who resided in Switzerland. Mainly importantly, the experience of this revolution caused Lenin to conceive of the means of sponsoring communist revolution, by propaganda, agitation, a well-organized and disciplined but small political party, and by psychological manipulation of aroused masses.

In the aftermath of the failed revolution of 1905–7, Bolshevik revolutionaries were forced back into exile in 1908 in Switzerland as well as other anti-Tsarist revolutionaries including the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and anarchists. Membership in both the Bolshevik and Menshevik ranks diminished from 1907 to 1908 and the number of people taking section in strikes in 1907 was 26 percent of the figure throughout the year of the revolution in 1905, it dropped in 1908 to 6 percent of that figure, and in 1910 it was 2 percent of that figure. The era of 1908 to 1917 was one of disillusionment in the Bolshevik party in excess of Lenin's leadership, with members opposing him for scandals involving his expropriations and ways of raising money for the party. One significant growth after the measures the 1905-7 revolution was Lenin's endorsement of colonial revolt as a powerful re-enforcement to revolution in Europe. This was an original growth through Lenin, as prior to the 20th century Marxists did not pay serious attention to colonialism and colonial revolt. Facing leadership challenges from the "Forward" group, Lenin usurped the all-Party Congress of the RSDLP in 1912, to seize manage of it and create it an exclusively Bolshevik party loyal to his leadership. Approximately all the members elected to the party's Central Committee were Leninists while former RDSLPL leaders not associated with

Bolshevism were removed from office. Lenin remained highly unpopular in the early 1910s, and was therefore unpopular amongst international socialist movement that through 1914 it measured censoring him.

At the outset of World War I in 1914, the Bolsheviks opposed the war unlike mainly other socialist parties' crossways Europe that supported their national governments. Lenin and a small group of anti-war socialist leaders, including Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, denounced recognized socialist leaders of having betrayed the socialist ideal via their support of the war. In response to the outbreak of World War I, Lenin wrote his book *Imperialism, the Highest Level of Capitalism* from 1915 to 1916 and published in 1917 in which he argued that capitalism directly leads to imperialism. As a means to destabilize Russia on the Eastern Front, Germany's High Command allowed Lenin to travel crossways Germany and German-held territory into Russia in April 1917, anticipating him partaking in revolutionary action.

- *October Revolution, Aftermath Clash, and the Making of the Soviet Union*

In March 1917, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated his throne and a provisional government quickly filled the vacuum, proclaiming Russia a republic months later. This was followed through the October Revolution through the Bolsheviks, who seized manage in a quick coup d'état against the Provisional Government, resulting in the formation of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the first country in history committed to the establishment of communism. Though, big portions of Russia were held under the leadership of either pro-Tsarist or anti-communist military commanders who shaped the White movement to oppose the Bolsheviks, resulting in civil war flanked by the Bolsheviks' Red Army and the anti-Bolshevik White Army. Amidst civil war flanked by the Reds and the Whites, the RSFSR inherited the war that the Russian Empire was fighting against Germany that was ended a year later with an armistice. Though, that was followed through a brief Allied military

intervention through the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Italy, Japan and others against the Bolsheviks.

In response to the October Revolution, communist revolution broke out in Germany and Hungary from 1918 to 1920, involving making of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, the failed Spartacist uprising in Berlin in 1919, and the making of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. These communist forces were soon crushed through anti-communist forces and attempts to make an international communist revolution failed. Though, a successful communist revolution occurred in Mongolia in 1924, resulting in the making of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The entrenchment of Bolshevik power began in 1918 with the expulsion of Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries from the workers' soviets. The Bolshevik government recognized the Cheka, a secret police force specialized to confronting anti-Bolshevik elements. The Cheka was the predecessor to the NKVD and the KGB. Initially, opposition to the Bolshevik regime was strong as a response to Russia's poor economic circumstances, with the Cheka reporting no less than 118 uprisings, including the Kronstadt Revolt. Lenin repressed opposition political parties. Intense political thrash about sustained until 1922.

Initial Bolshevik economic policies from 1917 to 1918 were careful with limited nationalizations of private property. Lenin was immediately committed to avoid antagonizing the peasantry through creation efforts to coax them absent from the Socialist Revolutionaries, allowing a peasant takeover of nobles' estates while no immediate nationalizations were enacted on peasants' property. Beginning in mid-1918, the Bolshevik regime enacted what is recognized as "war communism", an economic policy that aimed to replace the free market with state manage in excess of all means of manufacture and sharing. This was done by the Decree on Nationalization that declared the nationalization of all big-level private enterprises while requisitioning grain absent from peasants and providing it to workers in municipalities and Red

soldiers fighting the Whites. The result was economic chaos as the monetary economy collapsed and was replaced through barter and black marketeering. The requisitioning of grain absent from the peasantry to workers resulted in peasants losing stimulus to labour, resulting in a drop in manufacture, producing a food shortage crisis in the municipalities that provoked strikes and riots that seriously challenged the Bolshevik regime, with the mainly serious being the Kronstadt Revolt of 1921.

The New Economic Policy was started in 1921 as a backwards step from war communism, with the restoration of a degree of capitalism and private enterprise. 91 percent of industrial enterprises were returned to private ownership or trusts. Importantly, Lenin declared that the growth of socialism would not be able to be pursued in the manner originally idea through Marxists. Lenin stated "Our poverty is therefore great that we cannot at one stroke restore full-level factory, state, socialist manufacture". A key aspect that affected the Bolshevik regime was the backward economic circumstances in Russia that were measured unfavorable to orthodox Marxist theory of communist revolution. Orthodox Marxists claimed at the time that Russia was ripe for the growth of capitalism, not yet for socialism. Lenin advocated the require of the growth of a big corps of technological intelligentsia to assist the industrial growth of Russia and therefore advance the Marxist economic levels of growth, as it had too few technological experts at the time. The New Economic Policy was tumultuous; economic recovery took lay but alongside famine and a financial crisis. Though through 1924, considerable economic progress had been achieved and through 1926 the economy regained its 1913 manufacture stage.

- *Stalinism and World War II*

As Lenin neared death after suffering strokes, he declared in his testament of December 1922 an order to remove Joseph Stalin from his post as Common Secretary and replace him through "some other person who is larger

to Stalin only in one respect, namely, in being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades". When Lenin died in January 1924, the testament was read out to a meeting of the party's Central Committee. Though, party members whispered that Stalin had improved his reputation in 1923 and ignored Lenin's order. Lev Kamenev and Grigory Zinoviev whispered that the real threat to the party came from Trotsky, head of the Red Army, due to his association with the army and his powerful personality. Kamenev and Zinoviev collaborated with Stalin in a power-distribution triumvirate where Stalin retained his location as Common Secretary. The confrontation flanked by the triumvirate and Trotsky began in excess of the debate flanked by the policy of Permanent Revolution as advocated through Trotsky and Socialism in One Country as advocated through Stalin. Trotsky's Permanent Revolution advocated rapid industrialization, elimination of private cultivation, and having the Soviet Union promote the spread of communist revolution abroad. Stalin's Socialism in One Country stressed moderation and growth of positive relations flanked by the Soviet Union and other countries to augment trade and foreign investment. Stalin was not particularly committed to these positions, but used them as a means to isolate Trotsky. In 1925, Stalin's policy won the support of the 14th Party Congress while Trotsky was defeated.

From 1925 to 1927, Stalin abandoned his triumvirate with Kamenev and Zinoviev and shaped an alliance with the mainly right-wing elements of the party, Nikolai Bukharin, Alexei Rykov, and Mikhail Tomsky.

In 1929, Stalin seized manage of the Party. Upon Stalin attaining power, Bolshevism became associated with Stalinism, whose policies incorporated: rapid industrialization, Socialism in One Country, a centralized state, collectivization of agriculture, and subordination of interests of other communist parties to those of the Soviet party. In 1929, he enacted harsh radical policy towards the wealthy peasantry and turned against Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsky, who favored a more moderate approach to the Kulaks. He accused them of plotting against the Party's agreed strategy and forced

them to resign from the Politburo and political office. Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929. Opposition to Stalin through Trotsky led to a dissident Bolshevik ideology described Trotskyism that was repressed under Stalin's rule.

Stalin's regime was a totalitarian state under his dictatorship. Stalin exercised long personal manage in excess of the Communist Party and unleashed an unprecedented stage of violence to eliminate any potential threat to his regime. While Stalin exercised biggest manage in excess of political initiatives, their implementation was in the manage of localities, often with regional leaders interpreting the policies in a method that served themselves best. This abuse of power through regional leaders exacerbated the violent purges and terror campaigns accepted out through Stalin against members of the Party deemed to be traitors. Stalin unleashed the Great Terror campaign against alleged "socially dangerous" and "counterrevolutionary" persons that resulted in the Great Purge of 1936–1938 throughout which 1.5 million people were arrested from 1937–1938 and 681,692 of those were executed. The Stalinist period saw the introduction of a organization of forced labour of convicts and political dissidents, the Gulag organization, of that created in the early 1930s. Political growths in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1941 incorporated Stalin dismantling the remaining elements of democracy from the Party through extending his manage in excess of its organizations and eliminating any possible rivals. The Party's ranks grew in numbers with the Party modifying its organization to contain more trade unions and factories. In 1936, the Soviet Union adopted a new constitution that ended weighted voting preference for workers as in its previous constitutions, and created universal suffrage for all people in excess of the age of eighteen. The 1936 Constitution also split the Soviets into two legislatures, the Soviet of the Union – on behalf of electoral districts, and the Soviet of the Nationalities – that represented the ethnic makeup of the country as a entire. Through 1939, with the exception of Stalin himself, none of the original Bolsheviks of the October Revolution of

1917 remained in the Party. Unquestioning loyalty to Stalin was expected through the regime of all citizens. Economic growths in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1941 incorporated the acceleration of collectivization of agriculture. In 1930, 23.6 percent of all agriculture was collectivized; through 1941, 98 percent of all agriculture was collectivized. This procedure of collectivization incorporated "dekulakization", in which kulaks were forced off their land, persecuted, and killed in a wave of terror unleashed through the Soviet state against them. The collectivization policies resulted in economic disaster with severe fluctuations in grain harvests, catastrophic losses in the number of livestock, a substantial drop in the food consumption of the country's citizens, and the allegedly intentional Holodomor famine in the Ukraine. Contemporary sources estimate that flanked by 2.4 and 7.5 million Ukrainians died in the Holodomor famine. Huge industrialization was initiated, mostly based on the foundation of preparation for an offensive war against the West – with a focus on heavy industry. Though, even at its peak, industry of the Soviet Union remained well behind that of the United States. Industrialization led to a huge urbanization in the country. Unemployment was virtually eliminated in country throughout the 1930s.

Social growths in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1941 incorporated the relinquishment of the relaxed social manage and allowance of experimentation under Lenin to Stalin's promotion of a rigid and authoritarian community based upon discipline – mixing traditional Russian values with Stalin's interpretation of Marxism. Organized religion was repressed, especially minority religious groups. Education was transformed, under Lenin, the education organization took allowed relaxed discipline in schools that became based upon Marxist theory, but Stalin reversed this in 1934 with a conservative approach taken with the reintroduction of formal studying, the use of examinations and grades, the assertion of full power of the teacher, and the introduction of school uniforms. Art and civilization became strictly

regulated under the principles of Socialist Realism, and Russian traditions that Stalin admired were allowed to continue.

Foreign policy in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1941 resulted in substantial changes in the Soviet Union's approach to its foreign policy. The rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis in Germany in 1933 resulted in the Soviet Union initially terminating the political connections it previously had recognized with Germany in the 1920s and Stalin turned to accommodate Czechoslovakia and the West against Hitler. The Soviet Union promoted several anti-fascist fronts across Europe and created agreements with France to challenge Germany. With the Munich agreement in 1938, Soviet foreign policy reversed, with Stalin abandoning anti-German policies and adopting pro-German policies. In 1939, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany agreed to both a non-aggression pact and an agreement to invade and partition Poland flanked by them, resulting in the invasion of Poland in September 1939 through Germany and the Soviet Union and the beginning of World War II, with the Allies declaring war on Germany.

The German invasion of the Soviet Union resulted in the substantial realignment of multiple Soviet policies. The Soviet Union was brought into World War II and joined the Western Allies in a general front against the Axis Powers. The war brought the threat of physical disintegration of the Soviet Union, as German forces were initially welcomed as liberators through several Belarussians, Georgians, and Ukrainians. Soviet forces initially faced disastrous losses from 1941 to 1942. Stalin enacted total war policy in response.

Communist insurrection against Axis rule took place in many countries. In China, the Communist Party of China led through Mao Zedong reluctantly abandoned the civil war with the Kuomintang and cooperated with it against Japanese imperial forces. In Yugoslavia, the communist Yugoslav Partisans led through Josip Broz Tito, held up an effective guerrilla resistance movement to

the Axis occupiers. The Partisans supervised to form a communist Yugoslav state described Democratic Federal Yugoslavia in liberated territories in 1943 and through 1944, with the assistance of Soviet forces, seized manage of Yugoslavia, entrenching a communist regime in Yugoslavia.

Soviet forces rebounded in 1943 with the victories at the Battle of Stalingrad and the Battle of Kursk, and from 1943 to 1945 they pushed back German forces and siege Berlin in 1945. Through the end of World War II, the Soviet Union had become a biggest military superpower. With the collapse of the Axis Powers, Soviet satellite states were recognized during Eastern Europe, creating a big communist bloc of states in Europe.

- *Cold War, de-Stalinization, and Maoism*

Tensions flanked by the Western Allies and the communist Eastern allies accelerated after the end of World War II, resulting in the Cold War flanked by the Soviet-led communist East and the American-led capitalist West. Key measures that began the Cold War incorporated Soviet, Yugoslav, Bulgarian, and Albanian intervention in the Greek civil war on the face of the communists, and the making of the Berlin blockade through the Soviet Union in 1948. China returned to civil war flanked by the Western-backed Kuomintang versus Mao Zedong's Communists supported through the Soviet Union with the Communists seizing manage of all of mainland China in 1949, creating the People's Republic of China and West erupted in the Korean War, when the United Nations Security Council, with the absence of the Soviet Union at the time of the vote, voted for international intervention in Korea to stop the civil war. The United States and other Western powers used the war to prop up South Korea against Soviet and PRC-backed communist North Korea led through Kim Il-Sung. The war ended in armistice and stalemate in 1953.

Stalin's attempts to enforce submission of its Eastern European allies to the economic and political agenda of the Soviet Union sparked opposition and

rejection in Yugoslavia through Tito. Tito in return rejected Stalinism and the Eastern bloc, forging a non-aligned location flanked by East and West that urbanized into the Non-Aligned Movement and the growth of an autonomous Marxist-Leninist ideology of Titoism.

In 1953, Stalin died of a stroke, ending his 29 years of power and rule in excess of the Soviet Union.

With the death of Stalin in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev slowly ascended to power in the Soviet Union and announced a radical policy of de-Stalinization of the Communist Party and the country, condemning Stalin for excesses and tyranny. Gulag forced labour camps were dismantled. Anti-Stalinist figures such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn were allowed the freedom to criticize Stalin. The cult of personality associated with Stalin was eliminated. Stalinists were removed from office. Khrushchev ended Stalin's policy of Socialism in One Country and committed the Soviet Union to actively support communist revolution during the world. The policies of de-Stalinization were promoted as an effort to restore the legacy of Lenin. The death of Stalin, though did not result in the end of the Cold War. The clash sustained and escalated.

Communist revolution erupted in the Americas in this era, including revolutions in Bolivia, Cuba, El Salvador, Grenada, Nicaragua, Peru, and Uruguay. In Cuba in 1959, forces led through Fidel Castro and Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara overthrew the regime of Fulgencio Batista and recognized a communist regime there with ties to the Soviet Union. American attempts to overthrow the Castro regime with the failed Bay of Pigs Invasion through Cuban exiles supported through the CIA failed. Shortly afterwards, a diplomatic dispute erupted when the U.S. exposed Soviet nuclear missiles placed in Cuba, resulting in the Cuban Missile Crisis. The standoff flanked by the two superpowers was resolved through the Soviet Union agreeing to remove its nuclear missiles from Cuba in swap for the United States removing its nuclear missiles from Turkey. Bolivia faced Marxist-Leninist revolution in

the 1960s that incorporated Che Guevara as a leader until being killed there through government forces. Uruguay faced Marxist-Leninist revolution from the Tupamaros movement from the 1960s to the 1970s. A brief dramatic episode of Marxist-Leninist revolution took place in North America throughout the October Crisis in the province of Quebec in Canada, where the Marxist-Leninist and Quebec separatist *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ) in Canada, James Cross, and Quebec government minister Pierre Laporte who was later killed, it issued a manifesto condemning what it measured English Canadian imperialism in French Quebec calling for an self-governing, socialist Quebec. The Canadian government in response issued a crackdown on the FLQ and suspended civil liberties in Quebec, forcing the FLQ leadership to flee to exile in Cuba where the Cuban government carried their entry. Daniel Ortega of the Marxist-Leninist movement described the Sandinista National Liberation Front seized power in Nicaragua in 1979 and faced armed opposition from the Contras supported through the United States. The United States launched military intervention in Grenada to prevent the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist regime there. The Salvadoran Civil War from 1980 to 1992 involved Marxist-Leninist rebels fighting against El Salvador's right-wing government.

Growths of Marxism–Leninism and communist revolution occurred in Asia in this era. The People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong urbanized its own unique brand of Marxism–Leninism recognized as Maoism. Tensions erupted flanked by the PRC and the Soviet Union in excess of a number of issues, including border disputes, resulting in the Sino-Soviet Split in the 1960s. After the split, the PRC eventually pursued detente with the United States as a means to challenge the Soviet Union. This was inaugurated with the visit of U.S. President Richard Nixon to the PRC in 1972 and the US supporting the PRC replacing the Republic of China as the representative of China at the United Nations and taking its seat at the UN Security Council. The death of Mao eventually saw the Deng Xiaoping politically outmaneuver Mao's chosen successor to power in the People's Republic of China. Deng

made controversial economic reforms to the PRC's economy involving effective economic liberalization under the policy of Socialism with Chinese Aspects. His reforms helped to slowly change the PRC into one of the worlds fastest rising economies.

Another biggest clash erupted flanked by the East and West in the Cold War in Asia throughout the Vietnam War. French colonial forces had failed to hold back independence forces led through the communist leader Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam. French forces retreated from Vietnam and were replaced through American forces supporting a Western-backed client regime in South Vietnam. Despite being a superpower and having a larger arsenal of weapons at its disposal, the United States was unable to create substantial gains against North Vietnam's proxy guerilla army in South Vietnam, the Viet Cong. With the direct intervention of North Vietnam in the South with the Tet Offensive of 1968, US forces suffered heavy losses. The American public turned against the war eventually resulting in a withdrawal of US troops and the seizure of Saigon through communist forces in 1975 and communist victory in Vietnam.

Communist regimes were recognized in Vietnam's neighbor states in 1975, such as in Laos and the making of the Khmer Rouge regime of Democratic Kampuchea. The Khmer Rouge regime became notorious for the mass genocide of the Cambodian population. The Khmer Rouge was overthrown in 1979 through an invasion through Vietnam that assisted the establishment of a new Marxist-Leninist regime, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, that opposed the policies of the Khmer Rouge.

A new front of Marxist-Leninist revolution erupted in Africa, with revolutions in Benin, the Republic of Congo, and Somalia; Marxist-Leninist liberation fronts in Angola and Mozambique revolting against Portuguese colonial rule; the overthrow of Haile Selassie and the making of the Derg communist military junta in Ethiopia; blacks led through Robert Mugabe in Rhodesia revolting against white-minority rule there. Angola, Benin, the

Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia and Zimbabwe all became Marxist-Leninist states flanked by 1969 and 1979. Focus on apartheid white minority rule in South Africa brought tensions flanked by East and West, the Soviet Union officially supported the overthrow of apartheid while the West and the US in scrupulous maintained official neutrality on the matter. The Western location became precarious and condemned after the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the killing of black South African rights activist Steve Biko in 1977. Under US President Jimmy Carter, the West joined the Soviet Union and others in enacting sanctions against weapons trade and weapons-grade material to South Africa. Though forceful actions through the US against apartheid South Africa were diminished under US President Ronald Reagan, as the Reagan administration feared the rise of communist revolution in South Africa as had happened in Zimbabwe against white minority rule.

In 1979, the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan to close the communist regime there, however the act was seen as an invasion through Afghans opposed to Afghanistan's communist regime and through the West. The West responded to the Soviet military actions through boycotting the Moscow Olympics of 1980 and providing clandestine support to the Mujahadeen, including Osama bin Laden, as a means to challenge the Soviet Union. The war became a Soviet equivalent of the Vietnam War to the United States – it remained a stalemate during the 1980s.

- *Reform and Collapse*

Social resistance to the policies of Marxist-Leninist regimes in Eastern Europe accelerated in strength with the rise of the Solidarity, the first non-communist controlled trade union in the Warsaw Pact that was shaped in the People's Republic of Poland in 1980.

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev rose to power in the Soviet Union and began policies of radical political reform involving political liberalization, described Perestroika and Glasnost. Gorbachev's policies were intended at

dismantling authoritarian elements of the state that were urbanized through Stalin, while aiming for a return to a supposed ideal Leninist state that retained single-party structure while allowing the democratic election of competing candidates within the Communist Party for political office. Gorbachev also aimed to seek detente with the West and end the Cold War that was no longer economically sustainable to be pursued through the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the United States under US President George H. W. Bush joined in pushing for the dismantlement of apartheid and oversaw the dismantlement of South African colonial rule in excess of Namibia.

Meanwhile the eastern European communist states politically deteriorated in response to the success of the Polish Solidarity movement and the possibility of Gorbachev-approach political liberalization. In 1989, revolts crossways Eastern Europe and China against Marxist-Leninist regimes. In China, the government refused to negotiate with student protestors resulting in the Tianamen Square attacks that stopped the revolts through force. The revolts culminated with the revolt in East Germany against the Stalinist regime of Erich Honecker and demands for the Berlin Wall to be torn down. The event in East Germany urbanized into a popular mass revolt with parts of the Berlin Wall being torn down and East and West Berliners uniting. Gorbachev's refusal to use Soviet forces based in East Germany to suppress the revolt was seen as a sign that the Cold War had ended. Honecker was pressured to resign from office and the new government committed itself to reunification with West Germany. The Stalinist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu in Romania was forcefully overthrown in 1989 and Ceaușescu was executed. The other Warsaw Pact regimes fell in 1989 with the exception of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania that sustained until 1992.

Unrest and eventual collapse of communism also occurred in Yugoslavia, however for dissimilar causes than those of the Warsaw Pact. The death of Tito in 1980 and the subsequent vacuum of strong leadership allowed

the rise of rival ethnic nationalism in the multinational country. The first leader to use such nationalism for political purposes was communist official Slobodan Milošević who used it to seize power as President of Serbia, and demanded concessions to Serbia and Serbs through the other republics in the Yugoslav federation. This resulted in a surge of Slovene and Croat nationalism in response and the collapse of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1990, the victory of nationalists in multiparty elections in mainly of Yugoslavia's constituent republics, and eventually civil war flanked by the several nationalities beginning in 1991. The SFRY was dissolved in 1992.

The Soviet Union itself collapsed flanked by 1990 and 1991, with a rise of secessionist nationalism and a political power dispute flanked by Gorbachev and the new non-communist leader of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin. With the Soviet Union collapsing, Gorbachev prepared the country to become a loose non-communist federation of self-governing states described the Commonwealth of Self-governing States. Hardline communist leaders in the military reacted to Gorbachev's policies with the August Coup of 1991 in which hardline communist military leaders overthrew Gorbachev and seized manage of the government. This regime only lasted briefly as widespread popular opposition erupted in street protests and refused to submit. Gorbachev was restored to power, but the several Soviet republics were now set for independence. On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev officially announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union, ending the subsistence of the world's first communist-led state.

- *Contemporary-day Marxism-Leninism*

Since the fall of the Eastern European communist regimes, the Soviet Union, and a diversity of African communist regimes, only a few currently remain, including: China, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam. Mainly communist parties outside those in power have fared poorly in elections. Though the

Communist Party of the Russian Federation has remained a important political force.

In Asia, a number of Marxist-Leninist regimes and powerful movements continue to exist. The People's Republic of China has sustained the agenda of Deng's reforms through initiating important privatization of the economy. Though no corresponding political liberalization has occurred as happened in eastern European countries. The Naxalite-Maoist insurgency has sustained flanked by the governments of India and Bangladesh against several Marxist-Leninist movements, unabated since the 1960s. Maoist rebels in Nepal occupied in a civil war from 1996 to 2006 that supervised to topple the monarchy there and make a republic. In the Philippines, the Maoist-oriented Communist Party of the Philippines and its armed wing, the New Peoples Army has been waging armed revolution against the Philippine government since 1968.

Cuba has allied itself with the popular radical socialist politics of Bolivarianism as supported through Hugo Chavez of Venezuela. Castro and Chavez shaped a general front against American power and capitalism. Unlike Marxism–Leninism, Bolivarianism accepts the subsistence of religion and multiparty democracy. Castro and Chavez have also been joined with the radical socialist agenda of Evo Morales of Bolivia and Rafael Correa of Ecuador. Marxist-Leninist leader Daniel Ortega returned to power in Nicaragua in 2007. In the internal clash in Peru, the Peruvian government faces opposition from Marxist-Leninist and Maoist militants.

New Left

The New Left was a range of activists, educators, agitators and others in the 1960s and 1970s who focused their attention on marginal identities and, eventually, identity politics. They rejected involvement with the labor movement and Marxism's historical theory of class thrash about. Abandoning

the Marxist goals of educating the proletariat, the New Left turned to student activism as its reservoir of power.

In both the U.S. and Japan, the "New Left" was associated with the Hippie movement and college campus protest movements. The American New Left in scrupulous opposed what it saw as the prevailing power structures in community, which it termed "The Establishment", and those who rejected this power became recognized as "anti-Establishment".

Theory and Philosophy

The German-Jewish critical theorist Herbert Marcuse is referred to as the "Father of the New Left". He rejected the theory of class thrash about and the Marxist concern with labor, instead claiming, just as to Leszek Kołakowski, that since "all questions of material subsistence have been solved, moral commands and prohibitions are no longer relevant." He regarded the realization of man's erotic nature as the true liberation of humanity, which inspired the utopias of Jerry Rubin and others. Another prominent New Left thinker, Ernst Bloch, whispered that socialism would prove the means for all human beings to become immortal and eventually make God.

United States New Left

Several New Left thinkers in the U.S. were convinced through the Vietnam War and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Like the British New Left, they established troubles in the communism of the Soviet Union, but unlike the British New Left, they did not turn to Trotskyism or social democracy. Some in the U.S. New Left argued that since the Soviet Union could no longer be measured the world center for proletarian revolution, new revolutionary Communist thinkers had to be substituted in its lay, such as Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro. Todd Gitlin in *The Entire World Is Watching* in describing the movement's powers stated, "The New Left, again, refused the self-discipline of explicit programmatic statement until too late - until, that is,

the Marxist-Leninist sects filled the vacuum with dogmas, with clarity on the cheap."

Other elements of the U.S. New Left were anarchist and looked to libertarian socialist traditions of American radicalism, the Industrial Workers of the World and union militancy. This group coalesced approximately the historical journal *Radical America*. American Autonomist Marxism was also a child of this stream, for example in the idea of Harry Cleaver. Murray Bookchin was also section of the anarchist stream of the New Left, as were the Yippies.

The U.S. New Left drew inspiration from black radicalism, particularly the Black Power movement and the more explicitly Maoist and militant Black Panther Party. The Panthers in turn convinced other same militant groups, like the Young Lords, the Brown Berets and the American Indian Movement. The New Left was also inspired through SNCC, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Students immersed themselves into poor society's structure up support with the locals. The New Left sought to be a broad based, grass roots movement.

The Vietnam war mannered through liberal President Lyndon Johnson was a special target crossways the worldwide New Left. Johnson and his top officials became unwelcome on American campuses. The anti-war movement escalated the rhetorical heat, as violence broke out on both sides. The climax came at the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

It could be argued that the New Left's mainly successful legacy was the rebirth of feminism. As the leaders of the New Left were mainly white men, women reacted to the lack of progressive gender politics with their own social intellectual movement. Ultimately however the New Left disintegrated, mainly because members of the SDS dissatisfied with the pace of transform, included violent tendencies towards social transformation. After 1969, the New Left degenerated into radicals and moderate factions, and that similar year, the Weathermen, a surviving faction of SDS, attempted to launch a guerrilla war

in an incident recognized as the "Days of Rage." Finally, in 1970 three members of the Weathermen blew themselves up in a Greenwich Village brownstone trying to create a bomb out of a stick of dynamite and an alarm clock.

The New Left was also marked through the invention of the contemporary environmentalist movement, which clashed with the Old Left's disregard for the environment in favor of preserving the occupations of union workers. Environmentalism also gave rise to several other social justice movements such as the environmental justice movement, which aims to prevent the toxification of the environment of minority and disadvantaged societies.

Continental European New Left

American power on the European New Left emerged first in West Germany, which became a prototype for European student radicals. German students protesting against the Vietnam war often wore discarded US military uniforms, and they made influential contacts with dissident GIs—draftees who did not like the war either.

The Prague Spring was legitimized through the Czechoslovak government as a socialist reform movement. The 1968 measures in the Czechoslovakia were driven forward through industrial workers, and were explicitly theorized through active Czechoslovak unionists as a revolution for workers' manage.

The driving force of close to-revolution in France in May 1968 were students inspired through the ideas of the Situationist International, which in turn had been inspired through Socialisme of Barbarie. Both of these groups emphasized civilization as a form of manufacture.

While the Autonomia in Italy have been described New Left, it is more appropriate to see them as the result of traditional, industrially oriented, communism re-theorizing its ideas and ways. Unlike mainly of the New Left,

Autonomia had a strong blue-collar arm, active in frequently occupying factories. The Provos were a Dutch counter-cultural movement of mostly young people with anarchist powers.

Trade Union in USA

19th-century American unionism

In the early 19th century, several men from big municipalities put jointly the organization which we now call the Trade Union Movement. Individuals who were members of unions at this time were skilled, experienced, and knew how to get the occupation done. Their largest reasoning for starting this movement was to put on strikes. Though, they did not have sufficient men to fulfill their requires and the unions which began this trendy movement collapsed quickly. The Mechanics' Union Trade Association was the after that approach to bring workers jointly. In 1827, this union was the first US labour organization which brought jointly workers of divergent jobs. This was "the first municipality-wide federation of American workers, which recognised that all labour, regardless of trades, had general troubles that could be solved only through united efforts as a class." This organization took off when carpentry workers from Philadelphia went on strike to protest their pay wages and working hours. This union strike was only a premonition of what was to approach in the future.

Workers realized what unionism was all in relation to the through the configuration of mechanics association and several people followed in their footsteps. The strike gave others hope that they could get their concerns out through word of mouth. Before this time several people did not speak in relation to the their concerns because of the lack of bodies. Though, with more people comes more confidence. Strikes were a new method of speaking your mind and receiving things accomplished.

The after that recognized union which made an impact on the trade movement was the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union. This union was

founded in 1834 as the first domestic association. Though, this union was short existed due to the panic of 1837.

"Jackson idea the Bank of the United States hurt ordinary citizens through exercising too much manage in excess of credit and economic opportunity, and he succeeded in shutting it down. But the state banks' reckless credit policies led to huge speculation in Western lands. Through 1837, after Van Buren had become president, banks were clearly in trouble. Some began to secure, businesses began to fail, and thousands of people lost their land."

This collapse of financial support and businesses left workers unemployed. Several of these workers, who became affected through the 1837 disaster, were members of a union. It was extremely difficult for them to keep jointly in an economic hardship and the trade union movement came to a bump in the road. But the economy was restored through the early 1840s and trade unions started doing bigger. National labour unions were forming, dissimilar than ones in the past, consisting now of members of the similar job.

The work force was drastically impacted through the Civil War and the economy was thriving. Several workers gained employment because of this economic boom and unions increased greatly. "More than 30 national craft unions were recognized throughout the 1860s and early '70s." One of the important national craft unions to be shaped throughout this time was the National Labor Union d several kinds of workers. Although comparatively short-existed, the NLU paved the method for future American unions. Following the decline of the NLU, the Knights of Labor became the leading countrywide union in the 1860s. This union did not contain Chinese, and partially incorporated black people and women.

Knights of Labor

The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor through Uriah Stephens and six other men. The union was shaped for the purpose of

organizing the flyers, educating and directing the power of the industrial masses, just as to their Constitution of 1878. The Knights gathered people to join the Order who whispered in creating "the greatest good to the greatest amount of people". The Knights took their set goals extremely seriously. Some of which consisted of "productive work, civic responsibility, education, a wholesome family life, temperance, and self-improvement."

The Knights of Labor worked as a secret fraternal community until 1881. The union grew gradually until the economic depression of the 1870s, when big numbers of workers joined the organization. The Knights only permitted sure groups of individuals into their Order which promoted social division amongst the people approximately them. Bankers, speculators, lawyers, liquor dealers, gamblers, and teachers were all excluded from the union. These workers were recognized as the "non-producers" because their occupations did not entail physical labour. Factory workers and business men were recognized as the "producers" because their occupation constructed a physical product. The working force producers were welcomed into the Order. Women were also welcome to join the Knights, as well as black workers through the year 1883. Though, Asians were excluded. In November 1885, the Knights of a Washington municipality pushed to get rid of their Asian population. The knights were strongly for the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 because it greatly helped them deteriorate the Asian society.

"The Act required the few non-laborers who sought entry to obtain certification from the Chinese government that they were qualified to immigrate. But this group establish it increasingly hard to prove that they were not laborers because the 1882 act defined excludable as 'skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.' Therefore extremely few Chinese could enter the country under the 1882 law."

The act also stated that if an Asian left the country, they needed a certificate to re-enter.

Although Asians were not welcomed in the union, black workers who joined the union brought a big number of blacks into the white labour movement. In 1886, the Union exceeded 700,000 members, 60,000 of them black. The Knights were told that they "broke the walls of prejudice"; the "color row had been broken and black and white were establish working in the similar reason.

American Federation of Labor

The *American Federation of Labor* (AFL), founded through Samuel Gompers, was recognized due to the vexation of several Knights who parted from the KOL. Several Knights joined the AFL because they set themselves separately from the KOL. The KOL "tried to teach the American wage-earner that he was a wage-earner first and a bricklayer, carpenter, miner after. This meant that the Order was teaching something that was not therefore in the hope that sometime it would be.' But the AFL affiliates organized carpenters as carpenters, bricklayers as bricklayers, and therefore forth, teaching them all to lay their own craft interests before those of other workers."

The AFL also differed from the KOL because it only allowed associations to be shaped from workers and workers were the only people permitted to join them. Unlike the AFL, the knights also allowed small businesses to join. A small business is "An independently owned and operated business that is not dominant in its field of operation and conforms to standards set through the Small Business Administration or through state law concerning number of employees and yearly income described also small business concern."

Since the Knights association, they ended up receiving rid of several because they did not fit the title. Though, the AFL was right behind them picking up their pieces. This was another method in which the AFL helped to destroy the Knights. Once an associate was no longer a knight, and they fit the account of an AFL member, they hunted them down and offered them a mark.

Several times spots were offered to men who were still Knights. This allowed the AFL to grow extremely strong with a diverse set of members.

The variety in the AFL faltered when several of the black members were excluded. Gompers only wanted skilled workers on behalf of his union and several black people were not measured skilled. The AFL claimed to not exclude the black members because of their race but because they were not qualified for the section. "Therefore as extensive as wages rose, and they did, hours fell, and they did, security increased, and it emerged to, the AFL could grow fat while neglecting millions of laborers doomed to lives of misery and want." Even black workers measured skilled sufficient to fit the section were usually excluded from the Union. The AFL mannered literacy tests which had the effect of excluding immigrants and blacks. Regardless of black members being excluded, the AFL was the mainly prevalent union federation in America before the mid-1940s. The union was collected of in excess of 10 million members before it combined with the Congress of Industrial Organization

The CIO was put forth through Mr. John Kamau when troubles with the AFL persisted, after the death of Gompers in 1924. Several members of the union requested that they switch the rules which were laid out through Gompers. They wanted to support inexperienced workmen rather than only focusing on experienced workers of one job. John L. Lewis was the first member of the AFL to act upon this issue in 1935. He was the founder of the Committee for the Industrial Organization which was an original union branched from the AFL. The Committee for the Industrial Organization transformed into the Congress of Industrial Organization. The Congress of Industrial Institutions urge of worker organization in American history. In the 1930s, the CIO grabbed several of their member's attention by victorious strikes. In 1935, employees of Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company shaped their own union described the United Rubber Workers. The Rubber Workers went on strike in 1936 to protest an augment in product with lower pay wages.

"There were forty-eight strikes in 1936 in which the strikers remained at their occupations for at least one day; in twenty-two of these work stoppages, involving 34,565 workers, the strikers stayed inside the plants for more than twenty-four hours." This tactic was described a "sit-down" strike which entailed workers to stop doing their occupation and sit in their lay of employment. Throughout these strikes, business owners were unable to bring in new workers to replace the ones who were on strike because they were still in their seats at the factory. This was unlike any strikes in the past. Before this time, workers showed their fury through leaving their factory and standing in picket rows. Walter Reuther was in manage of the union at this time and moved forward to higher roles throughout 1955.

AFL-CIO

On 5 May 1955, union delegates gathered in New York on behalf of 16 million workers, to witness and support the merger of The American Federation of Labor and The Congress of Industrial Organization. The merger is a result of 20 years of attempt put forth through both the AFL and CIO presidents, George Meany and Walter Reuther. The gathered delegates applauded loudly when the time came to nominate administrators for the new AFL-CIO. Reuther who was named one of the 37 vice presidents of the union, nominated Meany for President. After Meany's retirement in 1979, Lane Kirkland took in excess of his location. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was elected in 1952, was the first to publicly address and congratulate the new union, which was now the main in the world.

In Eisenhower's telephone broadcast to the United States he acknowledged the impact union members had made to bigger the nation and one of these impacts was "the growth of the American philosophy of labour." Eisenhower states three principles which he feels apply to the philosophy of labour. The first principles states that: "the ultimate values of mankind are spiritual; these values contain liberty, human dignity, opportunity and equal

rights and justice." Eisenhower was stating that every individual deserves a occupation with decent compensation, practical hours, and good working circumstances that leave them feeling fulfilled. His second principle speaks of the economic interest of the employer and employee being a mutual prosperity. The employers and employees necessity work jointly in order for there to be the greatest amount of wealth for all. Workers have a right to strike when they feel their boundaries are being crossed and the best method for the employer to fix the employees unhappiness is to approach to a mutual agreement. His last principle which he preached stated: "labour relations will be supervised best when worked out in honest negotiation flanked by employers and unions, without Government's unwarranted interference." Eisenhower was saying that when both parties cooperate and act in mature fashion, it will be easier to work out situations and a bigger outcome will result because of it. Once he was done delivering the speech, everyone crossways the U.S. knew of the new AFL-CIO whose "mission to bring social and economic justice to our nation through enabling working people to have a voice on the occupation, in government, in a changing global economy and in their societies."

This new alliance is made up of 56 nationwide and intercontinental labour unions. The unions which are a section of this alliance are collected of 2.5 million working Americans and 8.5 million other affiliated members. These members do not fall under one occupation title but they are extremely diversely spread out in the middle of the working region. Their occupations go from doctors to truck drivers and painters to bankers. The mission of these workers and the AFL-CIO "is to improve the lives of working families—to bring economic justice to the workplace and social justice to our nation. To accomplish this mission as suggested, build and transform the American labour movement." The AFL-CIO also has several goals which coincide with their mission:

As suggested, build a broad movement of American workers through organizing workers into unions. As suggested, build a strong political voice for workers in our nation. As suggested, transform our unions to give a new voice to workers in a changing economy. As suggested, transform our labour movement through creating a new voice for workers in our societies.

The association was willing to go to any extent to help out their employers which is why the membership was therefore high. Members started to gradually disappear after 25 successful years of a steady membership. Starting out with 16 million members in 1955 and dropping down to 13 million through 1984 is a important loss. This loss of members is in big section due to the 1957 removal of the Teamsters' Union who were longtime members of the AFL. The Teamsters' were involved in organized crime and manipulating employers with strong force. The Teamsters' philosophy was to

Let each member do his duty as he sees fit. Let each put his shoulder to the wheel and work jointly to bring in relation to the better results. Let no member sow seeds of discord within our ranks, and let our enemies see that the Teamsters of this country are determined to get their presently rewards and to create their organization as it should be—one of the main and strongest trade unions in the country now and beyond.

This philosophy did not work well for Teamster presidents Beck, Hoffa, and Williams who were all accused of criminal acts and sent to prison. In 1987 the AFL-CIO membership grew to 14 million members when the Teamsters Union was restored to the association.

The AFL-CIO also lost several members due to financial struggles in the United States. Throughout the late 20th century the U.S. dollar began to oscillate due to rivalry with foreign countries and their currencies. This affects global trafficking and results in occupation loss for American citizens. The issues flanked by the United States and foreign countries cannot be resolved through Eisenhower's third principle, which entailed honest negotiations. Consequently, the association has been dynamically supportive in administration policies which trade with global trafficking, the manufacture of

goods, and several other issues, which are optimistic policies that will add to an recognized financial organization.

The AFL-CIO is now governed through a gathering of delegates who are present on behalf of association members who meet every four years. The delegates who are the spokespeople of the federation members are chosen through union members. While the delegates vote for new representatives every four years, they also place down the goals and policies for the union. The mainly recent representatives for the organization beside with 45 vice presidents are President John J. Sweeny, Secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka, and executive vice president Arlene Holt Baker

In the United States there are a total of 15.4 million union members, "11 million of whom belong to unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO." This number has grown rapidly since the beginning of the union movement because today, all individuals with dissimilar jobs are welcomed to join unions. "Today's unions contain manufacturing and construction workers, teachers, technicians and doctors—and every kind of worker in flanked by. No matter what you do for a livelihood, there's a union that has members who do the similar item." Educating union members in relation to the issues that shape lives of functioning families on a daily foundation is one of the AFL-CIO's policies. They provide them confidence to have their voices heard for political purposes. They also prioritize in

Creating family-supporting occupations through investing tax dollars in schools, roads, bridges and airports; improving the lives of workers by education, occupation training and raising the minimum wage; keeping good occupations at house through reforming trade rules, reindustrializing the U.S. economy and redoubling efforts at worker protections in the global economy; strengthening Social Security and private pensions; creation high-quality, affordable health care accessible to everyone; and holding corporations more accountable for their actions.

The AFL-CIO is extremely supportive of political issues and they illustrate their concern through giving out information in relation to the existing political issues to families. This information is spread through

volunteers and activists and comprises where all the candidates stand on the issues.

The economist Joseph Stiglitz has asserted a commonly held perspective that "Strong unions have helped to reduce inequality, whereas weaker unions have made it easier for CEOs, sometimes working with market forces that they have helped shape, to augment it." The decline in unionization since WWII in the United States has been associated with a pronounced rise in income and wealth inequality.

Trade Unions in the United Kingdom

Trade unions in the United Kingdom were first decriminalized under the recommendation of a Royal Commission in 1867, which agreed that the establishment of the institutions was to the advantage of both employers and employees. Legalized in 1871, the Trade Union Movement sought to reform socio-economic circumstances for working men in British industries, and the Unions' search for this led to the making of a Labor Representation Committee which effectively shaped the foundation for today's Labor Party, which still has long links with the Trade Union Movement in Britain. Margaret Thatcher's governments weakened the powers of the unions in the 1980s, in scrupulous through creation it more hard to strike legally, and some within the British trades' union movement criticized Tony Blair's Labor government for not reversing some of Thatcher's changes. Mainly British unions are members of the TUC, the Trades Union Congress, or where appropriate, the Scottish Trades Union Congress or the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, which are the country's principal national trade union centers.

The decline in numbers of members, extremely steep in the 1980s looks to have stopped now, and numbers have stayed approximately 7.3 million since the year 2000. This means that trade unions remain in the middle of the major organizations in the country.

History

Unions in Britain were subject to often severe repression until 1824, but were already widespread in municipalities such as London. Workplace militancy had also manifested itself as Luddism and had been prominent in struggles such as the 1820 Growing in Scotland, in which 60,000 workers went on a common strike, which was soon crushed. From 1830 on, attempts were made to set up national common unions, mainly notably Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1834, which attracted a range of socialists from Owenites to revolutionaries. That organization played a section in the protests after the Tolpuddle Martyrs' case, but soon collapsed.

In the later 1830s and 1840s, trade unionism was overshadowed, to some extent, through political action. Of scrupulous importance was Chartism, the aims of which were supported through mainly socialists, although none seem to have played leading roles.

More permanent trade unions were recognized from the 1850s, bigger resourced but often less radical. The London Trades Council was founded in 1860, and the Sheffield Outrages spurred the establishment of the Trades Union Congress in 1868. The legal status of trade unions in the United Kingdom was recognized through a Royal Commission in 1867, which agreed that the establishment of the organizations was to the advantage of both employers and employees. Unions were legalized in 1871.

In *Principles of Political Economy* John Stuart Mill expressed some of the more liberal sentiment towards unions of the time.

"If it were possible for the working classes, through combining in the middle of themselves, to raise or stay up the common rate of wages, it requires hardly be said that this would be a item not to be punished, but to be welcomed and rejoiced at. Unluckily the effect is quite beyond achievement through such means. The multitudes who compose the working class are too numerous and too widely scattered to combine at all, much more to combine effectually. If they could do therefore, they might doubtless succeed in diminishing the hours of labour, and obtaining the similar wages for less work. They would also have a

limited power of obtaining, through combination, an augment of common wages at the expense of profits."

It is notable that a same theoretical stance is taken through orthodox economists to this day. The strongest unions of the mid-Victorian era were unions of skilled workers such as the Amalgamated Community of Engineers workers. Trade unionism amongst semi-skilled and unskilled workers made little progress until the emergence of the New Unions in the late 1880s. Unions played a prominent role in the making of the Labor Representation Committee which effectively shaped the foundation for today's Labour Party, which still has long links with the trade union movement in Britain.

The years 1910–14 witnessed serious industrial unrest and an enormous augment in trade union membership, which affected all industries, however to differing extents. World War I resulted in a further augment in union membership, as well as widespread recognition of unions and their increased involvement in management.

In 1926, the Trade Union Congress described a common strike in protection of the pay and circumstances of coal miners. After a nine-day industrial dispute, two unions took the TUC to court to prevent them being described out on strike. The subsequent court decision, the therefore-described Astbury judgment, ruled the common strike illegal. The ruling forced the TUC to capitulate as it resulted in the TUC being directly liable for vast fines from employers, and simultaneously gave the government the skill to confiscate all union funds. Ultimately several miners returned to work, and were forced to accept longer hours and lower pay. Additionally, in 1927 the government passed sweeping anti-union legislation under the Trade Disputes and Trade Union. This imposed biggest curbs on union power, including outlawing sympathetic strikes and mass picketing, and ensuring that civil service unions were banned from affiliating with the TUC.

Biggest strike action through British unions throughout the 1978–1979 Winter of Discontent are widely acknowledged to have contributed to the

downfall of the Labor government of James Callaghan. Callaghan, himself a trade-unionist, had previously appealed for unions to exercise pay restraint, as section of the British Government's policies at the time to attempt to curb rampant inflation. His effort to attempt to limit unions to a 5% pay rise led to widespread official and unofficial strikes crossways the country throughout the winter of that year. Official and unofficial strike action through lorry drivers, rail workers, nurses and ambulance drivers precipitated a feeling of crisis in the country. Memorable scenes of picketed hospitals, mounting piles of coffins, and heaps of unburied rubbish accumulating in public parks were embedded deeply in the public psyche. The effects of the union action caused a biggest swing in voting intention. In November 1978, a Gallup poll suggested a 5% Labor lead in the opinion polls. Following the union action that Winter, in February 1979, the Conservatives had a 20% lead. When Jim Callaghan's government lost a vote of no confidence, Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives swept to victory in the subsequent common election and introduced new union laws in section to combat the industrial unrest that had plagued the previous Wilson and Callaghan governments.

Trade Union Congress est. 1867

Trade Union Act 1871

Criminal Law Amendment Act 1871

Employers and Workmen Act 1875

Conspiracy and Defense of Property Act 1875

1926 United Kingdom common strike

Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act 1927

Voluntarism, communal laissez-faire and communal bargaining

Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1992

"Employment Relations Act 2004". *Office of Public Sector Information*.

Retrieved 2007-05-18.

European Convention on Human Rights Art. 11, freedom of assembly

Statutory recognition procedure

Union Modernization Finance

Trade Union Freedom Bill 2008

Law

Much like corporations, until the Combination Act 1825 trade unions were regarded as criminal, and were regarded as quasi legal institutions, subjected to the restraint of trade doctrine, until the Trade Union Act 1871. This Act abolished general law restrictions, but took an abstentionist stance to unions internal affairs.

- *Union Constitutions*

The structure of the unions were based in contract and the rights of members depended on being able to illustrate some proprietary interest to be specifically enforced. This meant that the express conditions of the union rule book can, like any contract, be complemented with implied conditions through the courts as strictly necessary to reflect the reasonable expectations of the parties, for example, through implying the Electoral Reform Service's guidance to say what happens in a tie break situation throughout an election when the union rules are silent. If there are irregular occurrences in the affairs of the union, for example if negligence or mismanagement is not alleged and a majority could vote on the issue to forgive them, then members have no individual rights to contest executive decision creation. Though, if a union's leadership acts *ultra vires*, beyond its powers set out in the union constitution, if the alleged wrongdoers are in manage, if a special supra-majority procedure is flouted, or a member's personal right is broken, the members may bring a derivative claim in court to sue or restrain the executive members. Therefore in *Edwards v Halliwell* a decision of the executive committee of the National Union of Vehicle Builders to augment membership fees, which were set in the constitution and required a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority vote, was able to be restrained through a claim from individual members because this touched both a personal right under the constitution and flouted a special procedure.

- *Democratic Organization*

The principle that the general law enforced a union's own rules, and that unions were free to arrange their affairs is reflected in the ILO Freedom of Association Convention, and article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights, subject to the requirement that regulations "necessary in a democratic community" may be imposed. Unions necessarily have an executive body and that executive necessarily be elected at least every five years, directly in a secret, equal postal vote of union members.

Today's Unions

Trade union membership in Britain experienced a serious decline from the time of the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in 1979. Thatcher passed new union legislation, which was mainly seen as a direct response to the actions of trade unions throughout the Winter of Discontent of the previous year. At that point the stage of union participation in the UK was approximately 80% of the workforce. Through 1997, that number had declined to 30%, mainly of which was in the public sector. Union participation in the private sector hovers approximately 12% of the workforce.

Trade Union Movement in India

The Trade Union Movement in India commenced as a result of state intervention for the demand of improved working circumstances. Economic reforms based on privatization, liberalization and austerity events to give favorable environment for the trade unions to engage in greater industrial disputes, but there is rising dissension or fragmentation within the trade union movement itself.

Trade Union movement appeared due to the require of improved working circumstances of the working class in India; there has also been a

decline in trade union activities in excess of the years. Throughout the era from 1991 to 2000, economic reforms for liberalization and privatization events were introduced through the Government of India. Privatization refers to policies that decrease the state's role and increases the private sector's responsibility to drive the economic decisions in the market. As of 2002, the combined membership of trade unions in India is approximately 24,601,589, as per statistics from the Ministry of Labour. Approximately 11 Central Trade Union Institutions are documented through the Ministry of Labor in 2008.

Aim of the Trade Union Movement

The Trade Union is an association that meets up and seems after the continuous demand of the wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the working circumstances. Political motivations and the ideologies have convinced Indian trade`s union movement. The twin characteristics of the Indian Trade Union Movement, labors organization for industrial bargaining and its ideological orientation were analyzed with the political colour. The characteristics of the Trade Unions were scanned in the wider backdrop of the nationalists thrash about against imperialism. There is simultaneous dissension or fragmentation within the trade union movement itself.

History of Trade Union Movement

The initial demand for the regulations of the working circumstances in the Indian factories came from the Lancashire textile capitalist lobby. They perceived that the emergence of a competitive rival in the Indian textile industry under favorable circumstances would deteriorate their location. They demanded the appointment of a commission for an investigation of the factory and working circumstances of the labors. The first commission was appointed

in 1875, although the First Factory Act was not passed before 1881. The Act prohibited the employment of children under the age of 7. The Act also limited the working hours of children below the age of 12 years. Same conditions resulted in the enactment of the factory acts for the jute industry in 1909 and 1911.

The trade union movement in British empire in India got an impetus when Bombay Mill Hands Association was shaped on 24th April, 1890. The establishment of ILO, in 1919, provided a source of inspiration for the workers to become politically conscious. India's membership exerted great power in the formation of a central organization of workers described All India Trade Union Congress, in 1920, for the purpose of conducting and coordinating the activities of the labor institutions.

Growth of Trade Union Movement

The era from 1924 to 1935 can be regarded as the period of revolutionary trade union movement. M.N. Roy, Muzaffer Ahmed, S.A. Dange and Shawkat Osmani led the trade union movements and as a result the political consciousness in the middle of industrial workers increased. The First World War and its consequences brought a era of soaring prices, unprecedented use for the industrialists but miserably low wages for the workers. The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi led to the development of non-violent trend of nationalist thrash about, which could not rally the workers for the national reason. The worker class during the world awakened to organize a Proletarian Revolution. The setting up of a League of Nation's Agency the labour problem.

All India Trade Union Congress

The nationalist leaders took the initiative of forming the Trade union as a national body. The All India Trade Union Congress came into subsistence on 31st October, 1920. Lala Lajpat Rai was elected as the President of the AITUC. The national leaders were closely associated with the Trade union congress. The celebrated nationalist leaders like C.R. Dass, V.V. Giri and later on Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru etc presided in excess of the annual sessions of the All India Trade union Congress. Through 1927, the number of trade union Congress affiliated to the AITUC increased to 57.

Throughout 1926-27, the AITUC was divided into two groups, namely, the reforming and the revolutionary groups. The Communist thinking seemed to carry greater power in the formation and the working of the AITUC. The strikes became the principal weapon of the Trade Union. They published their own journal named Kranti, which became the instrument to propagate the ideals and principle of the Trade union. The motto of the Kranti was to defeat capitalism. The Trade unionists strongly whispered that until the capitalists were totally overthrown, the proletariat would be deprived from the privileges. The strikes described through the Trade unionists were inspired more through the political ideas rather than the immediate economic demands. The AITUC was later affiliated to the Pan Pacific secretariat and to the Third International at Moscow. To protest the Communist supremacy in the International stage, the moderates under the leadership of Joshi withdrew from AITUC and shaped the All India Trade Union Federation.

CITU - Centre of Indian Trade Union

Centre of Indian Trade Union is a National stage Trade Union in India politically attached to the Communist Party of India. The Centre of Indian Trade Union is one of major assembly of workers in India. It has strong

unquestionable attendance in the Indian states of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura besides a good attendance in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. It has attendance in approximately all of the Indian states.

Alarmed at the rising strength of the Trades Union Movement under the manage of the Extremists, the Indian Government measured it as a threat. Hence, it decided to put restrictions through issuing many legislative actions. A Public Safety Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in the year 1928, but it did not get the majority support. Later under the circumstantial pressure, the Bill had to be issued in the form of the Ordinance in 1929. The Trade Disputes Act in 1929, provided for compulsory appointment of the Courts of Enquiry and Conciliation Boards for settling industrial Disputes. It also announced that the strikes were illegal in public utility and services and the Electric Departments.

The Act also provided that each individual worker, participating in the strike, should provide an advance notice of one month to the administration. Moreover, the Act announced that the Trade union should forbid political activities. Though, the Trade Union Movement in India had experienced a rapid success.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What is the meaning of human rights?
- Distinguish between 'Democratic Rights' and 'Human Rights'.
- What is the UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948?
- What is the global and local context of the women's movements?
- What have been the most important issues of the modern western women's movements?
- How do you define and identify the peasantry?
- Name the different categories of peasantry?
- What do you understand by Ecology, Environment and Ecosystem?

Chapter 8

Globalization and the Developing World

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives
Globalization and the response of the developing countries
Impact of globalization on developing societies
Globalization: background and features
Review Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this chapter, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the process of globalization as it is unfolding itself presently.
- Understand the meaning and concept of globalization, its tenets and its characteristics.
- Understand the negative aspects of globalization.
- Explain the meaning of globalization.
- Trace the evolution of globalization.

GLOBALISATION AND THE RESPONSE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Policy Concerns of Less Urbanized Countries

The impact of the current procedure of globalization is very unstill, both within and flanked by nations. Consequently, it has resulted in growing income inequalities within countries as well as flanked by countries. The less urbanized countries experience a more skewed income sharing, which is attributed mainly to the shift in labor demand. It has also led to greater polarization crossways countries because technology—the prime factor responsible for the current wave of economic globalization-still remnants concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries. Also, sudden spurts and shift in the direction of speculative capital often have triggered financial crisis more in the capital-starved less urbanized countries than elsewhere.

Placed in such a situation, the policy concerns of the less urbanized countries are mainly a response to the evolving structural divide flanked by them and the industrially advanced countries. Therefore much therefore, globalization is perceived through the less urbanized countries to be a organization typified through the apes economic organizations such as the IMF and WTO in which the more urbanized countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less urbanized countries especially in regions such as trade and capital investment. Some in the middle of the less urbanized countries feel that the current globalization procedure has led to the worsening of the structural poverty in several countries. At the similar time, under the pressure of economic globalization several of them have to resort to external debt, which have further contributed to the deceleration of the development in real conditions.

Domestic Policy Responses

Given the adverse impact of the current economic globalization and given also the constraints in which the less urbanized countries are placed, mainly of these less urbanized countries are occupied in devising policy events the prime objective of which is not therefore much as to engage themselves in the procedure o f globalization than as to how to engage effectively with it. So, mainly policy events aim at either reshaping the impact or redirecting the globalization procedure to their advantage. Policy rationale also underlines the means that would facilitate the less urbanized countries have access to the positive benefits o f globalization and at the similar time help mitigate the adverse consequences.

To that extent the less urbanized countries with extremely few exceptions have through and big evolved their policy framework that underscores irreversibility of the policy events-be it in conditions of structural

adjustment or trade liberalization. At the similar time they also underline at the policy mix will be such that it would ensure some modicum of social safety net to overcome the troubles of marginalization and impoverishment. In respect of the adverse effects of the current economic globalization, several of the developing countries are engaging their attention on reforming, to the extent possible, the international trading and financial organizations to cater to their critical economic requires. Leading in the middle of these are countries such as India which have taken initiatives to reexamine the evolving rules of the WTO in respect of issues such as intellectual property rights, anti-dumping restrictions, subsidies to agriculture and other countervailing events. Another concern relates to enlarging the developing countries' market access in the industrially advanced countries of the world. Cumulatively their demands are in respect of expanding their access to international trade by seeking lowering of tariff, and exemptions on a number of lion-tariff barriers. In this relationship, mention may be made of the less urbanized countries seeking support in the WTO to seek revision in the standards of sanitary and phyto-sanitary necessities concerning their exports especially towards the European Union.

While the afore-mentioned concerns mainly relate to trade matters, the less urbanized countries are also creation demands in respect of issues relating to foreign direct investment. In this contest the highly indebted poor countries are seeking initiatives that would minimize their debt burdens, Specifically in this relationship they are challenging debt relief events that would help reduce the stages of poverty and attendant economic hardships in their domestic economy. Secondly, they are also creation efforts that would bring in relation to the increasing rate of flow of private foreign direct investment in order to meet their current economic bind. In their attempt to draw foreign direct investment efforts are afoot to reduce if not eliminate, the risk perceptions of

portfolio and direct investors and also through improving the credibility of their public financial organizations.

Initiatives at the International Stage

Aware of the immediate adverse impact of economic globalization, the less urbanized countries had joined the Uruguay Round of the Common Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with two objectives-first, to trade with the backlog issues relating to textile exports and agricultural subsidies and second, to remove GATT rules concerning anti-dumping and countervailing duties. They were less inclined to negotiate on the newer regions which meant opening their infant service sector, removing all restrictions on foreign direct investment and rewriting their patent laws. These necessities, they felt were unwarranted intrusion into their economic legroom. Therefore, they put up a united front against the intrusion of new regions such as service sector, investments and international property rights. Yet, their efforts were met with stiff opposition from the advanced countries. In the final analysis, all that the less urbanized countries could achieve in respect of service sector, investment and intellectual property rights were as follows.

Service Sector

In the Uruguay Round, what was finally agreed upon was that the service sector will have to be liberalized but based on multilaterally agreed and legally enforceable rules to govern trade and services such as mainly favored nation regulations, recognition of operating licenses and arrangement for dispute resolution. Though, thanks to the concerted attempt of the less urbanized countries, many exceptions have been made in the service sector. Yet, the less urbanized countries had to concede liberalization in such service sectors as advertising, construction and engineering.

Intellectual Property Rights

Therefore distant in respect of intellectual property rights, the Uruguay Round provided for an international organization for the defense of such rights to be embodied in a legal institutional set up described World Intellectual Property Organization. Perceiving the WIPO defense as inadequate, the urbanized countries launched a strong initiative to make an extended and tighter international organization for the defense of intellectual property rights. In the final outcome, the scope of the Uruguay Round has been expanded to augment the life of privileges granted or rights conferred, to enlarge the geographical spread and to make an enforcement mechanism.

Investment Events

The investment events embodied in the agreement on Trade Related Investment Events listed a comprehensive set of events such as not permitting practices like regional content necessities, export obligations, restrictions on imports of sure raw materials or components. At the similar time, existing events will have to be notified to the designated international power and will have to be phased out in excess of two years in the case of urbanized countries and five years in the case of less urbanized countries. Exception to this rule was permitted only if the country in question is faced with a serious balance of payments problem.

Dispute Resolution Mechanism

The making of an integrated dispute resolution body is yet another biggest attainment of the Uruguay Round meeting the demands of the less urbanized countries. Now thanks to the making of the dispute resolution body, there are firm time limits which apply to the several levels of dispute

resolution procedure. What, though, disadvantages the less urbanized countries is the requirement that calls for a consensus in respect of rejecting a panel statement. Though, what advantages the less urbanized countries is that no requirement of a consensus is described for in accepting the statement of the dispute resolution body. In this method these new procedures are seen to be in the interests of smaller countries bringing their complaints against superior countries.

Making of World Trade Organization

The making of World Trade Organizational agreement arrived at the Uruguay Round. Its largest purpose is to facilitate implementation, administration and operation of GATT 1994. In effect, it provides permanence to GATT. Two largest distinctive characteristics of WTO are:

- Nation seeking admission to WTO necessity accept all decisions from approximately as a package which comprises agreements on trade in services, intellectual property rights and trade related investment events; and

- Nations acceding to WTO are required to be bound through the new integrated dispute resolution mechanism encompassing the three regions of goods, services and technology.

WTO and the Less Urbanized Countries

Mainly developing countries have carried the WTO regime however reluctantly. The debate is still raging in several countries in excess of the consequences of their signing the WTO treaty. The critical question that is debated is what are the risks and gains from the WTO regime for the developing countries. Some common issues have been highlighted.

Agriculture

One region where the predominantly agricultural countries of the less urbanized world are jubilant is gaining biggest benefits in the agricultural sector. Successes in reining agricultural support programs in the industrially advanced countries and areas such as United States, Japan and the European Union are expected to render net gains to less urbanized countries' agricultural exports for the comparative and competitive advantage these agricultural countries enjoy. Though, at the similar time, sure apprehensions have surfaced concerning the WTO's ruling in favor of reduction in subsidies for agriculture, phasing out of public sharing organization and compulsory market access to agricultural imports.

Textiles and Apparels

Less urbanized countries with an edge in the manufacture of textiles and apparels have benefited from the multi-fiber agreement is expected to bring biggest benefits to these countries. Yet there is a reason for concern because the phasing of MFA is accompanied through a organization of what is recognized as "middle selective safeguards" whose operational details have not yet been defined. This ill turn could restrict the development in exports of textiles through the less urbanized countries. Also, there are already anti-dumping laws in hands of the industrially advanced countries which they may use to restrict the textile export from less urbanized countries.

Tariffs on Industrial Goods

The prospects of reduction in industrial tariffs have greatly improved. Yet, the benefits are not likely to be substantial because already the tariffs on imported industrial goods are low, besides the proposed tariff cuts are likely to be concentrated in regions of less importance to developing countries.

Services

In the region of services, the less urbanized countries notwithstanding their demands have still to work out a viable method out for the export of skilled and unskilled labor, negotiations for which are still in the extremely initial levels. The only compensation is that many of the regions for liberalization in the service sector are yet to be negotiated.

Intellectual Property Rights

Intellectual property is the region where new and tougher rules would put the less urbanized countries to greater hardship. Despite the efforts made through many of the developing countries including India, not much success has yet been achieved. For, after all, in some of the recognized sectors like chemical and pharmaceutical Products, biotechnology and propagation of improved diversities of seeds and microbiological procedures for developing new fertilizers and pesticides the developing countries may have to create royalty payments to the industrially advanced countries. Some of the expressed fears of the less urbanized countries such as non-availability of needed technology at affordable costs, the pre-empting of domestic technical capacities through the more advanced countries dry the incidence of restrictive business practices through the TNCs are admittedly justified. It is in these regions the less urbanized countries may have to evolve a concerted policy posturing within the forum of the WTO.

Trade Related Investments

Yet another region in which the less urbanized countries require to evolve a concerted policy response is trade related investments. Otherwise, the

current regime on trade related investments will severely jeopardize the skill of the less urbanized countries to regulate the foreign capital inflows in accordance with their objectives and priorities. Besides, it will also weaken the domestic capital goods sector and arrest the development of indigenous technical capability.

Needed Policy Framework

The overall response of the less urbanized countries towards the current stage of globalization is based on their justified fears and apprehensions. As has been stated earlier, the less urbanized countries as a entire have made the right choice not as much to disengage themselves but to engage in an effective manner in the current globalization procedure. At the domestic stage, the policy responses are based on the rationale that at all odds they will have to insert themselves into the global economy with a view to benefit through it and at the similar time create an attempt to minimize the adverse and deleterious consequences. Towards this attempt, while the less urbanized countries are, to the extent possible creation efforts to approach up with a policy package-be it in conditions of structural adjustments or trade liberalization-their concern justifiably is to work in concert at the multilateral stage and under the WTO regime to reshape the globalization procedure. In doing so the less urbanized countries have evolved general strategies to realize their goals As has been mentioned on specific issues such as TRIPS, TRIMS, trade in services, tariffs on industrial goods etc. the less urbanized countries have World collectively placed their views in the successive WTO meetings. However the outcome of these negotiations have not been as yet encouraging, these meetings at least have brought the less urbanized countries to approach jointly and present what would be called as the shared responses. Admittedly, the task ahead for the less urbanized countries is daunting. Yet, given the 'rule-based' trade regime that has approach into being under the

auspices of the WTO, the less urbanized countries will have to put their efforts in evolving new rules of the game.

IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Developing Societies

Taking a broader view of growth, it can be argued that all societies are developing. In information, no community can afford to stagnate or stop developing because such an approach will lead them to degeneration and decay. Nevertheless, some societies require to develop faster to catch-up with the rest. After the second world war many countries got independence. In mainly cases, the colonial masters had shattered the socio-economic fabric of these countries and had deliberately restricted growth in all meadows. As a result, at the time of independence, mainly of these societies faced acute economic crisis, illiteracy, acute socio-cultural tensions/conflicts, lack of political awareness and vast gaps flanked by the elites and the commoners.

The tasks before these post-colonial societies were economic progress with justice, continuity, socio-cultural re-construction, ensuring education, awareness and participation of all citizens, etc. These tasks required specific events which were to be urbanized/evolved in accordance with the scrupulous context of scrupulous societies. It is due to this specificity that these post-colonial societies have been clubbed jointly to be described 'Third World' or 'Developing' Societies. Another cause behind such a categorization is the ethno-centric approach of the western social scientists. These scholars presume, almost certainly on the foundation of the stage of industrialization, that the west is urbanized and the USA is approximately the ideal kind, and that, all other societies are developing to become like it. This approach, though, ignores several other parameters of growth.

Globalization

Robertson has defined globalization as "a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a entire." Globalization is usually understood in conditions of two separate procedures:

- Globalization as a procedure that has made communication instantaneous and has encouraged people to think in more global conditions; and
- Globalization which tends to combine a market ideology with a corresponding material set of practices drawn from the world of business.

In other languages, globalization does not only refer to an economic organization in which International boundaries do not pose 'unnatural' restriction on international trade, it also refers to ideological and cultural globalization by communication media, computers and satellites. In information, it is due to the communication media, computers and satellites that the 'new' globalization has approach to acquire such characteristics which distinguish it from the old one scholars like Wollerstein, Amin, etc., argue that globalization had begun with the overseas expansion of capitalism in the form of imperial conquests and white colony settlements. The procedure of imperialism had brought the Asian, African and Latin American countries under the European political and economic power. These countries were compelled to 'open-up' their economies for unfettered penetration through the global industrial capital. This stage has usually been referred to as the "widening stage" of globalization. Throughout this stage, the economic integration of the world was confined to international trade and colonial exploitative relationships. New growths in the field of communications have forced the economic powers to renounce the use of force for the use of the 'colonies'. Instead, indirect pressure by World Bank, IMF, GATT, WTO, etc., is generated on the capital-starved developing societies to create structural adjustments to accommodate the interests of the Multi-National Companies.

Another significant shift from the earlier stage is that the modern form of globalization has witnessed the setting LIP of manufacture centers through the MNCs in the developing countries accompanied through a tremendous augment in the velocity of capital flow crossways national boundaries. The third distinctive characteristic is the extra ordinary development in Foreign Direct investment and world trade and world output. Finally, with the arrival of computer-aided communication network, the international movement of capital has acquired an self-governing life of its own, unrelated to the requires of international trade.

Factors Behind the Acceptance of New Globalization

Mainly of the developing societies which had set for themselves the goals of economic self reliance and import-substituting industrialization, have adopted new economic policies in row with the Structural Adjustment Package International Monetary Finance on export-promotion through the developing countries to get rid of the debt-trap dry has undermined the objectives of import-substitution, poverty alleviation, re-sharing, etc. In information, mainly of the post-colonial developing countries had extremely little option in the wake of huge debt crises. In these countries, the colonial rulers had not allowed industrialization, as a result of which, the list of items to be imported was quite large. Compared to it, the list of exports was insignificant in mainly of the cases. In other languages, these countries have been paying much more on imports than they have been earning from their exports. This resulted in balance of payment crisis for mainly of these countries.

In mainly of these post-colonial societies, governments are being run through the authoritarian ruling elites. Mainly of these elites do not have comfortable mass foundation and, so, have mainly been dependent on the West for their political survival. Naturally, their economic policies have been guided through the interests of the powers which help them in continuing

ruling elites. Mainly of the ruling elites of mainly of the developing countries have lavishly and freely borrowed vast amounts of money to pay for the imports. Here it is pertinent to mention that mainly of the items imported through these societies are meant for elite consumption and not for the general masses. The general masses, nevertheless, have to bear the burden of payment for such imports. The third factor was the jolt in the form of a slump in the world demand for agricultural exports from the developing countries in the 1980s. As the International Banks were not willing to take ally risks, the credit rating of these countries took a severe beating. The West increased the Global Interest Rate and also curtailed governmental assistance to the developing countries.

All the factors combined jointly to reason huge debt crisis for mainly of the developing countries. In this situation, the World Bank and the IMF, under the power of the urbanized West, offered help on the condition that these countries would accept SAP and open up their boundaries for unrestricted world trade and commerce. The new economic policies intended in accordance with globalization contain withdrawal of all restrictive rules, regulations and tariff on internal and international trade, investments, collaborations. etc., and shrinking of the public sector in favor of private sector.

Impact of Globalization on Developing Societies

Here, we shall talk about the contemporary stage of globalization which has been brought in relation to the has been necessitated, through the procedures of liberalization and privatization in the several countries of the world. Due to the impact of the second world war as well as the power of the socialist systems adopted through the Soviet Union. China, etc., more and more countries had gone in for state-controlled economies. But, through the early 70s, many countries of the West began the procedure of providing full freedom to the market forces through slowly reducing state interference. The

rules and regulations which had been made to give power to the state in excess of market forces were drastically customized, and even annulled, in the name of liberalization. The state's shares in several industries began to be disinvested in order to replace state-ownership through private ownership. Another aspect of liberalization concerns international trade and commerce. This means abolition of all 'artificial' barriers of national boundaries, tariff and protectionist/ discriminatory policies. In other languages, it means that the market forces should be allowed to operate likewise in all sections of the world.

After the Second World War, many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence. In mainly of them, the colonial rulers had not allowed any industrialization. As such, it was impossible for them to have competed equally with the urbanized countries in the international market. It was due to this perception of being overwhelmed through the companies of the urbanized West that mainly of the developing countries had adopted protectionist policies to protect the indigenous entrepreneurs against the large Multi-National Companies. Some countries like India also adopted specific policies, rules and regulations to protect the small level entrepreneurs from the onslaught of the large business homes. The policies like FERA, MRTP Act, Licensing, Nationalization of Banks, requirement of governmental approval for collaborations and conditions of collaborations, etc., were all meant for defense of Indian entrepreneurs from 'outsiders' and to protect small level Indian entrepreneurs from large Indian Business Homes.

Globalization is based on the principle of universalism as against protectionism. It is guided through the rationale of capitalism which calls for free market, free competition and survival of the fittest. The capitalist logic has got a large boost through the growths in the field of computers, legroom and communication which have jointly made every section of the world easily

available. People in every section of the world can be made to know in relation to the any product by TV and Internet. Sky Shopping and E-Commerce have made procurement of any product possible in matter of days. Markets have got flooded with foreign goods largely because demand for such goods is on the rise. In other languages, growths in the field of communication have led to a steep rise in consumerism in several sections of the world. As dissimilar developing societies have dissimilar potentialities, dissimilar troubles and dissimilar socio-economic and political milieu, the impact of globalization on each of them would be dissimilar too. On some of them, the impact would be more positive than negative while on others it may be more negative than positive. It will also depend on the capabilities of several societies in adjusting to the reality of globalization in such a manner that the interests of the people of these societies are not jeopardized.

Globalization is a reality which can not be wished absent. This is why the discussions on the desirability or otherwise of globalization has now been replaced through discussions on the events which can help the developing societies derive more advantages from globalization or minimize its disadvantages. Although mainly of the developing societies have not been able to create proper structural adjustments and, as a result, have suffered in the wake of globalization, it would be a grave mistake to conclude that globalization is devoid of any virtues or positive characteristics. We shall concentrate on the impact of globalization in three regions, namely, economy, community and civilization and education. In all these three regions, we shall first revise the positive characteristics dry then the negative ones.

Positive Characteristics of Globalization

We shall take up the positive characteristics o f the impact of globalization on economy, community and civilization and education one through one.

- *Economy*

In mainly of the developing countries, the economic policies had not been yielding good results, especially for the poorer parts. The gap flanked by the rich and the poor had constantly been on the rise. Due to lack of competition, the large business homes had been selling standard products at high prices. In other languages, the consumers were not receiving the best products accessible in other countries at much cheaper prices. The monopoly of the internal large industrialists and business homes was not meant for any special benefits to the general people. This can be illustrated through the instance of the television industry in India.

Before the opening up of the market, the Indian TV makers had been selling sets with hardly any latest provisions at extremely high prices. With the advent of the international brands with contemporary characteristics, the Indian manufactures, too, are becoming more consumer friendly in conditions of latest characteristics and low prices. In many other sectors, too, the international competition has resulted in enhancement of excellence and slashing of prices. Another positive economic impact of globalization is the incorporation of sales of imported goods in the tax-net. As the demand for imported goods was always there, the supply was supervised through smugglers who could not be taxed. Now the imports would be done and sold through businessmen who will be paying tax to the Government. The menace of smuggling would also get curtailed.

The third positive impact would be in the field of exports. With the vanishing restrictions on international trade, the producer's of good products will get access to the markets of all sections of the world.

Politics, Community and Civilization

The debate in excess of the desirability or otherwise of fixing parameters of urbanized socio-cultural systems, is an ever-lasting one. One set of scholars has been coming up "ideal kinds" or the systems having the mainly

desirable socio-political and cultural traits. These scholars suggest that all the societies should create conscious efforts to acquire the traits of the 'ideal' organization. They also suggest that the pre-contemporary traits should be shed-off. On the other hand, there are scholars who argue that every community and every civilization has its virtues, and that, "ideal kinds" should not be imposed upon. They advocate for the right of every group to preserve its own socio-cultural and political aspects.

A third group of scholars, though, argues that although "ideal kinds" urbanized through the western scholars is ethno-centric having little appreciation for oriental systems, there is no logic in conscious preservation of tribalism or the barbaric traditions like 'Sati', sacrifice, 'Sarkar', etc. Moreover, equality, liberty, justice, etc. should form the foundation of any good organization.

In short, even however scholars may disagree on "Ideal Kinds", they all agree on the desirability of equality, liberty and justice becoming the foundation of any socio-cultural and political organization. They also agree on the location that the oppressive, barbaric and inhuman characteristics of all socio-cultural and political traditions should be shed-off. It is here that globalization has had a positive impact. With the phenomenal augment in the reach of the media, happenings in any corner of the world is brought to the knowledge of all in no time. The reaction and the location of the world society, too gets easily conveyed to the concerned people. The cases of Human Rights violations and 'ethnic cleansings', etc. no longer go unnoticed. In many cases, pressure of the world society has successfully supervised to get redressals. Further, several inherently oppressive systems have changed to liberal ones for which globalization had played a significant role.

- *Education*

Education gives knowledge and prepares people to adjust to, or if necessary, mould the environment in which he/she lives. Due to several

factors, the stage of knowledge and capabilities urbanized through education systems of dissimilar countries are dissimilar. Education in some countries gives the latest knowledge while in some others it gives obsolete and irrelevant knowledge. Globalization will help in creation the obsolete education systems up-to-date. Knowledge of the latest measures, technologies, facts, growths, discoveries and Human endeavors is essential for the growth of any community. With the demolition of restrictions/barriers, universities and organizations of the urbanized countries will be offering their knowledge in the less urbanized ones by franchise or partnerships with regional universities/organizations.

Negative Characteristics of Globalization

We shall now talk about the negative effects of globalization in economies, cultures and education systems of the developing societies.

- ***Economy***

Economies of mainly of the developing societies had suffered badly due to colonial use. After independence, these societies had been trying to develop their economies through combining regional expertise and imported technologies. In some of these societies, special efforts were being made to develop indigenous technology to compete with the urbanized world. But, 40-45 years was too small a era for them to catch up with the urbanized economic powers. As such, some protectionist events were required to save the indigenous entrepreneurs from the unequal competition with the Multi-National companies of the urbanized world. Breaking up of barriers and protectionist events in the name of globalization exposes the upcoming but weak indigenous entrepreneurs to the onslaught through the powerful MNCs. The MNCs, having vast surpluses generated from several sections of the world, can easily marginalize the indigenous manufacturers. The instance of Akai and Aiwa companies, which have effected closure of many Indian TV companies, can be seen through anyone. Another instance is that of the ouster

of approximately all Indian soft drinks companies from the market through Coke and Pepsi.

Some scholars argue that globalization means free access to all raw materials, all labor and all markets. Theoretically this access is equally accessible to the entrepreneurs from all sections of the world. But in practice, the large MNCs backed through large capital, advanced technologies and their powerful States have become the largest beneficiaries. These companies are buying cheap raw materials from several developing societies, hiring cheap labor from there, selling the products and services in these extremely societies, and creation vast gains. With the relaxation in restrictions through developing societies on taking the profits out, many of these societies are bound to experience approximately same 'drain of wealth' as they had experienced throughout the colonial rule.

A extremely significant tenet of globalization is privatization as public enterprises do not, usually, conform to economic rationalism. In mainly of the developing societies, including India, public sector enterprises were set up with the following purposes:

- To uphold secrecy in relation to the defense-related productions;
- To make infra-structural facilities;
- To give services to the masses without caring for profits.

Later on, for causes bigger recognized to the policy-makers, many public sector enterprises came up in several sectors including consumer sector. Public enterprises either should not have approach up in these non-core, non-service sectors or should have worked to generate profit to support the non-profitable service sector. Unluckily, mainly of these enterprises became burdens on the State. Due to these loss-creation companies some people have shaped an opinion that public sector is worthless, and hence, should be done absent with. Though, the attack on the public sector has become more potent in the recent years largely through the protagonists of globalization who consider that public sector and globalization do not go jointly.

Therefore, disinvestment of government's shares from public sector undertakings has been caused through the logic and pressure of globalization rather than through the realization that the PSUs are unviable. This argument can be corroborated through the information that mainly of the disinvestments in India have been from profit-creation PSUs. In information, the original causes behind having Public Sector Undertakings are still relevant; the suffering masses still require to be looked after with a service motive rather than a profit motive. If some of the PSUs are not performing or have become burdens on the State's exchequer, public sector as a entire should not be done absent with. In mainly of the developing societies, majority of the people can not afford to pay for all the vital amenities/services. So, total privatization would badly affect them. The variation flanked by the fees charged through government Hospitals/Schools and private Hospitals/Schools clearly designates what havoc privatization call make for the poor masses.

- *Community and Civilization*

Every community has its own set of ethical codes and values, traditions and conventions. While it is good to be open to new ideas for a positive transform, the choice should lie with the recipient. In this period of globalization, though, the people o f the developing societies are being bombarded therefore heavily by the electronic media that they hardly are left with options or choice. By Cable TV and Internet, the MNCs are successfully promoting consumerism and even Western values. This makes large adjustment troubles in the developing societies. Mainly of the people in these societies do not get even the vital amenities and even those who get can not afford the luxuries being promoted therefore aggressively. This leads to frustration, adjustment troubles and materialist approach to life. Many researchers have establish that the people of the developing societies, especially children and youth want to become rich to be able to buy all that they get fascinated with. The craze of Coke/Pepsi or well-known Western

brands of clothing or watches or cars or cosmetics are all making of electronic media. Earlier, people either did not know in relation to the them or could not get them in the open Market. Today thanks therefore globalization, everybody knows in relation to thrall the products and the products are accessible in the market. When one sees others by them, the urge to have them augment manifold. This can be one of the significant causes behind the rise in crime-rate in these societies.

- *Education*

The worst impact of globalization on education can be seen in the rapid commercialization of education and in excess of-emphasis on market oriented courses. The undermining of Social Sciences and Humanities is already having detrimental effect on the community. While education should prepare the students to be able to earn their livings, a more significant role of education is to develop the mental horizons and personalities of the students therefore that they become aware, concerned and balanced citizens. Due to the demands of market in this period of economic globalization as well as due to serious propaganda through western organizations and industries, education in mainly of the developing societies is slowly becoming one-dimensional. Educational organizations are putting more and more emphasis on courses which make skills for the market. The social, cultural, political, traditional and moral education is being neglected and being termed as irrelevant and obsolete. This is an unfortunate growth as revise of these subjects gives continuity and balance to a community facing the onslaught of cultural and economic imperialism.

GLOBALISATION: BACKGROUND AND FEATURES

Globalization is the procedure of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other characteristics of civilization. Globalization describes the interplay crossways cultures of

macro-social forces. These forces contain religion, politics, and economics. Globalization can erode and universalize the aspects of a regional group. Advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the rise of the Internet, are biggest factors in globalization, generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities.

However many scholars lay the origins of globalization in contemporary times, others trace its history extensive before the European age of detection and voyages to the New World. Some even trace the origins to the third millennium BCE. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the pace of globalization has proceeded at a rapid rate.

The term globalization has been in rising use since the mid 1980s and especially since the mid 1990s. In 2000, the International Monetary Finance mobilization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and the dissemination of knowledge. Further, environmental challenges such as climate transform, cross-frontier water and air pollution, and in excess of-fishing of the ocean are connected with globalization. Globalizing procedures affect and are affected through business and work organization, economics, socio-cultural possessions, and the natural environment.

Humans have interacted in excess of extensive distances for thousands of years. The overland Silk Road that linked Asia, Africa and Europe is a good instance of the transformative power of international swap that lived in the "Old World". Philosophy, religion, language, the arts, and other characteristics of civilization spread and mixed as nations exchanged products and ideas. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Europeans made significant discoveries in their exploration of the oceans, including the start of transatlantic travel to the "New World" of the Americas. Global movement of people, goods, and ideas expanded significantly in the following centuries. Early in the 19th century, the growth of new shapes of transportation and telecommunications that "compressed" time and legroom allowed for increasingly rapid rates of global

interchange. In the 20th century, road vehicles and airlines made transportation even faster, and the advent of electronic communications, mainly notably mobile phones and the Internet, linked billions of people in new methods leading into the 21st century.

Etymology and Usage

The term *globalization* is derived from the word *globalize*, which refers to the emergence of an international network of social and economic systems. One of the earliest recognized usages of the term as the noun was in 1930 in a publication entitled *Towards New Education* where it denoted a holistic view of human experience in education. A related term, *corporate giants*, was coined through Charles Taze Russell in 1897 to refer to the mainly national trusts and other big enterprises of the time. Through the 1960s, both conditions began to be used as synonyms through economists and other social scientists. It then reached the mainstream press in the later half of the 1980s. Since its inception, the concept of globalization has inspired competing definitions and interpretations, with antecedents dating back to the great movements of trade and empire crossways Asia and the Indian Ocean from the 15th century onwards. Due to the complexity of the concept, research projects, articles, and discussions often remain focused on a single aspect of globalization.

Roland Robertson, professor of sociology at University of Aberdeen, was the first person to describe globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a entire."

Sociologists Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King describe globalization as:

...all those procedures through which the peoples of the world are included into a single world community.

In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Anthony Giddens uses the following definition:

Globalization can therefore be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link far localities in such a method that regional happenings are formed through measures occurring several miles absent and vice versa.

In *Global Transformations* David Held, et al., revise the definition of globalization:

Although in its simplistic sense globalization refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnection, such a definition begs further elaboration. ... Globalization can be situated on a continuum with the regional, national and local. At one end of the continuum lie social and economic relations and networks which are organized on a regional and/or national foundation; at the other end lie social and economic relations and networks which crystallize on the wider level of local and global interactions. Globalization can be taken to refer to those spatial-temporal procedures of transform which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs through linking jointly and expanding human action crossways areas and continents. Without reference to such expansive spatial connections, there can be no clear or coherent formulation of this term. ... A satisfactory definition of globalization necessity capture each of these elements: extensity, intensity, velocity and impact.

Swedish journalist Thomas Larsson, in his book *The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization*, states that globalization:

is the procedure of world shrinkage, of distances receiving shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the rising ease with which somebody on one face of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other face of the world.

The journalist Thomas L. Friedman popularized the term "flat world", arguing that globalized trade, outsourcing, supply-chaining, and political forces had permanently changed the world, for bigger and worse. He asserted that the pace of globalization was quickening and that its impact on business organization and practice would continue to grow.

Economist Takis Fotopoulos defined "economic globalization" as the opening and deregulation of commodity, capital and labor markets that led

toward present neoliberal globalization. He used "political globalization" to refer to the emergence of a transnational elite and a phasing out of the nation-state. "Cultural globalization", he used to reference the worldwide homogenization of civilization. Other of his usages incorporated "ideological globalization", "technical globalization" and "social globalization".

In 2000, the International Monetary Fund globalization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and the dissemination of knowledge. With regards to trade and transactions, developing countries increased their share of world trade, from 19 percent in 1971 to 29 percent in 1999. Though, there is great difference in the middle of the biggest areas. For example, the newly industrialized economies of Asia prospered, while African countries as a entire performed poorly. The makeup of a country's exports is an significant indicator for success. Manufactured goods exports soared, dominated through urbanized countries and NIEs. Commodity exports, such as food and raw materials were often produced through developing countries: commodities' share of total exports declined in excess of the era. Following from this, capital and investment movements can be highlighted as another vital aspect of globalization. Private capital flows to developing countries soared throughout the 1990s, replacing "aid" or growth assistance which fell significantly after the early 1980s. Foreign Direct Investment Both portfolio investment and bank credit rose but they have been more volatile, falling sharply in the wake of the financial crisis of the late 1990s. The migration and movement of people can also be highlighted as a prominent characteristic of the globalization procedure. In the era flanked by 1965–90, the proportion of the labor forces migrating almost doubled. Mainly migration occurred flanked by developing countries and Least Urbanized Countries. The flow of migrants to advanced economic countries was claimed to give a means by which global wages converge. The IMF revise noted the potential for skills to be transferred back to developing countries as wages in those a countries rise. Lastly, the

dissemination of knowledge has been an integral aspect of globalization. Technical innovations benefit mainly the developing and Least Developing countries, as for instance in the adoption of mobile phones.

Backdrop

There are both distal and proximate reasons that can be traced in the historical factors affecting globalization. Big-level globalization began in the 19th century.

Archaic

The German historical economist and sociologist Andre Gunder Frank argues that a form of globalization began with the rise of trade links flanked by Sumer and the Indus Valley Culture in the third millennium B.C.E. This archaic globalization lived throughout the Hellenistic Age, when commercialized urban centers enveloped the axis of Greek civilization that reached from India to Spain, including Alexandria and the other Alexandrine municipalities. Early on, the geographic location of Greece and the necessity of importing wheat forced the Greeks to engage in maritime trade. Trade in ancient Greece was mainly unrestricted: the state controlled only the supply of grain.

There were trade links flanked by the Roman Empire, the Parthian Empire, and the Han Dynasty. The rising commercial links flanked by these powers took form in the Silk Road, which began in western China, reached the boundaries of the Parthian empire, and sustained to Rome. As several as three hundred Greek ships sailed each year flanked by the Greco-Roman world and India. Annual trade volume may have reached 300,000 tons.

Through traveling past the Tarim Basin area, the Chinese of the Han Dynasty learned of powerful kingdoms in Central Asia, Persia, India, and the Transitional East with the travels of the Han Dynasty envoy Zhang Qian in the 2nd century BC. From 104 BC to 102 BC Emperor Wu of Han waged war

against the Yuezhi who controlled Dayuan, a Hellenized kingdom of Fergana recognized through Alexander the Great in 329 BC. Gan Ying, the emissary of Common Ban Chao, possibly traveled as distant as Roman-period Syria in the late 1st century AD. After these initial discoveries the focus of Chinese exploration shifted to the maritime sphere, although the Silk Road leading all the method to Europe sustained to be China's mainly lucrative source of trade.

From in relation to the 1st century, India started to strongly power Southeast Asian countries. Trade routes connected India with southern Burma, central and southern Siam, lower Cambodia and southern Vietnam and numerous developed coastal settlements were recognized there.

The Islamic Golden Age added another level of globalization, when Radhanite and Muslim traders and explorers recognized trade routes, resulting in a globalization of agriculture, trade, knowledge and technology. Crops such as sugar and cotton became widely cultivated crossways the Muslim world in this era, while widespread knowledge of Arabic and the Hajj created a cosmopolitan civilization.

The advent of the Mongol Empire, however destabilizing to the commercial centers of the Transitional East and China, greatly facilitated travel beside the Silk Road. The Pax Mongolica of the thirteenth century incorporated the first international postal service, as well as the rapid transmission of epidemic diseases such as bubonic plague crossways Central Asia. Up to the sixteenth century, though, the main systems of international swap were limited to southern Eurasia eract with Turkey, Egypt, the Levant, Persia and the Arabian Peninsula, continuing in excess of the Arabian Sea to India.

Several Chinese merchants chose to settle down in the Southeast Asian ports such as Champa, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, and married the native women. Their children accepted on trade.

Italian municipality states embraced free trade and merchants recognized trade links with distant spaces, giving birth to the Renaissance.

Marco Polo was a merchant traveler from the Venetian Republic in contemporary-day Italy whose travels are recorded in *Il Milione*, a book that played an important role in introducing Europeans to Central Asia and China. The pioneering journey of Marco Polo inspired Christopher Columbus and other European explorers of the following centuries.

Proto-globalization

The stage after that, recognized as proto-globalization, was characterized through the rise of maritime European empires, in the 16th and 17th centuries, first the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, and later the Dutch and British Empires. In the 17th century, world trade urbanized further when chartered companies like the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company first multinational corporation in which stock was offered were recognized. The Age of Discovery added the New World to the equation, beginning in the late 15th century. Portugal and Castile sent the first exploratory voyages approximately the Horn of Africa and to the Americas, reached in 1492 through the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus. Global trade development sustained with the European colonization of the Americas initiating the Columbian Swap, the swap of plants, animals, foods, human populations, communicable diseases, and civilization flanked by the Eastern and Western hemispheres. New crops that had approach from the Americas via the European seafarers in the 16th century significantly contributed to world population development. The Puritans migration to New England, starting in 1630 under John Winthrop with the professed mission of converting both the natives of North America to Puritan Christianity and raising up a "Municipality Upon a Hill" that would power the Western European world, is used as an instance of globalization.

Contemporary

In the 19th century, steamships reduced the cost of international transport significantly and railroads made inland transport cheaper. The

transport revolution occurred some time flanked by 1820 and 1850. More nations embraced international trade. Globalization in this era was decisively formed through nineteenth-century imperialism such as in Africa and Asia.

Globalization took a large step backwards throughout the First World War, the Great Depression, and the Second World War. Integration of rich countries didn't recover to previous stages before the 1980s.

After the Second World War, work through politicians led to the Bretton Woods conference, an agreement through biggest governments to place down the framework for international monetary policy, commerce and fund, and the founding of many international organizations designed to facilitate economic development multiple rounds of trade opening simplified and lowered trade barriers. Initially, the Common Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, led to a series of agreements to remove trade restrictions. GATT's successor was the World Trade Organization manage the trading organization. Exports almost doubled from 8.5% of total gross world product in 1970 to 16.2% in 2001. The approach of by global agreements to advance trade stumbled with the failure of the Doha round of trade-negotiation. Several countries then shifted to bilateral or smaller multilateral agreements, such as the 2011 South Korea–United States Free Trade Agreement.

Since the 1970s, aviation has become increasingly affordable to transitional classes in urbanized countries. Open skies policies and low-cost carriers have helped to bring competition to the market.

In the 1990s, the development of low cost communication networks cut the cost of communicating flanked by dissimilar countries. More work can be performed by a computer without regard to site. This incorporated accounting, software growth, and engineering design. In late 2000s, much of the industrialized world entered into the Great Recession, which may have slowed the procedure, at least temporarily.

Characteristics

Global Business Organization

With improvements in transportation and communication, international business grew rapidly after the beginning of the 20th century. International business comprises all commercial transactions that take place between two or more areas, countries and nations beyond their political frontier. Generally, private companies undertake such transactions for profit. Such business transactions involve economic possessions such as capital, natural and human possessions used for international manufacture of physical goods and services such as food, banking, insurance, construction and other productive activities.

International business arrangements have led to the formation of multinational enterprises approach to markets and manufacture or one with operations in more than one country. An MNE is often described multinational corporation. Well recognized MNCs contain fast food companies such as McDonald's and Yum Brands, vehicle manufacturers such as General Motors, Ford Motor Company and Toyota, consumer electronics companies like Samsung, LG and Sony, and power companies such as ExxonMobil, Shell and BP. Mainly of the main corporations operate in multiple national markets.

Businesses argue that survival in the new global marketplace needs companies to source goods, services, labor and materials overseas to continuously upgrade their products and technology in order to survive increased competition.

International Trade

An absolute trade advantage exists when countries can produce a commodity with less costs per unit produced than could its trading partner. Through the similar reasoning, it should import commodities in which it has an absolute disadvantage. While there are possible gains from trade with absolute advantage, comparative advantage—that is, the skill to offer goods and services at a lower marginal and opportunity cost—extends the range of

possible mutually beneficial exchanges. In a globalized business environment, companies argue that the comparative advantages offered through international trade have become essential to remaining competitive.

- *Trade Agreements, Economic Blocks and Special Trade Zones*

A Special Economic Zone economic and other laws that are more free-market-oriented than a country's typical or national laws. "Nationwide" laws may be suspended inside these special zones. The category 'SEZ' covers several regions, including:

- Free Trade Zones,
- Free Zones (FZ),
- Industrial parks or Industrial Estates (IE),
- Free Ports,
- Urban Enterprise Zones and others.

Generally the goal of a structure is to augment foreign direct investment through foreign investors, typically an international business or a multinational corporation. Companies are taxed extremely lightly or not at all in order to encourage economic action. Free ports have historically been endowed with favorable customs regulations, e.g., the free port of Trieste. Extremely often free ports constitute a section of free economic zones.

A FTZ is an region within which goods may be landed, handled, manufactured or reconfigured, and re-exported without the intervention of the customs authorities. Only when the goods are moved to consumers within the country in which the zone is situated do they become subject to the prevailing customs duties. Free trade zones are organized approximately biggest seaports, international airports, and national frontiers—regions with several geographic advantages for trade. It is a area where a group of countries has agreed to reduce or eliminate trade barriers.

A free trade region is a trade bloc whose member countries have signed a free-trade agreement, which eliminates tariffs, import quotas, and preferences on mainly goods and services traded flanked by them. If people are also free to move flanked by the countries, in addition to free-trade region,

it would also be measured an open border. The European Union, for instance, a confederation of 27 member states, gives both a free trade region and an open border.

They are a special free trade zones recognized in collaboration with neighboring Israel to take advantage of the free trade agreements flanked by the United States and Israel. Under the trade agreements with Jordan as laid down through the United States, goods produced in QIZ-notified regions can directly access US markets without tariff or quota restrictions, subject to sure circumstances. To qualify, goods produced in these zones necessity include a small portion of Israeli input. In addition, a minimum 35% value to the goods necessity be added to the finished product. The brainchild of Jordanian businessman Omar Salah, the first QIZ was authorized through the United States Congress in 1997.

The Asia-Pacific has been called as "the mainly integrated trading area on the planet" because its intra-local trade accounts almost certainly for as much as 50-60% of the area's total imports and exports. It has also extra-local trade: consumer goods exports such as televisions, radios, bicycles, and textiles into the United States, Europe, and Japan fueled the economic expansion.

The ASEAN Free Trade Region is a trade bloc agreement through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations supporting regional manufacturing in all ASEAN countries. The AFTA agreement was signed on 28 January 1992 in Singapore. When the AFTA agreement was originally signed, ASEAN had six members, namely, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Vietnam joined in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and Cambodia in 1999.

- *Drug Trade*

In 2010 the *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime* (UNODC) accounted that the global drug trade generated more than \$320 billion a year in

revenues. Worldwide, the UN estimates there are more than 50 million regular users of heroin, cocaine and synthetic drugs. The international trade of endangered species was second only to drug trafficking in the middle of smuggling "industries". Traditional Chinese medicine often incorporates ingredients from all sections of plants, the leaf, stem, flower, root, and also ingredients from animals and minerals. The use of sections of endangered species resulted in a black market of poachers who hunt restricted animals.

- *Tax Havens*

A tax haven is a state, country or territory where sure taxes are levied at a low rate or not at all, which are used through businesses for tax avoidance and tax evasion. Individuals and/or corporate entities can discover it attractive to set up shell subsidiaries or move themselves to regions with reduced or nil taxation stages. This makes a situation of tax competition in the middle of governments. Dissimilar jurisdictions tend to be havens for dissimilar kinds of taxes, and for dissimilar categories of people and/or companies. States that are sovereign or self-governing under international law have theoretically unlimited powers to enact tax laws affecting their territories, unless limited through previous international treaties. The central characteristic of a tax haven is that its laws and other events can be used to evade or avoid the tax laws or regulations of other jurisdictions. In its December 2008 statement on the use of tax havens through American corporations, the U.S. Government Accountability Office was unable to discover a satisfactory definition of a tax haven but regarded the following aspects as indicative of it:

- Nil or nominal taxes;
- Lack of effective swap of tax information with foreign tax authorities;
- Lack of transparency in the operation of legislative, legal or administrative provisions;
- No requirement for a substantive regional attendance; and
- Self-promotion as an offshore financial center.

A 2012 statement from the Tax Justice Network estimated that flanked by USD \$21 trillion and \$32 trillion is covered from taxes in unreported tax

havens worldwide. If such wealth earns 3% annually and such capital gains were taxed at 30%, it would generate flanked by \$190 billion and \$280 billion in tax revenues, more than any other tax shelters. If such hidden offshore assets are measured, several countries with governments nominally in debt are shown to be net creditor nations. Though, the tax policy director of the Chartered Institute of Taxation expressed skepticism in excess of the accuracy of the figures. Daniel J. Mitchell of the Cato Institute says that the statement also assumes, when considering notional lost tax revenue, that 100% money deposited offshore is evading payment of tax.

- *Information Systems*

Multinational corporations face the challenge of developing global information systems for global data processing and decision-creation. The Internet gives a broad region of services to business and individual users. Because the World Wide Web imputer in the world, the Internet is closely related to global information systems. A global information organization is a data communication network that crosses national boundaries to access and procedure data in order to achieve corporate goals and strategic objectives.

Crossways companies and continents, information standards ensure desirable aspects of products and services such as quality, environmental friendliness, safety, reliability, efficiency and interchangeability at an economical cost. For businesses, widespread adoption of international standards means that suppliers can develop and offer products and services meeting specifications that have wide international acceptance in their sectors. Just as to the ISO, businesses by their International Standards are competitive in more markets approximately the world. The ISO develops standards through organizing technological committees of experts from the industrial, technological and business sectors who have asked for the standards and which subsequently put them to use. These experts may be joined through

representatives of government agencies, testing laboratories, consumer associations, non-governmental institutions and academic circles.

- *International Tourism*

Tourism is travel for recreational, leisure or business purposes. The World Tourism Organization defines tourists as people "traveling to and waiting in spaces outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes". There are several shapes of tourism such as agritourism, birth tourism, culinary tourism, cultural tourism, eco-tourism, extreme tourism, geotourism, heritage tourism, LGBT tourism, medical tourism, nautical tourism, pop-civilization tourism, religious tourism, slum tourism, war tourism, and wildlife tourism

Globalization has made tourism a popular global leisure action. The *World Health Organization* (WHO) estimates that up to 500,000 people are in flight at any one time. In 2010, international tourism reached \$919B, rising 6.5% in excess of 2009. In 2010, there were in excess of 940 million international tourist arrivals worldwide, on behalf of a development of 6.6% when compared to 2009. International tourism receipts grew to US\$919 billion in 2010, corresponding to an augment in real conditions of 4.7%.

As a result of the late-2000s recession, international travel demand suffered a strong slowdown from the second half of 2008 by the end of 2009. After a 5% augment in the first half of 2008, development in international tourist arrivals moved into negative territory in the second half of 2008, and ended up only 2% for the year, compared to a 7% augment in 2007. This negative trend intensified throughout 2009, exacerbated in some countries due to the outbreak of the H1N1 influenza virus, resulting in a worldwide decline of 4.2% in 2009 to 880 million international tourists' arrivals, and a 5.7% decline in international tourism receipts.

- *Economic Globalization*

Economic globalization is the rising economic interdependence of national economies crossways the world by a rapid augment in cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and capital. Whereas the globalization of business is centered approximately the diminution of international trade regulations as well as tariffs, taxes, and other impediments that suppresses global trade, economic globalization is the procedure of rising economic integration flanked by countries, leading to the emergence of a global marketplace or a single world market. Depending on the paradigm, economic globalization can be viewed as either a positive or a negative phenomenon.

Economic globalization includes the globalization of manufacture, markets, competition, technology, and corporations and industries. Current globalization trends can be mainly accounted for through urbanized economies integrating with less urbanized economies, through means of foreign direct investment, the reduction of trade barriers as well as other economic reforms and, in several cases, immigration.

As an instance, Chinese economic reform began to open China to the globalization in the 1980s. Scholars discover that China has attained a degree of openness that is unprecedented in the middle of big and populous nations", with competition from foreign goods in approximately every sector of the economy. Foreign investment helped to greatly augment quality, knowledge and standards, especially in heavy industry. China's experience supports the assertion that globalization greatly increases wealth for poor countries. As of 2005–2007, the Port of Shanghai holds the title as the World's busiest port.

Economic liberalization in India is the ongoing economic reforms in India that started in 1991. As of 2009, in relation to the 300 million people—equivalent to the whole population of the United States—have escaped extreme poverty. In India, business procedure outsourcing has been called as the "primary engine of the country's growth in excess of the after that few

decades, contributing broadly to GDP development, employment development, and poverty alleviation".

Support and Criticism

Reactions to procedures contributing to globalization have varied widely with a history as extensive as extraterritorial get in touch with and trade. Philosophical differences concerning the costs and benefits of such procedures provide rise to a broad-range of ideologies and social movements. Proponents of economic development, expansion and growth, in common, view globalizing procedures as desirable or necessary to the well-being of human community. Antagonists view one or more globalizing procedures as detrimental to social well-being on a global or regional level; this comprises those who question either the social or natural sustainability of extensive-term and continuous economic expansion, the social structural in excellence caused through these procedures, and the colonial, Imperialistic, or hegemonic ethnocentrism, cultural assimilation and cultural appropriation that underlie such procedures.

As summarized through Noam Chomsky:

The dominant propaganda systems have appropriated the term "globalization" to refer to the specific adaptation of international economic integration that they favor, which privileges the rights of investors and lenders, those of people being incidental. In accord with this usage, those who favor a dissimilar form of international integration, which privileges the rights of human beings, become "anti-globalize." This is basically vulgar propaganda, like the term "anti-Soviet" used through the mainly disgusting commissars to refer to dissidents. It is not only vulgar, but idiotic. Take the World Social Forum, described "anti-globalization" in the propaganda organization – which happens to contain the media, the educated classes, etc., with unusual exceptions. The WSF is a paradigm instance of globalization. It is a gathering of vast numbers of people from all in excess of the world, from presently in relation to the every corner of life one can think of, separately from the very narrow highly privileged elites who meet at the competing World Economic Forum, and are described "pro-globalization" through the propaganda organization.

Proponents

In common, corporate businesses, particularly in the region of fund. Several economists cite statistics that look to support such positive impact. For instance, per capita Gross Domestic Product countries accelerated from 1.4 percent a year in the 1960s and 2.9 percent a year in the 1970s to 3.5 percent in the 1980s and 5.0 percent in the 1990s. This acceleration in development looks even more extra ordinary given that the rich countries saw steady declines in development from a high of 4.7 percent in the 1960s to 2.2 percent in the 1990s. Also, the non-globalizing developing countries look to fare worse than the globalizes, with the former's annual development rates falling from highs of 3.3 percent throughout the 1970s to only 1.4 percent throughout the 1990s. This rapid development in the middle of the globalizes is not basically due to the strong performances of China and India in the 1980s and 1990s—18 out of the 24 globalizes experienced increases in development, several of them quite substantial.

Economic Liberalism and Free Trade

Economic liberals usually argue that higher degrees of political and economic freedom in the form of free trade in the urbanized world are ends in themselves, producing higher stages of overall material wealth. Globalization is seen as the beneficial spread of liberty and capitalism. Jagdish Bhagwati, a former adviser to the U.N. on globalization, holds that, although there are obvious troubles with overly rapid growth, globalization is a extremely positive force that lifts countries out of poverty through causing a virtuous economic cycle associated with faster economic development. Economist Paul Krugman is another staunch supporter of globalization and free trade with a record of disagreeing with several critics of globalization. He argues that several of them lack a vital understanding of comparative advantage and its importance in today's world.

Global Democracy

Democratic globalization is a movement towards an institutional organization of global democracy that would provide world citizens a say in political institutions. This would, in their view, bypass nation-states, corporate oligopolies, ideological Non-governmental institutions its mainly prolific proponents is the British political thinker David Held. Advocates of democratic globalization argue that economic expansion and growth should be the first stage of democratic globalization, which is to be followed through a stage of structure global political organizations. Dr. Francesco Stipo, Director of the United States Association of the Club of Rome, advocates unifying nations under a world government, suggesting that it "should reflect the political and economic balances of world nations. A world confederation would not supersede the power of the State governments but rather complement it, as both the States and the world power would have power within their sphere of competence". Former Canadian Senator Douglas Roche, O.C., viewed globalization as inevitable and advocated creating organizations such as a directly elected United Nations Parliamentary Assembly to exercise oversight in excess of unelected international bodies.

Global Civics

Global civics suggests that civics can be understood, in a global sense, as a social contract flanked by world citizens in the age of interdependence and interaction. The disseminators of the concept describe it as the notion that we have sure rights and responsibilities towards each other through the mere information of being human on Earth. World citizen has a diversity of same meanings, often referring to a person who disapproves of traditional geopolitical divisions derived from national citizenship. An early incarnation of this sentiment can be establish in Socrates, who Plutarch quoted as saying: "I am not an Athenian, or a Greek, but a citizen of the world." In an increasingly interdependent world, world citizens require a compass to frame

their mindsets and make a shared consciousness and sense of global responsibility in world issues such as environmental troubles and nuclear proliferation.

Cosmopolitanism is the notion that all human ethnic groups belong to a single society based on a shared morality. A person who adheres to the thought of cosmopolitanism in any of its shapes is described a cosmopolitan or cosmopolite. A cosmopolitan society might be based on an inclusive morality, a shared economic connection, or a political structure that encompasses dissimilar nations. The cosmopolitan society is one in which individuals from dissimilar spaces form relationships based on mutual respect. For example, Kwame Anthony Appiah suggests the possibility of a cosmopolitan society in which individuals from varying sites enter relationships of mutual respect despite their differing beliefs.

Canadian philosopher Marshall McLuhan popularized the term *Global Village* beginning in 1962. His view suggested that globalization would lead to a world where people from all countries will become more integrated and aware of general interests and shared humanity.

Critiques

Critiques of globalization usually stem from discussions nearby the impact of such procedures on the planet as well as the human costs. They challenge directly traditional metrics, such as GDP, and seem to other events, such as the Gini coefficient or the Happy Planet Index, and point to a "multitude of interconnected fatal consequences—social disintegration, a breakdown of democracy, more rapid and long deterioration of the environment, the spread of new diseases, rising poverty and alienation" which they claim are the unintended consequences of globalization.

Criticisms have arisen from church groups, national liberation factions, peasant unionists, intellectuals, artists, protectionists, anarchists, those in support of relocalization and others.

Some opponents of globalization see the phenomenon as the promotion of corporatist interests. They also claim that the rising autonomy and strength of corporate entities forms the political policy of countries. They advocate global organizations and policies that they consider bigger address the moral claims of poor and working classes as well as environmental concerns. Economic arguments through fair trade theorists claim that unrestricted free trade benefits those with more financial leverage at the expense of the poor.

Critics argue that globalization results in:

Poorer countries suffering disadvantages: While it is true that free trade encourages globalization in the middle of countries, some countries attempt to protect their domestic suppliers. The largest export of poorer countries is generally agricultural goods. Superior countries often subsidize their farmers, which lowers the market price for foreign crops.

The shift to outsourcing: Globalization allowed corporations to move manufacturing and service occupations from high cost sites, creating economic opportunities with the mainly competitive wages and worker benefits.

Weak labor unions: The surplus in cheap labor coupled with an ever rising number of companies in transition weakened labor unions in high-cost regions. Unions lose their effectiveness and workers their enthusiasm for unions when membership begins to decline.

An augment in use of child labor: Countries with weak protections for children are vulnerable to infestation through rogue companies and criminal gangs who use them. Examples contain quarrying, salvage, and farm work as well as trafficking, bondage, forced labor, prostitution and pornography.

Helena Norberg-Hodge, the director and founder of ISEC, criticizes globalization in several methods. In her book *Ancient Futures*, Norberg-Hodge claims that "centuries of ecological balance and social harmony are under threat from the pressures of growth and globalization." She also criticizes the standardization and rationalization of globalization, as it does not always yield the expected development outcomes. Although globalization takes same steps in mainly countries, scholars such as Hodge claim that it might not be effective to sure countries, for globalization has actually moved some countries backward instead of developing them.

Anti-globalization Movement

Anti-globalization, or counter-globalization, consists of a number of criticisms of globalization but, in common, is critical of the globalization of corporate capitalism. The movement is also commonly referred to as the alter-globalization movement, anti-globalist movement, anti-corporate globalization movement, or movement against neoliberal globalization. Although British sociologist Paul Q. Hirst and political economist Grahame F. Thompson note the term is vague; "anti-globalization movement" activities may contain attempts to demonstrate sovereignty, practice regional democratic decision-creation, or restrict the international transfer of people, goods and capitalist ideologies, particularly free market deregulation. Canadian author and social activist Naomi Klein argues that the term could denote either a single social movement or encompass multiple social movements such as nationalism and socialism. Bruce Podobnik, a sociologist at Lewis and Clark College, states that "the huge majority of groups that participate in these protests attract on international networks of support, and they usually call for shapes of globalization that enhance democratic representation, human rights, and egalitarianism." Economists Joseph Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton write:

The anti-globalization movement urbanized in opposition to the perceived negative characteristics of globalization. The term 'anti-globalization' is in several methods a misnomer, since the group symbolizes a wide range of interests and issues and several of the people involved in the anti-globalization movement do support closer ties flanked by the several peoples and cultures of the world by, for instance, aid, assistance for refugees, and global environmental issues.

In common, opponents of globalization in urbanized countries are disproportionately transitional-class and college-educated. This contrasts sharply with the situation in developing countries, where the anti-globalization movement has been more successful in enlisting a broader group, including millions of workers and farmers.

Opposition to Capital Market Integration

Capital markets have to do with raising and investing moneys in several human enterprises. Rising integration of these financial markets flanked by countries leads to the emergence of a global capital marketplace or a single world market. In the extensive run, increased movement of capital flanked by countries tends to favor owners of capital more than any other group; in the short run, owners and workers in specific sectors in capital-exporting countries bear much of the burden of adjusting to increased movement of capital. It is not surprising that these circumstances lead to political divisions in relation to the whether or not to encourage or augment international capital market integration.

Those opposed to capital market integration on the foundation of human rights issues are especially disturbed through the several abuses which they think are perpetuated through global and international organizations that, they say, promote neoliberalism without regard to ethical standards. General targets contain:

- the World Bank (WB),
- International Monetary Finance (IMF),
- the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Growth and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and free trade treaties like the North American Free Trade Agreement,
- Free Trade Region of the Americas,
- the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) and
- the Common Agreement on Trade in Services.

In light of the economic gap flanked by rich and poor countries, movement adherents claim "free trade" without events in lay to protect the under-capitalized will contribute only to the strengthening the power of industrialized nations o the developing world's "South".

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What do you understand by the term 'economic globalization'?
- Explain the main purpose and objectives of the WTO.
- What are the specific features of developing societies?
- What are the specific problems of developing societies?

Define globalization.

What do you understand by globalization in economic sphere?

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