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Evolution of Comparative Political Analysis

Introductory. One of the greatest students of comparative government Lawrence Lowell had predicted that there was no possibility of study of politics ever becoming a science. He had said: "Not until it has acquired a vocabulary totally unintelligible to the normal well-educated lay-man." During the course of last few decades a large number of words have been coined. This led S.E. Finer to remark that, "the coinage of neologisms has become almost frantic."[1] The study of government and politics, particularly comparative study, has gradually emerged as a separate discipline. The word 'government' has been variously used. For an undergraduate student it will suffice to understand that the institution looking after law and order in a society is government. Finer says that a government is "...a standardised arrangement for taking decisions affecting the group and for giving effect to them... The government of units like the family, the church, the trade union ... may properly be called 'private' government. It is however ... 'public' government, that is to say, the government of the territorial state, that the term 'government' is commonly applied."[2] The term comparative government and politics, as is commonly understood, means the comparative study of government and politics, in fact the entire political system of one country with another country. It is said to be an examination of past history and present politics. Although comparative study of government has been held since the ancient Greek period, the abundant material that is available today was not to be found at that time.

In the field of comparative government and politics we study "the political experience, institutions, behaviour, and processes of the major systems of modern government."[3] Its purpose is to analyse similarities and dissimilarities of the government and politics of different countries,

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1. Finer, S.E.: *Comparative Government*, 1974, p. 1.
2. Finer, S.E. : op. cit., p. 37.
3. Hitchner, D.G., and Levine, Carol : *Comparative Government and Politics*, p. 1.

so that it may be possible to predict for the future. The material for comparative study that is available today has made the comparative analysis central basis of the study of Political Science.

The terms 'Government' and 'Politics' are often used as synonyms, and sometimes not. The word *politics* is derived from the Greek word 'Polis' which means a city. In the ancient Greece, city was the basic unit of human organisation. The 'City', and the 'State' meant the same thing — a *'city state'*. Two words were derived from 'Polis'. They are *'Politics'* and *'Politikos'*. The former meant a citizen, and the latter implied "appertaining to the city." The word 'Politics' has actually derived from this *'Politikos'*. The term politics has been defined as "the study of the general principles on which government can be carried on successfully."[4] In other words, the study of the exercise of power may be regarded as the study of politics. All the activities of man are not politics, but the entire human activity, in some form or the other, may be brought in the scope of politics. Some people claim that they have 'no interest in politics'. They use the term 'politics' in a narrow sense, just as 'character' is often used in a very narrow sense. Actually, the scope of 'politics' has become so vast that nobody can really claim to be free from politics. Just as 'government' concerns everyone of us, so does 'politics'. That is the reason why the study of government and politics cannot be separated from each other.

The scope of Comparative Government and Politics includes political experience, institutions, behaviour and working of major goverments. The comparative study proceeds on the assumption that the government is of universal nature, and its scientific study is possible. Three main objectives of the comparative study are : *First*, to develop a body of knowledge about government and politics that can be verified. We presume that scientific analysis is possible to verify this knowledge. However, it is true that the study of man (which is the key-point of our study) may not always be as rigid and scientific as that of natural sciences. *Second*, to evaluate political experience, institutions, behaviour etc. in terms of cause and effect, and desirability and undesirability. Exact scientific conclusions are not possible, but we may be able to explain what generally happens under given conditions. The predictions normally come true, but unimpeachable conclusions cannot be arrived at. *Third*, to be able to predict events, trends and consequences. This is a very controversial objective. It may not be possible to compare and measure all political institutions. It has been suggested that, in view of this difficulty, "political Science seems destined to be at best a science of explanation or diagnosis rather than one of prediction."[5] Despite these difficulties, it is possible to make prediction in certain fields such as voting behaviour, public opinion and election. For example, it could be

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4.   Price, J.H. : *Comparative Government*, p. 7.
5.   Hitchner and Levine : op. cit., p. 2

easily predicted towards the later stage of election campaigning in India in March 1977 that Congress Party was going to suffer heavy losses, although nobody predicted that even Mrs. Indira Gandhi was going to lose her seat. Thus, comparative study may be defined as the study of government and politics that attempts at, as accurate as possible, prediction of man in relation to his government.

Why do we Study Comparative Politics ? There is always some reason why we study a certain subject. Every discipline has its utility. We have seen above three main objectives of the study of comparative government. An average student does not investigate, but merely studies the conclusions of other studies. Why do we study comparative government ? The Government is universal institution. No nation can maintain itself without government. Man tries to discover the best form of government. A country that wants to make its government useful for its people, must constantly discover the utility of other forms of government through comparative study.

The parliamentary government originated in Great Britain. It has been adopted by several countries, including India. But, no country can blindly follow the British institutions and traditions. Every country has its own characteristics. The result is that many countries adopted the British type of parliamentary democracy, but could not adopt two-party system. Some big countries, like India and Australia, could not adopt unitary government. They decided to adopt parliamentary government with federal polity. Similarly, many countries have adopted independence of judiciary and judicial review from the United States of America, without adopting the presidential government. The socialist countries (like the former U.S.S.R. and China) claim that they are 'true' democracies, while western countries condemn them as dictatorships. There are cases where one party system was adopted with socialist or communist government. There was one-party dictatorship in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, whereas communist leaders claim that their one party systems indicate democratic classless character of their societies.

The comparative study of government and politics attempts to discover the correct theory or practice out of these confusing situations. Another objective of the study of comparative government is to endeavour scientific analysis of the subject. How can certain institutions achieve the best results in different circumstances. The successful parliamentary democracy of England and Canada has not been so successful in the eastern countries. Why ? How can it become successful in these countries also ? How can the newly independent countries, like India, adopt socialist system in a democratic style, without communist regimentation ? What is the best instrument of expression of the aspirations of the people ? Comparative study can be very useful in finding answers to these questions.

Several newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa decided to try democratic system, but it failed. Democracy has been fully successful in India and Sri Lanka. When we compare the two situations, we can decide what factors are necessary for the successful working of democracy in Afro-Asian countries. India was divided into two Dominions of India and Pakistan due to the advocacy of two-nation theory by Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League. But it has now been proved in India that several religions can co-exist in a democratic society, and that Mr. Jinnah's theory was not correct. The split of Pakistan in 1971 and creation of Bangladesh also proved that the two-nation theory was a farce, because the Muslims of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) could not tolerate the suppression by West Pakistan. This proved that the creation of states of theocratic basis was a senseless decision. The comparative study can help us to arrive at such a conclusion. This also proves that scientific analysis is possible in Political Science.

The Development of Comparative Study of Government and Politics. The comparative study of government and politics is so old that it is neither possible nor desirable to give its detailed history. Yet some of the more important developments may be briefly dealt with here.

In ancient times, Aristotle himself had made use of comparative technique to examine the forms and methods of government. Although Aristotle's works refer mainly to Sparta, Carthage and Athens, yet the great Greek thinker had studied as many as 158 constitutions to be able to reach his conclusions. It is amazing that 158 constitutions were available at that time for comparative study. Aristotle's famous classification of states and governments was based on the comparative study that he made. Later, Aristotle's views were transmitted to Roman thought by Polybius and Cicero. Polybius was of the opinion that the mixed government—combination of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy would be the most valuable government.

2 Machiavelli, in the Renaissance, again adopted Aristotelian technique. His writings are accepted as basis of modern political science and comparative government. He drew his conclusions regarding a secure and lasting government on the basis of his observations of Italian and other European governments. Inspired by Aristotle and Machiavelli, the famous French thinker Bodin made a comparative study of European governments during the sixteenth century. His theory of sovereignty is accepted as relevant to any discussion on the subject. Once again, in the eighteenth century Montesquieu adopted the comparative method to discover the real factors that made for individual liberty. His famous theory of separation of powers was derived on the basis of comparative study. It was later adopted by the United States of America and other countries.

The comparative study did not flourish during the nineteenth century. The approach of most of the thinkers during the late last nineteenth and early twentieth century was less comparative, and more theoretical. The theories of Anarchism, Socialism and Syndicalism were philosophical, rather than practical. The advocates of these theories propounded their ideologies without making the study of any existing governments. Those who studied governments emphasised on constitutional provisions and structure of parliaments. They did not deem it necessary to make comparative studies.

The books written at the beginning of the twentieth century dealt with different constitutions one after the other. Prominent scholars like Lowell and Lord Bryce also did not study governments with comparative method.[6] Similarly the books on European Governments by Ogg[7] and Munro[8] hardly made comparative studies.

With the publication of Lord Bryce's Modern Democracies after First World War comparative study was again initiated. This book dealt with the theory of democracy and examined the working of democratic institutions in several countries. With the establishment of Nazi regime in Germany, Fascist rule in Italy and Communist government in the Soviet Union, it became essential to compare the traditional liberal democracy with these systems based on one party. Herman Finer's well known work *'The Theory and Practice of Modern Government'* was published in 1932. With this, emphasis was shifted from structure and powers of government to comparative study of present role and theoretical analysis for the future.

Traditional Approach of Comparative Study. We have seen in the preceding section that practically all the studies in the field of governments and politics were essentially descriptive. They dealt with different constitutions and comparison was generally avoided. We may refer to this method of study as traditional approach. It was not very scientific. We shall briefly examine the features of the traditional method and its inadequacies.

The traditional approach was essentially *descriptive*. The element of comparison was almost missing. Occasionally, a few similarities or otherwise were pointed out. The modern features such as political systems, pressure groups, prediction for future on the basis of historical

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6. Their important works are : (a) Lowell : *Governments and Parties of Continental Europe*, (separate studies of France, Germany, Switzerland etc.), 1896 and (b) James Bryce : *The American Commonwealth*, 1888.

7. Ogg. F.A. : *The Governments of Europe* (1913), dealt with Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and Austria-Hungary.

8. Munro : *The Governments of Europe* (1925) treated more or less the same countries as Ogg did.

analysis were practically left untouched. Thus, the study of government was essentially limited to structure and functions of various organs of governments. The traditional writers ignored socio-economic factors which invariably affect the politics of a country.

The traditional method was basically *non-comparative*. The constitutions of different countries were studied mainly with reference to legal provisions. These studies were limited to one or more constitutions, and attempt at analytical, comparative and critical studies was generally not made.

The traditional approach was essentially *parochial*. It appears that the writers did not bother to study the potential systems of far off countries either because of the difficulty of language or of means of communication. Most of the works are limited to the study of Great Britain, France, Switzerland and other western countries. Even in case of these countries systematic and analytical approach was generally avoided, and descriptive method was adopted. The political institutions of Asia, Africa and Latin America were totally ignored. One possible explanation for this lapse may be that several of these countries were not sovereign. But, if the approach was different, enough material for comparative study could have been easily found.

Another shortcoming of the earlier method was that it was *static*. The studies were limited to existing organs of various governments. Their developments, nature, role and likely changes were usually not dealt with. The subjects like elections, voting behaviour and public opinion were not thought fit for inclusion in the study of government. Thus, the progressive elements of government and politics did not find place in the traditional approach.

Lastly, traditional approach has been criticised for being theoretical rather than practical. The role of political institutions, actions of various social organisations and individuals affecting the political system did not attract the attention of writers on the subject. The political interaction and political behaviour was ignored. It is obvious that political institutions are affected by socio-economic, cultural and scientific progress. Thus, inter-disciplinary approach is essential for proper understanding of the subject.

It is clear from this discussion that the traditional approach has outlived its utility. In the scientific and technological atmosphere of post-Second World War period several new methods of study have been adopted. They are more scientific, systematic, analytical and inter-disciplinary in nature. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the traditional method has no utility. It has provided us with basic facts. In the absence of facts analysis is impossible. Thus, the success of modern approach greatly depends on the availability of material, which has been supplied

by the traditional method. To that extent, traditional approach is, and will always remain, relevant.

We shall briefly explain some of the classifications of government based on traditional approach.

FORMAL CONCENTRATION OF POWER

Aristotle's Classification. The ancient political thinkers did not distinguish between the state and the government. Thus, when they dealt with the classification of states, it actually was classification of governments. An important reason why they used the term 'classification of states' was the fact that it is not easy to classify the states on the basis of elements other than government. The modern writers, however, prefer to use the term 'classification of governments'.

In view of the prevalence of different socio-political conditions in different ancient states, different forms of government were found in various countries. Although the classification of governments given by Aristotle was the most scientific and acceptable at that time, many other Greek thinkers also offered their classifications which were not substantially different from each other. For example, Herodotus had divided the forms of government as monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. He had said that when these governments become perverted a fourth type of government called tyranny is established. The great thinker Plato, while talking about an ideal state, had discussed the following forms of government : Rule by a philosopher king (an ideal rule), aristocracy of men of wisdom, and oligarchy of the rich.

Aristotle, the father of Political Science, had studied as many as about 158 constitutions, and offered a scientific and generally acceptable classification of governments. The state, according to Aristotle, was a moral institution, and its task was to establish a decent society. There were two bases of Aristotle's classification.

First : The number of rulers—those who exercised the sovereign power in a state. The classification on this basis alone could not be sufficient. Therefore, the *second* basis adopted for his classification was the purpose for which the supreme power was exercised. If the government seeks to promote 'common interest' it is "normal" government. If, on the other hand, the government seeks to satisfy the selfish interest of ruling class only it is "perverted". Aristotle classified the states into three types on the basis of first criterion *i.e.*, number of rulers. The 'normal' government by one ruler is monarchy, by a few rulers is 'aristocracy', and by many people is 'polity'. If the rulers turn selfish, the government becomes perverted. 'Tyranny' is the perverted form of one ruler's government, if a few are perverted, Aristotle called it 'Oligarchy',

and the perverted government by many, according to Aristotle, was 'democracy'. This classification of Aristotle can be explained with the help of the following table :

The First Criterion (Number of the Rulers)	The Second Criterion (The purpose for which the power is exercised)	
	Normal Government	*Perverted Government*
Rule of one	Monarchy	Tyranny
Rule of Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Rule of Many	Polity	Democracy

Aristotle's Cycle of Change. An important feature of Aristotle's classification is his argument that none of the forms of government is of permanent nature. Neither a good normal government can last long, nor a bad perverted government is tolerated by people for a long time. He said that a cycle of political change is constantly going on. Monarchy is rule of one person, who governs in the common interest. After some time he becomes corrupt and forgets about the good of the people. This creates tyranny. People are soon fed up with tyranny, and a few noble wise men throw away the tyrant and assume power for the good of the common man. This is aristocracy. When these wise men become perverted (for power is bound to corrupt the rulers sooner or later) aristocracy gives way to oligarchy. There is a popular uprising against perverted few, and oligarchy is replaced by 'polity' — good government by many. When power corrupts the many, and the rulers become selfish and perverted, democracy is established. This 'democracy' also comes to an end. A powerful noble and sensible ruler puts an end to democracy, or mob-rule, and assumes all powers for himself. Once again monarchy is established. Once again the same cycle is repeated. This cycle, according to Aristotle, is natural and unavoidable. He considers 'aristocracy' as the best government, because in any given society only a few are capable of good government.

Aristotle's classification, though accurate at that time, cannot be fully accepted today. The critics argue that Aristotle had emphasised the numbers and ignored the quality. This criticism does not appear to be valid. We must remember that basis of this classification was the small city-state of those days. It is difficult to apply it to the vast nation-states that are found today. Monarchy as well as Tyranny have almost disappeared. Even if there are monarchies, as in Great Britain or Japan, the monarchs have become powerless. It is better to refer these countries as 'limited monarchy', 'constitutional monarchy', or 'crowned democracy'. Today the term democracy is used not for a perverted

government, but for a government that functions for common good. It is better to describe the perverted polity today as mob-rule or mobocracy.

Many other changes have come about since the time Aristotle gave his classification. The 'polity', which according to Aristotle was a normal government was 'rule by many'. It was not majority rule. At that time the slaves, the women and the rural population did not enjoy any political rights. Perhaps, that was the reason why Aristotle referred to 'polity' as rule of many. In today's situation, if we talk of the rule of many, it would be better to describe it as 'aristocracy'. Today the governments are classified not merely on grounds of numbers and quality of rulers but on several other criteria also. The classification of modern governments as parliamentary or presidential, unitary or federal, socialist, fascist or traditional democracies, does not fit in anywhere in the classification of Aristotle. Even if we accept that there are monarchies both in England and Jordan, the two countries do not have the same form of government. There is no monarchy in France, still it is a unitary state like Great Britain. In India, we have a parliamentary government like tht of Great Britain (but with an elected President) and yet we have adopted a federal system which places India closer to the United States. Thus, it appears that the modern governments may be described as 'mixed' systems of government.

Marriot's Classification

Several writers, from Greek period till today, have offered classification of governments on different criteria. The modern writers, like Marriot and Leacock, while accepting Aristotle's classification as basic do not think that it can fit in the modern conditions. The classification given by Marriot is today accepted as one of the best. According to him the government may be classified on the following three bases :

One — Classification on the geographical basis : unitary and federal.

Two — Constitutional basis : rigid and flexible.

Three — On the basis of executive-legislature relationship : parliamentary and presidential. Besides, monarchy (limited though) is also mentioned in this connection.
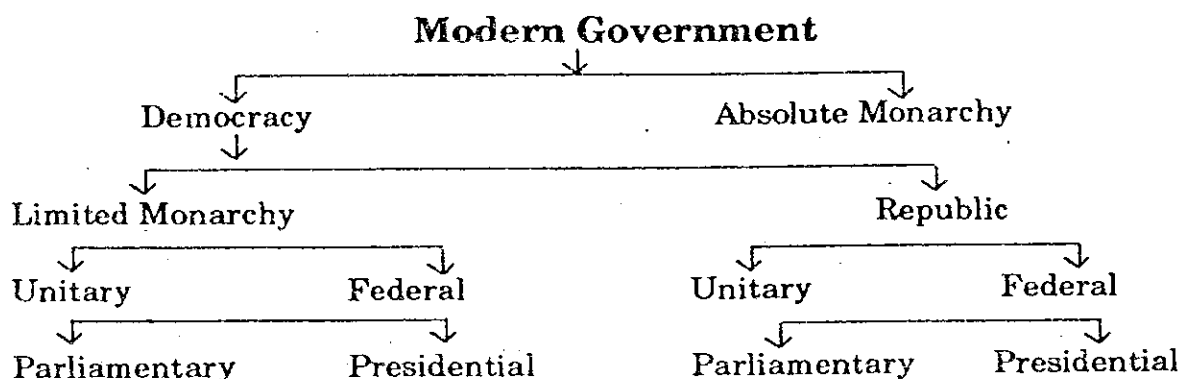
We may say that, on these bases, India has federal, rigid and parliamentary system; Great Britain has flexible, unitary and parliamentary government; and the United States has adopted federal, rigid and presidential government.

The modern democratic governments may be further classified on the following bases also :

One—Limited monarchy (crowned democracy)—Japan and Great Britain; and

Two—Republic — India and the United States of America.

The classification of Marriot is further clarified by Leacock. He has divided the government mainly between absolute (or unlimited) monarchy and democracy. Democracy is further divided between limited monarchy and republic. Further, unitary and federal; and parliamentary and presidential systems may be found in both the general categories mentioned above. This modern classification may be illustrated with the help of the following chart :

Modern Government

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                            Modern Government
                 ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
             Democracy                          Absolute Monarchy
                 │                                       │
      ┌──────────┴───────────────────────────────────┐  │
 Limited Monarchy                                  Republic
   ┌──────┴──────┐                          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
Unitary       Federal                    Unitary              Federal
   ┌──────┴──────┐                          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
Parliamentary  Presidential            Parliamentary         Presidential
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This classification also has a shortcoming. That is, the absence of classification on the basis of functions and objectives. There are a number of countries today which are described as socialist democracies. This category includes countries like Cuba, China and Viet Nam.

Secondary : Certain countries are known as welfare states. India can be cited as an example of this category. These countries accept socialism as their ultimate objective, but try to achieve their aim through peaceful parliamentary methods.

Thirdly : There are certain countries, like the United States, which are clearly capitalist and even today believe in open competition and some kind of *laissez-faire*; and

Lastly : Nazi or Fascist dictatorship — this system is opposed both to democracy and socialism and revolves round one leader and one party. Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy were the outstanding examples of this category.

MacIver's Classification

The classification of modern governments by MacIver is an important and elaborate exercise. There are four bases of his classification. These are : constitutional, economic, communal and sovereignty. MacIver, like Aristotle, believes that no governmental system is of permanent nature. However, some fundamental systems continue with occasional minor adjustments. He accepts the utility of the traditional classification, but does not find it suitable for the modern conditions. He has offered a detailed classification in the light of modern socio-economic-political conditions. The following table will show MacIver's classification :

	Constitutional Basis	Economic Basis	Communal Basis	Sovereignty Basis
I.	*Oligarchy*			
	(a) Monarchy	(a) Folk Government	(a) Tribal Government	(a) Unitary
	(b) Dictatorship	(b) Feudal Government	(b) 'Polis' Government	(b) Empire Colony Dependency
	(c) Theocracy	(c) Capitalist Government	(c) Country Government	(c) Federal Government
	(d) Plural Headship	(d) Socialist Government	(d) National Government	
II.	*Democracy*			
	(e) Limited Monarchy	(e) Multi-National Government		
	(f) Republic	(f) World Government		

Constitutional Basis. The above table will show that broadly speaking MacIver has classified the governments between oligarchy and democracy. The Oligarchy can take different forms. It may be Monarchy or Dictatorship (Totalitarianism), Theocracy or Plural Government, but the fact remains that the power remains concentrated in the hands of small group of people. Monarchy is based on hereditary principle, dictatorship may be created through military *coup* and theocracy may be established by a fanatic religious group. The basis of the state authority in the ancient countries with plural headship was also a small group of people.

Democracy may take the form of a republic as in India and the United States of America, or it may be limited monarchy like Great Britain and Japan.

Economic Basis. The governments may be divided into four parts on the basis of economy adopted by various countries. The Folk Economy was the basis of states in ancient times. Feudalism was the basis of European countries during the Middle Ages and the power was controlled by the feudal lords. With the Industrial Revolution and the era of prosperity from the mid-eighteenth century onwards capitalist economy was adopted by England, France, Germany, the United States and a number of other countries. This system is prevalent in many countries even today. Socialism emerged as a result of a reaction to capitalism during the twentieth century. It was adopted by a number of countries.

Communal Basis. MacIver has classified the governments on the criterian of the number of people who exercise power. In the very early days the tribal chiefs exercised all powers. This was a very backward

system. Thereafter, during the Greek period, every city became in itself an independent state. This was the period of city states, which were known as 'Polis' Governments. Subsequently big and small countries developed their separate governmental systems with monarches as heads of state. This led to the establishment of nation state. One nation, one state became the basis of setting up sovereign governments. Today we find a number of countries where not one but many nationalities can be found. MacIver chooses to refer to these countries as multinational governments. Finally, he refers to the world government. Although there appears to be no possibility in the near future of establishement of the world goverment, yet at least in theory the world goverment is a possibility. It may not be a unitary world government but may be a federation of nation states.

Sovereignty Basis. The modern states are divided between unitary and federal on the basis of sovereignty. Although imperialism is now an out-of-date concept, yet MacIver thought it proper to mention colonies, dependencies and empires as the basis of exercising sovereignty.

This classification is fairly complicated. It is based more on historical facts than realities. It will appear from the entire discussion that Marriot's classification is no more practicable and meaningful in the context of contemporary world.

MODERN METHODS OF COMPARING POLITICS

In an earlier section we have briefly dealt with the shortcomings of the traditional approach of the study of comparative governments. It appears that the traditional approach had limited the scope of study of government to the description of organs of government and their functions as laid down in the law. In fact, structure of government and political processes are highly complicated and are affected by the social, economic and cultural factors. Thus, new methods of the study of government and politics have been discovered to examine and analyse various factors that affect working of an entire political system. The modern approaches are, generally speaking, result of prevailing dissatisfaction with the traditional method. Almond and Powell are of the opinion that the following three factors are generally responsible for the new approaches after the Second World War. *Firstly*, national awakening took place in several countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. This resulted in the emergence of several independent nations with divergent cultures, social institutions and political features. *Secondly*, influence of the Atlantic Powers declined, and various powers initiated interference in the new areas including colonies and newly independent countries. *Thirdly*, communism emerged as a powerful factor. It emerged as a competitor and tried to alter the nature of world economy and

politics according to its own ideology.

MODERN COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS

The above mentioned factors compelled serious students of Government and Politics to abandon the traditional approach. The changing situation required new methods and approaches to understand politics in its proper perspective. According to Almond and Powell following four major tendencies tend to separate modern comparative politics from the traditional study of comparative government.

(a) **The search for more comprehensive scope**—The search for more comprehensive scope of comparative politics is aimed at taking out the discipline from its narrow jurisdiction. The political situation has considerably changed after the Second World War. Study of government could not be kept limited to 'democratic countries'. It became essential to study revolutionary changes and challenges to the liberal democratic systems. This widened the scope of comparative government. Besides the liberal democracies, the socialist systems, totalitarian regimes and developing countries also began to be studied both with reference to the past and present. Inclusion of the study of newly independent countries made *Comparative Politics* universal in character. Almond and Powell's *Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach*, Almond and Coleman's *The Politics of Developing Areas* and Fredrick's *Constitutional Government and Democracy* were first serious attempts in this direction.

(b) **The search for realism** — The search for realism was direct consequence of changed political circumstances. The traditional approach was formal. It merely concerned with law, ideology, political institutions and constitutional structure. The new approaches seek to examine all those structures and processes that affect politics and policy formulation. In place of traditional legalistic study, the modern approaches include more realistic study of political parties, pressure groups, political processes, election procedure, political communication, political socialisation and other socio-economic factors besides the formal political institutions. This approach is often described as behavioural study.

(c) **The search for precision** — Scientific and technological studies always aim at precision. This practice has been lately introduced in the sphere of comparative politics also. Attempts are now being made to undertake sample surveys to examine trends in politics through scientific analysis of political culture, processes and facts.

(d) **The search for intellectual order** — There is a tendency to search for an intellectual order. A mere examination of constitutions, rights of people, and representation procedures does not help in the development of an intellectual order. New approaches of comparative

government and politics are being introduced to enable the development of a new intellectual order.

Since the Second World War the trend that has emerged in the sphere of comparative politics is to consider the world community as a political system in itself. National political systems are studied and compared as units of the world community. Thus, interaction of various national communities is studied, and comparative analysis is undertaken to evolve a systematised and scientific knowledge of government and politics. Endeavour is being made to make comparative study of such vital institutions as bureaucracy, legislatures, political parties, interest groups, judicial processes and electoral processes.

The scope of comparative politics has widened. The non-western political systems are being studied in details, and certain aspects which were hitherto ignored are being systematically examined. The political systems of Asia, Africa and Latin America now provide significant material for the study of Comparative Government and Politics.

FEATURES OF MODERN APPROACHES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS

There are several new approaches to the study of comparative politics. An examination of these approaches reveals certain common features of the modern comparative politics. We may briefly mention these common general features.

(*i*) **Generally comparative in approach** — Unlike the traditional method, which was comparative only in name, the modern approaches are generally and largely comparative. Fast changing political situations can best be studied only with comparative approach. Each political system has its unique characteristics. But, there are certain common elements also. It is essential to make comparative study of various political systems to arrive at a rational conclusion.

(*ii*) **Extensive in scope** — The scope of study of modern comparative politics is rather wide. As we have said above, besides the constitutional law and institutions the modern study includes examination of numerous non-political and socio-economic factors that affect the entire political system. The present political processes are studied in historical background and predictions for future are made. Various political systems are being studied as units of one-world-community. Comparative politics is not limited to liberal democracies. Its study includes all systems — democratic and totalitarian, socialist and capitalist, western and eastern so that comparative politics can examine all aspects of world political community.

(*iii*) **Analytical and explanatory**— Macridis is of the opinion that mere description of political institutions cannot enable us to understand

true nature of a political system. It is essential that study of comparative politics should be analytical and research-oriented rather than descriptive. The modern approaches of comparative politics have become analytical. For that purpose facts are collected, examined, analysed and compared.

(*iv*) **System-oriented study**— The modern approaches have a special feature that clearly distinguishes them from the traditional methods. Constitutional framework is no more given importance. The present studies are centered round political system as a whole. Institutions are studied as constituents of a system. Their interactions are systematically studied to enable us to understand socio-economic-political problems in proper perspective. All the political processes and institutions can be properly understood only if the study is system-oriented.

(*v*) **Social context-oriented study**— The scholars of modern comparative politics believe in the interaction of political processes and sociological forces. Thus, political processes are not being studied in relation to socio-economic context. Social institutions, forces and traditions that affect political system are being studied from political angle. Politics is a part of social processes. Thus, modern approaches examine political systems in the social context.

(*vi*) **Behavioural approach of study**— The most outstanding feature of the study of modern comparative politics is its behavioural approach. Behavioural study is a new and very effective method of comparative politics. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of examination and evaluation of the facts collected after studying behaviour of various people. Such a study is surely more meaningful than a descriptive study of structure and powers of political institutions. Behavioural approach has not only given new dimensions to the study of comparative politics, but it has made it scientific, systematic and purposeful.

Criticism of Modern Approaches

We shall examine the modern approaches in a subsequent section. Since we have seen above main features of modern approaches, we may briefly refer to criticism of these methods. There is no doubt that the modern methods of comparative politics aim at wider outlook and scientific approach. They tend to give true colour of 'science' to Political Science, particularly to comparative politics. Nevertheless, there are certain shortcomings in these methods. *Firstly*, it is said that the scope of comparative politics has become unwieldy. It is impossible to examine all the factors that directly and indirectly affect politics. If all of them are examined the study becomes unwieldy. If we ignore them the scope of comparative politics remains unrealistic. There is growing awareness among scholars on this point. Many of them, including Apter, S. E. Finer,

Almond and Coleman and G.K. Robberts, started thinking of limiting the scope of comparative politics, essentially to political developments. *Secondly*, critics are of the opinion that most of the new approaches are vague. There is no unanimity even on one approach. Different writers offer different methods to explain the same approach. Since most of the modern methods have been adopted from sociology it is often found difficult to apply them to Political Science. *Thirdly*, the modern methods are, it is argued, too behavioural in their approach. Behavioural approaches have their utility, and comparative politics has immensely benefited from them. But, the critics argue that behaviouralism has dominated modern comparative politics to the extent that an average student finds it impossible to understand the discipline. It is not fair to draw conclusions on the basis of certain facts collected only through sample survey. *Finally*, it is said that there is unnecessary emphasis upon the developing politics. Revolutionary changes have taken place in the study of comparative politics after the Second World War. This was the direct outcome of emergence of a large number of new nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There were wide differences in their political institutions and processes. Rapid—often radical—changes took place in their politics. These factors naturally drew the attention of numerous scholars. This trend led comparative politics to a situation where it got involved merely in the study of developing countries and started losing true comparative complexion. Critics feel that there is so much instability in the developing politics that too much dependence on them is likely to affect the utility of comparative politics.

There is undoubtedly lot of truth in the above criticism. Nevertheless none can deny the fact that the modern approaches are important in more than one ways. They are analytical rather than descriptive; they are universal rather than parochial ; they are more systematic and scientific than the traditional methods were. Thus, what is required is a second look at the modern approaches with a view to make them even more useful for the students of comparative government and politics.

Comparative Government before the Second World War

Before we explain the modern scientific approaches of comparative politics we feel it is essential for our young students to know something about methods used in the first half of the present century for the study of comparative government. These methods were not as vast in their approach as modern methods are. Even then, in their own way, they were useful methods of understanding comparative politics. We shall briefly explain the methods of comparative government which were quite popular before the Second World War, and have not been fully discarded even today.

Configurative Studies. This is the oldest and easiest method of comparative study. Many modern writers refuse to accept this as a method of comparative government. We study various governments, in the configurative method, one after the other. We take one political system, study it and analyse and examine its principal features. Similarly other political systems are examined, and comparative analysis is simultaneously carried out. Most of the literature available on governments is of configurative nature. Some of the prominent works of this type are : R.G. Neumann's *'European and Comparative Government'*, Carter and Herz : *'Major Foreign Powers'*; and Dragnich's *'Major European Governments'*. Several books have been written in India according to this approach.

This approach, generally regarded as 'traditional' has been criticised for being descriptive, parochial and non-comparative. There is, however, no doubt about it that this is the most "informative" method. An average student cannot undertake deep research work until he has got basic knowledge, which is provided by the configurative method. This method, with modern scientific touch, can be made suitable for analytical study. We can study government and politics of several countries, not merely in a descriptive way, but with socio-economic basis and historical approach. Thus, the entire political system can be studied with a meaningful purpose. It is true that the configurative method by itself, is far from being satisfactory, yet it cannot be denied that it can play very useful role in the modern comparative study.

Area Studies. As and when several new countries became independent and sovereign, the scholars got inspiration to study their governments and politics. The knowledge about several 'new' countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was extremely limited. Their political systems have been studied on the area basis with comparative approach. To begin with, certain countries of a particular area or region were chosen for configurative study of their political systems. It was natural to take up separate studies of West Asia, Latin America and of South-East Asian countries. India, Pakistan, Burma and Sri Lanka gained their independence within a period of about a year. Their political and economic development has, however, not been of the same level. Significant conclusions can be arrived at if we study their political systems in the background of their socio-economic progress. Some of the conclusions that can be easily arrived at are : the circumstances in which democracy can succeed, when and why military dictatorship is established, and that democracy and theocratic system cannot go together.

It is true that area study is neither the only method of comparative study, nor it is the best approach. Political, historical and cultural uniformity is not possible merely because of geographical contiguity.

Nevertheless, this is a very useful method for understanding socio-economic-political aspects of 'new' countries. *'Governments and Politics of South-East Asia'* edited by Kahin, *'Governments and Politics of South-East Asia'* edited by Kahin, *'Governments and Politics in Latin America'* by Davis (ed.), and Harari's *Governments and Politics of the Middle East'* are examples of area studies. The area studies have their utility, although other methods of comparative study are newer and more sophisticated.

Institutional-Functional Comparison. This is a very effective and significant method of comparative study. Institutions have always been established to help the man manage his state. "An institution is an established pattern of behaviour; a function, of course, is the normal and expected activity of something."[9] Comparison of institutions and their functions is naturally an important source of knowledge. Some of the prominent political institutions are : The monarchy, the presidency, parliament, cabinet, speaker, political parties and pressure groups, etc. They perform several important functions. Comparative study of institutions of different countries is very useful. Differences in positions, circumstances and working of presidents of different countries can lead to important conclusions. The comparison of the British and American Speakers, similarities and dissimilarities of the Indian, British and American Upper Houses, and comparison of the role of Supreme Court in a federation with the role of highest court in a unitary state can help us reach significant conclusions. The comparison of only the structures of various institutions will be meaningless. What is required is analysis and comparison of the functions and role of institutions in different countries.

This method, like other methods, also has shortcomings. But, the role of institutional-functional method in making useful comparative study cannot be underestimated. The configurative study and the institutional-functional study, if combined can serve the purpose. When an institution is removed from its natural setting or context its study becomes meaningless. Thus, the functions and role of political parties can be examined in the context of the concerned political system. The role of the Communist Party in China is bound to be entirely different from the role of parties in traditional liberal democracies. There is a world of different between the role of the party in China and the United States. In China the chairman of the party was also supreme commander of the armed forces while in the United States no soldier is allowed even to become a member of a political party. The useful and effective comparison is possible when the two countries have similar systems such as the comparison of parties in England and France ; or of the communist

9.   Hitchner, D.G. and Levine, Carol : *Comparative Government and Politics.* p.8.

parties in China and the former Soviet Union. Even in liberal democracies themselves the role of the parties differs. The functions of the parties in the United States (presidential system) and Great Britain (parliamentary system) are fundamentally different. The position and role of the Presidents of India and the United States is sharply different. Similarly, there are many dissimilarities between the monarchs of Great Britain and Saudi Arabia. The comparative analysis of the similarities and the dissimilarities provide useful knowledge of government and politics. Some outstanding examples of institutional-functional studies are : Duverger, *'Political Parties'*, K.C. Wheare, *'Legislatures'*, Zurcher, *'Constitutions and Constitutional Trends Since World War II'* and Hitchner and Levine *"Comparative Government and Politics".*

The Study of Problems and Policies. The specific problems or government policies of two or more countries can also be examined through comparative method. There is no end of problems in the contemporary world. The voting behaviour of citizens in two democratic countries, the problem of nationalisation of industry, the unemployment problem, militarism, civil service recruitment and foreign-policy making provide important material for comparative study. The way different countries formulate their foreign policy and the impact that different circumstances have on the policy is also a subject matter of comparative study. The social welfare activities in divergent political systems, planning for economic development (like the Five-Year Plans in India) and comparative study of parliamentary procedures can be easily undertaken.

This approach to political problems can be effective only if, we employ both historical and empirical analysis; mere historical analysis will not suffice. The critics, however, suggest that the method appears to be more of an art than pure science. There are several problems which cannot be examined purely from scientific angle. For example, problem of family planning for the prosperity of a nation is not only socio-economic-political but also physical and psychological problem. This study can be useful only if inter-disciplinary approach is adopted. One who tries to examine socio-economic-political problems with comparative approach, his investigation is bound to be rewarding and stimulating. This method has proved effective in the study such as Chapman, *'The Profession of Government'*; Wraith and Simpkin's *'Corruption in Developing Countries'* and Lakeman and Lambert's *'Voting in Democracies'.*

COMPARATIVE POLITICS—MODERN APPROACHES

We have examined the general features of modern methods of comparative politics in an earlier section. We have seen that the aim of modern methods is to understand the political institutions as part of an

entire system. They should not be studied in isolation. Politics cannot be separated from economics. There should be deeper study of all the aspects of a political system. We shall now explain the following methods of comparative politics which have emerged after the Second World War. These are:

1. Systems Analysis ;
2. Structural-Functional Analysis ;
3. Modernisation Approach ;
4. Political Development Approach ; and
5. Marxist-Leninist Approach.

1. SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

The systems analysis is essentially a sociological approach. David Easton was greatly influenced by this approach. He published his book *The Political System* in 1953, in which he said he would try to offer a new inter-disciplinary approach of politics. His aim was to introduce the concept of political system derived from the general systems theory. David Easton is rightly considered pioneer of the systems analysis in comparative politics.

The General Systems Theory. It is essential to understand the meaning of the general systems theory before we attempt an examination of the 'political system'. The original idea of systems analysis is derived from Biology. It was adopted by various social sciences. The concept was introduced by Biologist Ludwig von Bertallanfy in 1920. He defined system as "a set of elements standing in interaction". The term 'system' was later differently defined by other scholars. Collin Cherry said that a system "is a whole which is compounded of many parts —an ensemble of attitudes". According to Kaplan. "A brief and non-technical description of the object of systems analysis would include the study of a set of inter-related variables, as distinguished from the environment of the set, and of the ways in which this set is maintained under the impact of environmental disturbances." Thus, the common point that emerges is that a system is 'one unit' which consists of several elements or inter-related variables. It is surely a whole consisting of many parts. We have to understand the interaction of many parts to be able to understand the whole.

A system does not mean a mere aggregation of elements. The elements should be inter-dependent and should be such that can be located with some precision both in time and in space. A study of systems analysis forms part of, what is know as, inter-disciplinary approach. General systems theory is based on the principles that are relevant to various systems. It is believed that there are a number of things common in various disciplines, and if they can be put in an abstract form a general

theory can emerge that might help each discipline to understand its problems better.

The Political System

The social system consists of many sub-systems. Political sub-system is the most important of them. It is this sub-system that concerns us as students of comparative politics. It is difficult to separate political from non-political. Nevertheless, study of political system can be systematically taken up as a separate discipline. David Easton was the first Political Scientist who made use of the concept of 'political system'. He first put forward his idea in an article entitled "The Analysis of Political Systems" published in *World Politics* in 1957. The concept was later developed by him in his books : *A Framework for Political Analysis*, and A *Systems Analysis of Political Life.* The concept was put forward by several other scholars. They presented their different models, though the basic theme or concept remains the same. Almond and Powell, besides others, were also prominent exponents of the concept of political system.

- The concept of political system obviously includes two terms, *viz.* political *and* system. What do they mean ? The main idea of political concept includes the basis of coercive power or authority to compel people to obey its policies. Political system implies legitimate physical coercion. David Easton speaks of "authoritative allocation of values" ; Lasswell and Kaplan of "severe deprivations"; Dahl of "power, rule and authority" ; and Almond and Powell write that "the political authorities, and only they, have some generally accepted right in a given territory to utilise coercion and to command obedience based upon it." All these definitions imply the legitimate power to enforce, to compel and to punish within a fixed territory.

What is a system? It implies some interdependence of parts and some kind of boundary between it and its environment. There are numerous components of a system. A human body has numerous organs or components or a motor car has very large number of parts or components. All components of a system are vital. When properties of one component in a system change, all other components and system as a whole are affected. "Thus", according to Almond and Powell, "if the rings of an automobile erode, the car burns oil, the functioning of other aspects of the system deteriorates, and the power of the car declines."[10] We may take another example. If a person suffers heart attack his entire system starts declining and is affected. Similarly, if the liberty of a university or a college starts losing books and library staff becomes lethargic the entire educational system is adversely

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10. Almond & Powell (Jr.), *Comparative Politics*, Little Brown & Co., Boston, p. 4.

ffected. In a political system the emergence of a new political party may ffect the performane of all other structures of the system. In other ords, "when one variable in a system changes in magnitude or quality :hers may be subjected to strains and may be transformed. The system ien changes its pattern of performance, or the unruly component is isciplined by regulatory mechanisms."[11]

A third important aspect of the theory of political system is the ɔtion of boundary. A system starts somewhere and ends somewhere. is easy, for example, to locate the boundary of a motor car or even a university. But, in case of a political system, the problem of ɔundary is more difficult. A political system is made up of the iteracting role of citizens or voters, with legislators, civil servants, ιnisters and judges. "As individuals expose themselves to political ɔmmunication, form political interest groups, vote or pay taxes, they ιift from non-political to political roles : one might say they enter ιd leave the political system."[12] The people participate not only : politics ; they play their role in economy, family and religion also. hus, when a peasant goes on the day of polling to cast his vote, he osses the boundary of economy and enters the boundary of the political ˈstem. Similarly, when a prime minister visits a temple or church to fer prayers he crosses over from the boundary of political system to ιat of religion.

Thus, a system in which there is a mechanism which has the ɔwer to take authoritative decisions, to enforce them and to compel ιd punish may be described as a political system. It functions ithin an environment, and has its clearly demarcated boundaries.

David Easton was primarily concerned with emphasising the rela- ɔnships between a system and the environment in which it is located. ιe systems theory usually divides interaction between a system and its ιvironment into three phases : input, conversion and output. Thus, :mands made on the system and supports that they receive are inputs. ιe system converts them into "finished goods" or output. The policies ιich come out of the system as ˈoutput' give rise to new demands. This ɔcess is described as feedback into the system in the form of fresh :mands, so that the system continues to function. The model presented ˈDavid Easton compares political system to a small box or a machine, ιich receives inputs and produces outputs which are transmitted rough the environment as feedback demands and supports. The llowing figure (Fig. 1) explains this :

. Ibid. pp. 5-6

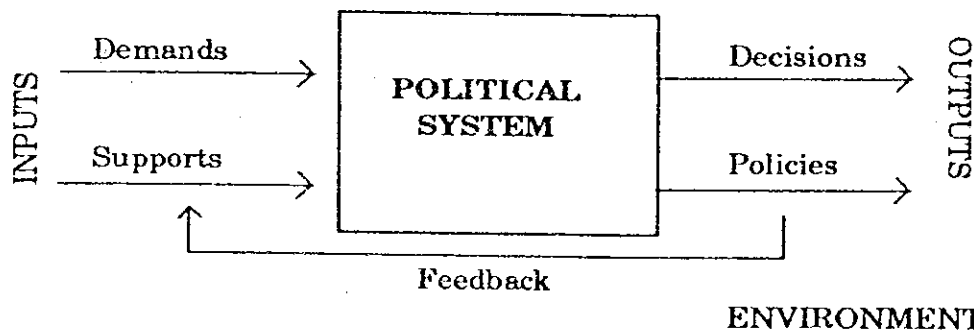Almond & Powell (Jr.), op. cit., p. 6.

ENVIRONMENT

Fig. 1

Inputs and Outputs. The system theory is usually explained with the help of interaction of various components of the system through the mechanism of inputs and outputs. According to Almond and Powell, the inputs and outputs are transactions between the system and its environment. The conversion of inputs into outputs—(of raw-material into finished goods)—is a vital function of the system. Inputs of demands and supports enter the political system from the environment. When inflation increases prices of commodities and people demand more wages, there is an interaction between economy and politics. The economic situation leads to demands for particular legislative or executive actions. These demands are converted into outputs such as welfare payments, more wage or dearness allowance, or price controls. These outputs produce changes in the environment which may provide feedback for fresh demands. The process has been explained by Almond and Powell with the help of following figure (Fig. 2) :
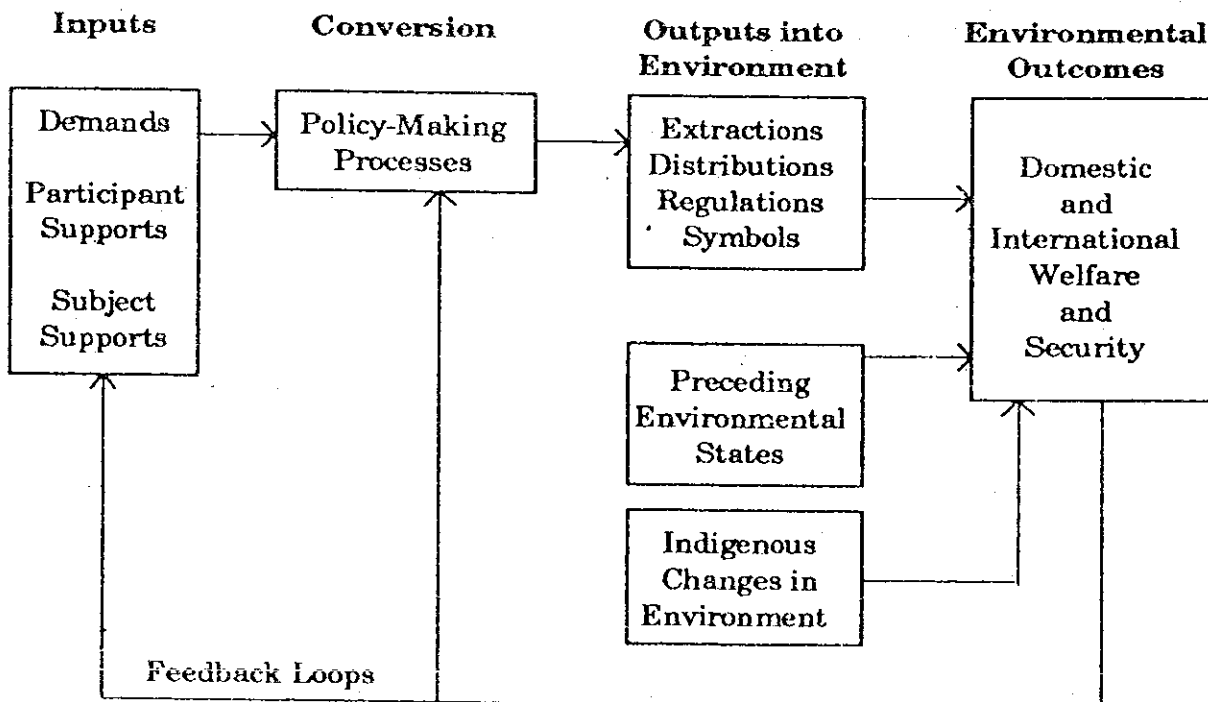

Fig. 2

*Changes not caused by the Political System itself.

David Easton has made a clear distinction between *demands and supports*. What type of demands are usually made on the system ? They are : (*i*) demands for distribution and services—demands for better roads, educational facilities or for minimum wages ; (*ii*) demands for regulation of behaviour—demands for rules pertaining to marriage, health and sanitation ; (*iii*) demands for less taxation ; (*iv*) demands for communication of information—in the event of threat from within or without; (*v*) demands for participation—demand for reduction in voting age, or to organise political parties ; and (*vi*) demands for stability, order and peace—for lessening of violence. A political system may face these and many more demands, in many combinations, forms and degrees of intensity. Referring to demands, Easton wrote, "They are only the raw-material out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured."[13]

Almond and Powell refer to two major classes of supports. *Firstly,* there are inputs of participant efforts, to support leaders and groups who are seeking to gain public office and make public policy. Voting, participating in a campaign, and fighting for a particular political faction are all examples of such supports. *Secondly,* there are supports called subject-supports or compliance. This category includes material support, such as payment of taxes ; obedience to law and regulations, and attention paid to governmental communication and respect for authority, symbols or ceremonies.

Inputs do not necessarily come from the society of which political system is a part. Very often inputs are generated internally by political elites—kings, presidents, ministers, law-makers and judges. Inputs may also come from the international system in the forms of threats, invasions, and assistance from foreign political systems. Thus, inputs come from three sources *viz.* domestic society, political elites and international environment.

Outputs may be of four different types. They are : (*i*) extractions which may take the form of tribute, personal service or taxes ; (*ii*) regulation of behaviour ; (*iii*) distribution of goods, services, honours and titles ; and (*iv*) statement of policies and affirmation of values.

The Capabilities of Political Systems. Almond and Powell have emphasised the capabilities of political systems. Neither the traditional nor the Marxian approaches gave any importance to capabilities. Almond and Powell have pointed out two reasons for the capabilities approach being more precise and comprehensive. Firstly, it is useful for comparative examination of political systems not merely from structural point of view, but on the basis of functional differentiation, political

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13.   David Easton : *Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems, p.* 390.

culture and development. Secondly, the capabilities approach enables us to deal with the problem of political change. "When we introduce capabilities level of analysis we enhance not only our capacity for scientific prediction and explanation, but also our capability to talk about policies as they may affect political change in desired direction."[14] Almond and Powell have specified six capabilities of political systems. The are : extractive, regulative, distributive, symbolic, responsive, and international. *First* : The political system should possess capability to extract the resources required by it from the social system. *Second* : The system should regulate human activities so that it may exercise control over the behaviour of individuals and groups. *Third* : The system should possess high distributive capability so that it may efficiently allocate goods, services and honour etc. *Fourth* : Celebrations of national days, parades, award of national honours have symbolic importance. These symbolic outputs are important indicator of the political legitimacy of the system. *Fifth* : Responsible capability is not, strictly speaking, an output function. It establishes a relationship between inputs and outputs. It is a feedback loop. It informs the government about the reaction of the people to its policy decisions and also their expectations from the system. *Sixth* : The first five capabilities are domestic in nature. International capability of any system depends on the factors like military and economic power, spheres of influence and ideological following.

Mitchell on Political System. William Mitchell has offered further improvement over the models of Easton as well as Almond and Powell. *Demands* and *Supports*, according to Mitchell, do not account for all the inputs in a system. He adds *Expectations* (what people expect), and *Resources*, which are so vital for the operation of the system. Similarly, on the output side, he includes goals, values, and controls. Every political system has certain goals, such as social welfare, protection of weaker sections, education for masses, and economic prosperity. They represent aggregate of demands and expectations of the people. Values and costs refer to distribution of limited values and costs thereof. Lastly, controls represent mechanism of the system. It is through the controls that goals and values are implemented. His model is explained with the help of Figure 3, reproduced below :

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14.   Almond and Powell : *Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach*, p. 50.
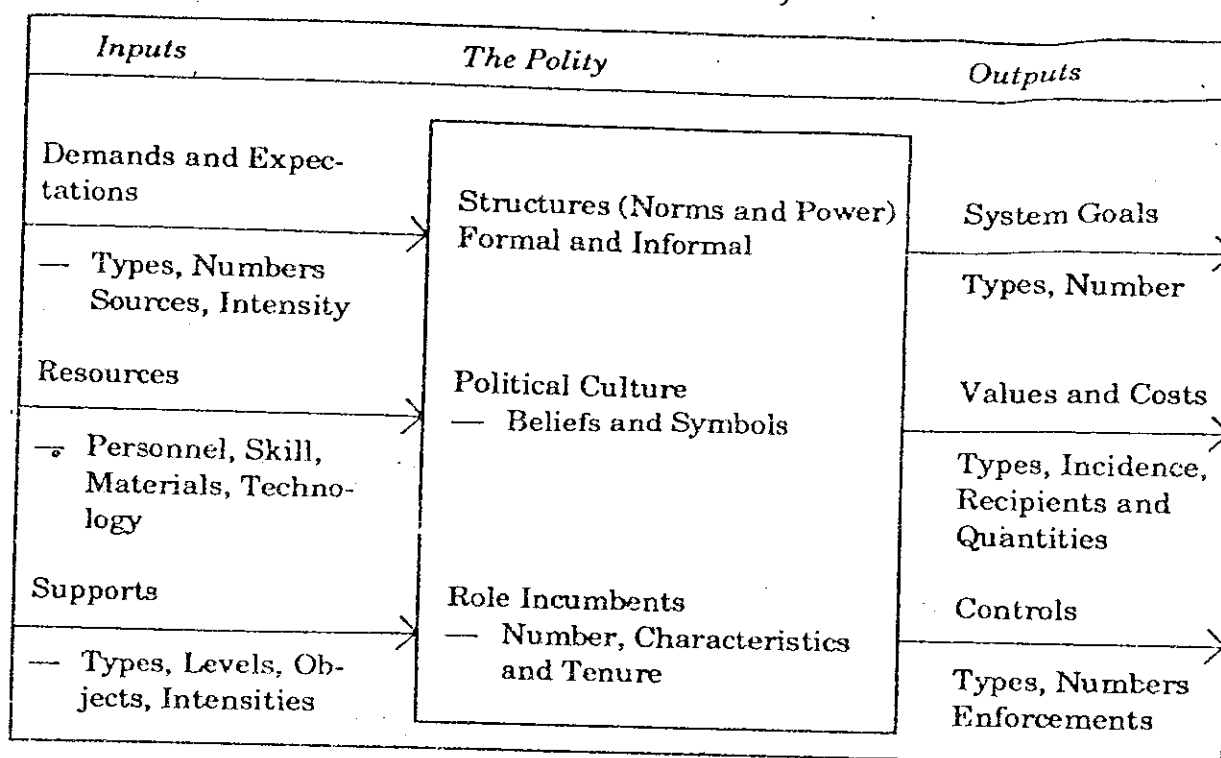
Inputs	*The Polity*	*Outputs*
Demands and Expectations	Structures (Norms and Power) Formal and Informal	System Goals
— Types, Numbers Sources, Intensity		Types, Number
Resources	Political Culture — Beliefs and Symbols	Values and Costs
—σ Personnel, Skill, Materials, Technology		Types, Incidence, Recipients and Quantities
Supports	Role Incumbents — Number, Characteristics and Tenure	Controls
— Types, Levels, Objects, Intensities		Types, Numbers Enforcements

Fig. 3

An important contribution of Mitchell is his idea of equilibrium. The system is in equilibrium when the demands and expectations of members have been met. The polity is, generally speaking, always in the motion turning demands and expectations, resources and supports into goals, values and costs.

Evaluation of the Systems Analysis. The political system analysis has made comparative study of politics easy, because it is based on the examination of an entire system rather than the political institutions alone. This analysis helps us understand various factors that make a system efficient and stable. We can make some prediction about the coming political events. The critics, however, point out that the system analysis is obsessed with the idea that no event is free from an entire system. Most of the hypotheses of the scholars of systems theory are abstract. It is, therefore, not possible to make their empirical investigation. Thirdly, psychological factors are ignored in the political system approach. Fourthly, the systems approach is incapable of examining the revolutionary changes. It is based on the concept that all changes are part of a developmental process. Finally, the political system approach is not independent. It is a part of the sociological study.

Actually, it is too early to evaluate the real role and importance of the system analysis. Its importance may be realised only after this approach is broadly accepted for the study of comparative politics. Nevertheless, we must accept that the systems analysis has gone a long way in giving a real scientific outlook to the study of comparative politics.

2. STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Structural-functional approach of Comparative Politics is closely related to the systems analysis. The political system is treated as a sub-system of social system. A political system itself is composed of several structures. They perform different functions. It is essential that the structures of a system perform their functions in such a way that the system keeps on working in a smooth manner. The traditional theory of separation of powers divided the government into three branches—legislature, executive and judiciary. It was believed that each of these organs must perform only a specified function, and should not interfere in the jurisdiction of the other two organs. This rigid separation was possible in the nineteenth century. But, with the introduction of democracy and emergence of political parties the situation became complicated. In the new situation several American scholars tried to search for an approach that would consider an entire system rather than 'state', 'government' or 'sovereignty'. Prominent among the advocates of structural-functional approach are Almond, Apter and Easton. The term 'state' is rather legalistic and institutional. It has been replaced by a comprehensive term "political system". Similarly, legal term "power" has been replaced by sociological term "function". The term 'institutions' has been similarly replaced by 'structures'. 'Public opinion' has given way to 'political culture' and 'citizenship training' has been replaced by 'political socialisation'. Thus, in place of institutional approach, we now have comprehensive sociological approach called Structural-Functional Analysis. This approach has been derived from Anthropology and Sociology. Its earliest advocates were Redcliffe Brown, Marion Levy and Merton. But, the concept was actually refined by Talcott Parsons. He applied the system analysis to his sociological inquires.

Almond and Coleman were the first Political Scientists who scientifically examined the structural-functional approach, and applied it to Comparative Politics. In their books, *The Politics of Developing Areas*, and *Comparative Politics—A Development Approach*, Almond and Coleman assert that a political system is a unit that affects the environment and is affected by the environment. The following attributes are expected in a political system : Comprehensiveness, Interdependence, Boundaries and Open System. Almond has emphasised both stability and change in the Structural-Functional approach. Political system, according to Almond and Coleman, "is that system of interactions which can be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation... by means of the employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. The political system is the legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in the society... Legitimate

force is the thread that runs through the inputs and outputs of the political system giving it quality and salience and its coherence as a system."[15]

Almond and Powell have accepted the model of David Easton for the Structural-Functional approach. There are three stages of the approach. They are : inputs, conversion, and outputs. Each system has several structures. All of them affect the working of other structures. If a human body is a system, it has various organs, such as heart, brain, eyes, ears, hands, liver and kidneys etc. All of them are interdependent. They perform their functions which cannot but affect other organs of the system. Similarly, political parties, pressure groups, legislature, executive, bureaucracy and judiciary all are interdependent, and perform functions of conversion of inputs into outputs. The following figure will explain Almond's Structural-Functional approach (Fig. 4.)

Almond's approach is also known as the Seven-Function Analysis. His structures perform seven functions. They are : Political socialisation and Recruitment, Interest Articulation, Interest Aggregation, and Political Communication (input functions) ; and Rule-Making, Rule-Application, and Rule-Adjudication as output functions. How these functions are performed by the political system is important to know to enable us to compare various political systems.

Inputs of a Political System

(a) **Political Socialisation and Recruitment.** Political socialisation is basic function of a system for regulation of input. In traditional language we used the term training of citizenship. This is a life-long process and involves formation of attitudes. In modern language of comparative politics, the same process is explained with the help of broader term of political socialisation. The nature of political socialisation would tell us what type of demands and supports are likely to enter the system from the environment. We may say that it is the environment that determines socialisation process in any given society. According to Almond and Powell (Jr.), "Political socialisation is the process by which political cultures are formed, maintained and changed."[16] They insist that the process continues throughout life. "Attitudes may be initially formed in childhood, but they are always being adapted as the individual goes through political and social experiences."[17] Sometime a major dramatic event may provide a sudden resocialisation of an entire nation. David Easton and Jack Dennis express similar views. They say that political socialisation are "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orien-

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15. Almond and Coleman, *The Politics of Developing Areas*, p. 7.
16. Almond & Powell, op. cit., p. 79.
17. Ibid.

tations and patterns of behaviour."[18] And, according to Roberta Sigel, "The goal of political socialisation is to so train or develop individuals that they become well-functioning members of the political society..."[19]

Almond's Structural—Functional Approach

ENVIRONMENT

Input	Conversion Process		Output
Demands	*Political*	*Governmental*	
Distribution of things	Interest Articulation	Rule Making	Extractive
Behaviour Regulative			
	Interest Aggregation	Rule Application	Regulative
Political Participation			
Communication	Political Communication	Rule Adjustment	Distributive
Supports			
			Symbolic
Material Obedience Participation Deference			

Political System

Political Socialisation and Recruitment
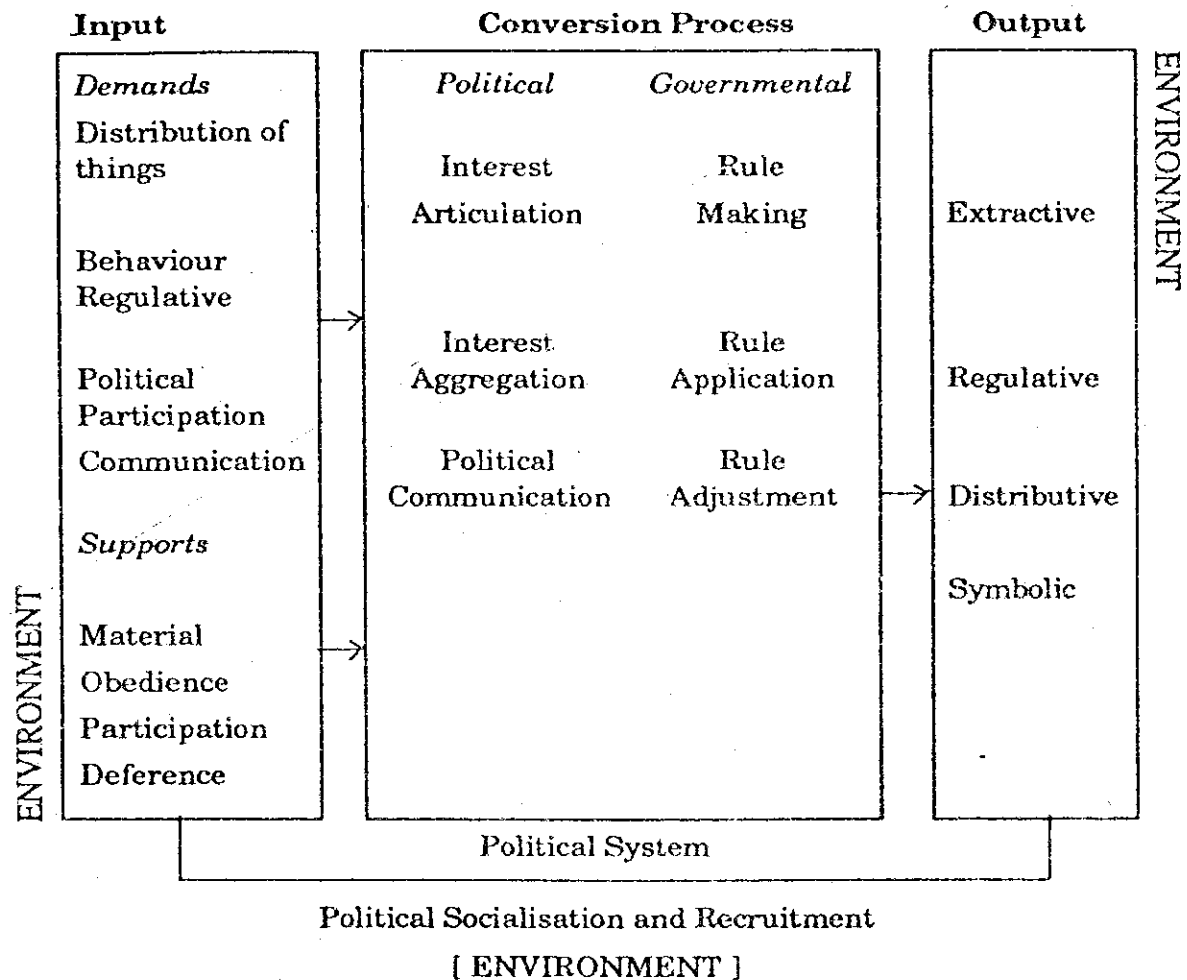
[ENVIRONMENT]

Fig. 4

Although the process of attitude formation is a life-long one, yet early experience may be of great importance in several ways. A child can be easily managed by those who wish to socialise him. In the later years, attitudes get hardened, and it is seldom that they are radically changed. However, a great war or an economic depression can constitute a severe political shock for millions of individuals, thus reshaping the political culture and making for resocialisation. There are primary as well as secondary socialisation influences. The role of family, school, religion and work group is important primary influence. Among the secondary influences most important are political parties, mass media and governmental institutions. Political parties play an important part of moulding

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18.   David Easton & Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System*, p. 7.
19.   Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values", in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1965.

the attitudes of the people. In totalitarian states, the only party that exists compels people to adopt only specified attitude. It does not give them an opportunity for resocialisation. Almond is of the opinion that in comparing political systems it is very important to examine the structures of socialisation, their functions and styles.

- Recruitment is another important regulatory instrument of inputs. Dealing with recruitment, Almond and Powell give the example of a car. They say, "For an automobile to perform efficiently on the road, parts must be lubricated, repaired and replaced..." "In a political system the incumbents of various roles (diplomats, military officials, tax officials) must be recruited to these roles, and learn how to perform in them."[20] Every political system must have some way of filling the roles in the political structures. Positions of different importance are to be filled through recruitment. Many people may like to become presidents, ministers, senior civil servants, but not so many persons want to become clerks. But, recruitment function must be performed for each role.

The interaction between political socialisation and recruitment is a continuous process. Te process of socialisation prepares different individuals for definite roles in the political system. Patterns of recruitment vary from system to system. Citizens are recruited for various roles in a system. They are : participant role, subject role and elite role. Proper socialisation for a specific role is essential for the success of the system.

(b) **Interest Articulation.** The people have problems. They make demands for rectification of their problems. In other words, people convey their demand to the government. This process is called "interest articulation". According to Almond and Powell, "The political process is set in motion when some group makes a political demand. This process of demand making is called interest articulation."[21] There are numerous ways in which interest articulation is achieved. In a simple system people of a village may talk to their 'headman' or *Sarpanch* who will convey demands of the people to the authorities. In a monarchy, subjects of a king may seek an audience with the ruler and convey their demands to him. In a totalitarian system, interest articulation may be generated by the party. Following examples show how interest articulation may be achieved. A citizen writes to his representative in the Parliament for assistance in obtaining a small business loan. Students of Delhi University meet the Minister of Information and Broadcasting for concession in cinema tickets. British labour leaders protest against a wage freeze at the Annual Conference of the Labour Party. And, a delegation of Indian women pleads with the Police Commissioner for effective action against dowry seekers. Interest articulation is very often done by the

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20. Almond & Powell, op cit., p. 14.
21. Ibid, p. 169.

tations and patterns of behaviour."[18] And, according to Roberta Sigel, "The goal of political socialisation is to so train or develop individuals that they become well-functioning members of the political society..."[19]

Almond's Structural—Functional Approach

ENVIRONMENT

Input	Conversion Process		Output
Demands	*Political*	*Governmental*	
Distribution of things	Interest Articulation	Rule Making	Extractive
Behaviour Regulative			
Political Participation	Interest Aggregation	Rule Application	Regulative
Communication	Political Communication	Rule Adjustment	Distributive
Supports			Symbolic
Material Obedience Participation Deference			

(left side vertical: ENVIRONMENT) (right side vertical: ENVIRONMENT)

Political System

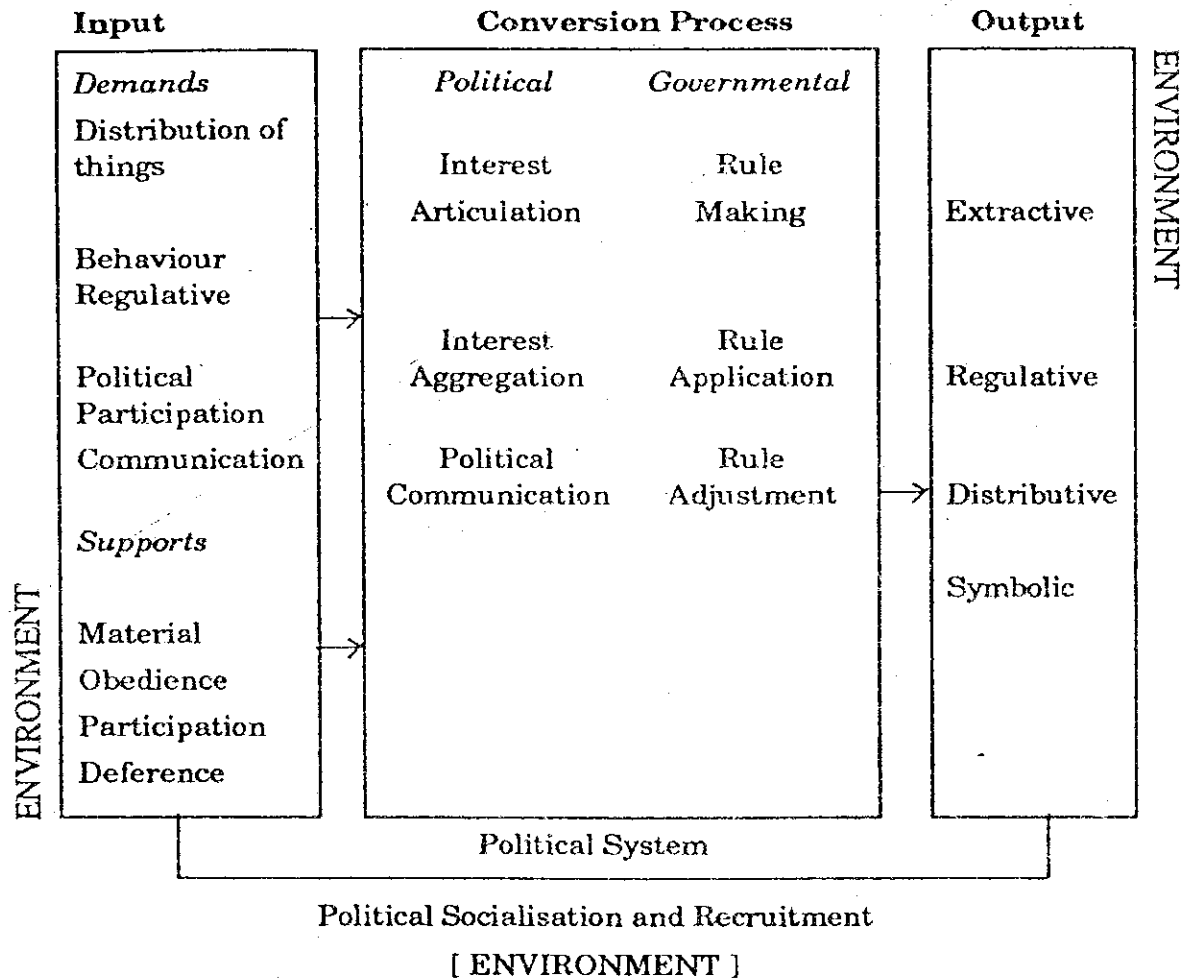Political Socialisation and Recruitment

[ENVIRONMENT]

Fig. 4

Although the process of attitude formation is a life-long one, yet early experience may be of great importance in several ways. A child can be easily managed by those who wish to socialise him. In the later years, attitudes get hardened, and it is seldom that they are radically changed. However, a great war or an economic depression can constitute a severe political shock for millions of individuals, thus reshaping the political culture and making for resocialisation. There are primary as well as secondary socialisation influences. The role of family, school, religion and work group is important primary influence. Among the secondary influences most important are political parties, mass media and governmental institutions. Political parties play an important part of moulding

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18. David Easton & Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System*, p. 7.
19. Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values", in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1965.

the attitudes of the people. In totalitarian states, the only party that exists compels people to adopt only specified attitude. It does not give them an opportunity for resocialisation. Almond is of the opinion that in comparing political systems it is very important to examine the structures of socialisation, their functions and styles.

- Recruitment is another important regulatory instrument of inputs. Dealing with recruitment, Almond and Powell give the example of a car. They say, "For an automobile to perform efficiently on the road, parts must be lubricated, repaired and replaced..." "In a political system the incumbents of various roles (diplomats, military officials, tax officials) must be recruited to these roles, and learn how to perform in them."[20] Every political system must have some way of filling the roles in the political structures. Positions of different importance are to be filled through recruitment. Many people may like to become presidents, ministers, senior civil servants, but not so many persons want to become clerks. But, recruitment function must be performed for each role.

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20. Almond & Powell, op cit., p. 14.
21. Ibid, p. 169.

interest groups in democratic countries. The demands that thus enter the system are converted into outputs.

(c) **Interest Aggregation.** The function of converting demands into major policy alternatives is called interest aggregation. "Demands become major policy alternatives when they are backed by substantial political resources." Policy resources mean votes of citizens who support candidates, votes of members of Parliament, and support of civil servants. Political aggregation consists of the process that converts demands into policy alternatives and mobilises resources behind these policy alternatives.

The annual convention of a political party receives demands and complaints of labour unions as well as business organisations, of university authorities as well as students, of minority community as well as the majority community. The convention then bargains and compromises these conflicting interests into some form of policy statement that most people may support. Such a policy based on compromise of conflicting interests can be the best example of interest aggregation. Similarly, when our Planning Commission brings about a compromise between demand of the Education Ministry for more funds and of the Finance Ministry for reduction of expenses, it is performing the function of interest aggregation. In other words, various demands are aggregated into a generally accepted policy, which is then communicated to the political system for necessary conversion. As students of comparative politics we can compare various political systems by analysing different ways of interest aggregation. Almond considers bureaucracy and political parties as two specialised structures which help convert articulated demands into interest aggregation. Role of parties, however, depends upon nature of the system — democratic, authoritarian, totalitarian.

(d) **Political Communication.** The term communication means transmission of message from one person to another person or group of persons. No social or political interaction is possible without proper communication. "Political life is a form of social behaviour", write Almond and Powell, "and all social activity depends on communication."[22] Attitude formation (socialisation) as well as continuing behaviour depend on the communication of information between individuals. The demands that have been articulated and aggregated are communicated to the rule-makers. Various structures within a system communicate for proper discharge of their functions. Legislators, ministers, civil servants, judges must communicate for smooth functioning of a system. According to Almond there are five types of communication structures. They are : (a) informal face-to-face contacts with friends, neighbours and

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22. Ibid, p. 14.

colleagues; (*b*) traditional social structures, like family and religious associations; (*c*) political output structures (legislatures) ; (*d*) political input structures (political parties and interest groups; and (*e*) mass-media (newspapers, magazines, radio and television). While first two methods are informal, the rest are formal structures of political communication. The formal communication structures convey aggregated demands to the decision-makers, and their decisions, rules and policies are transmitted to the people.

Output Functions of a Political System

(*e*) **Rule-Making Function.** The traditional term 'legislation' has been replaced by the modern writers by a broader term 'rule-making'. The inputs received by the government structures are set out as outputs. Rule-making is a vital function. It is basically performed by the legislatures. The demands are converted into policies and rules. It is not *only* the legislature which makes rules. Once the laws are enacted, they are supplemented by various rules made by the bureaucracy and even the judges. According to Almond, the term 'legislative' indicates a specialised structure and a definite process, whereas 'rule-making' is a diffuse process.

Thus, the latter term is preferable in modern context. Rule-making function is usually divided into three sub-functions—initiation, modification and vetoing. These imply preparation and introduction of bills, adoption of bills, and assent or veto of the bills respectively.[23] Rule-making structures vary from system to system. In democracies, rules are made after people's demands are articulated and aggregated by political parties and interest groups. In authoritarian systems rule-making is initiated as well as formulated according to wishes of the top leadership.

(*f*) **Rule-Application Function.** The second vital output function of a political system is rule-application. It is essentially performed by the civil servants under the supervision of the ministers. Rule-application is a modern term for enforcement and administration of laws. Lasswell prefers to call it "invocation and application". The bureaucracy is surely the core of modern government. It monopolises the output function of the political system. The civil servants, as we have seen participate very effectively even in rule-making. They enforce the rules, or laws, and while doing so they make further rules and regulations. The power of delegated legislation is used by the civil servants for making additional rules.

(*g*) **Rule-Adjudication Function.** Generally speaking, rule-adjudication function is judicial in nature. The political system, for its

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23. Thus, everyone from civil servants, particularly of Law Ministry, upto the President are in one way or the other participants in rule-making.

efficiency, ensures that the rules are acceptable to the society. Maintenance of balance is vital for every political system. When we talk of rule-adjudication we do not mean that this function is performed only by the judiciary or that the judiciary does not perform any other function. Actually, very often judicial pronouncements amount to rules and the function of making rules is rule-making. Similarly, structures of rule-application are often involved in rule-adjudication. Civil servants perform several functions which are semi-judicial in nature.

Conclusion. Almond, it appears, gives more importance to the input functions of the system. He categorises input functions as political in nature, the output functions as governmental functions. Almond believes that the structure become more specialised when a system is highly developed. Almond, actually advocates his theory of political change with the help of structural-functional analysis. It is quite close to the model of Parsons.

David Easton and Gabriel Almond have considerably influenced modern study of comparative politics. they have many common variables in their models. However, while Almond's emphasis is on Structural-Functional approach, Easton is essentially pioneer of Systems Analysis or input-output approach. There are many other scholars like Apter and Lassell who have also made valuable contribution in this respect.

3. POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

Political modernisation is an approach of comparing modern political systems. Political institutions and values keep on changing. Changes are often made by revolutions, but in many cases the societies undergo gradual evolutionary changes. There are several categories of stability and instability in between these two extremes. Sociological and political researchers try to measure these factors of change. There are various methods of measuring this process of change, which are collectively known as 'political modernisation'. Almond has classified these measures into traditional, transitional, and modern. The purpose of this classification is to determine the extent of elements of modernization in various political systems.

Apter has used the term modernization in the context of sociological—particularly economic—change. According to him, development is inevitable. "Like the flow of goods and services in economic life (business goes where profit is to be had), modernization takes place where it is most easily accepted or wanted. We will call modernization the transfer of roles from metropole to periphery."[24] According to Apter, there are

24. David E. Apter, *Introduction to Political Analysis,* Winthrop Publishers, Cambridge, p. 469.

four stages of modernization. In the early stages modernization begins with a few hardy enterprising individuals with a particularly strong sense of mission. They are the pioneers. Historically, they paved the way for institutions of innovation within the context of colonialism. For example the British colonised North America and India. Thus, in the first stage, there was contact between colonial and local populations. As local elites formed, new social formations arose. In the second stage, local people drew into closer contact with the foreigners. The foreign elites created urban centres, or transformed those that already existed. This was the process of consolidation of empire. "The mystique of empire was that if the 'civilised' nations would bring the benefits of the markets, education and Christianity to the 'savages', the latter would prosper."[25] Thus, 'primitive' countries were opened up. But, exploitation was carried out. In Africa, for example slave trade was promoted. In the third stage, demand for independence was made mainly by those who were educated by the rulers themselves. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, had been edeveated in England. He led the movement for India's freedom. Mass movements were created. Local elites demanded share in the governance of the country. The fourth stage, according to Apter, is marked by political rather than economic modernization. Most nations achieved independence, and decided to develop themselves economically and politically. Today, the problem for developing nations is to use political independence to produce more viable and effective communities. -

The following figure given by Apter is meant to demonstrate the stages of modernization, which is described as "Unilinear Model of Political Modernization."

STAGES OF MODERNIZATION
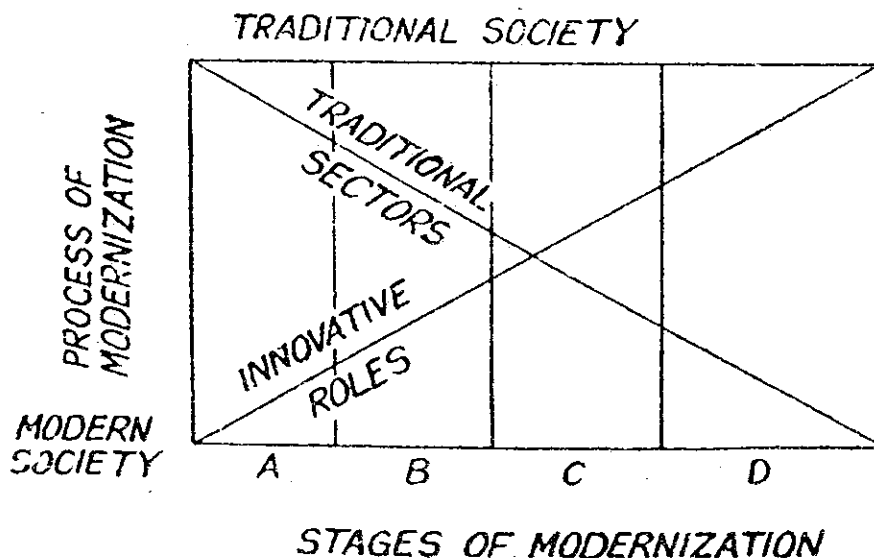
Edward Shils has described the desire of traditional societies to

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25.   Ibid, pp. 469-70.

'liberate' themselves from the west as modernization. Shils believes that various aspects of social life must be studied in order to understand the political modernization in broader context. Political change and modernization is to be examined in the context of inter-related factors of industrialisation, urbanisation, education, commerce, culture and sociological development. According to Coleman, "A modern society is characterised, among other things, by a comparatively high degree of urbanization, wide-spread literacy, comparatively high per capita income, expensive geographical and social mobility, a relatively high degree of commercialization the industrialisation of the economy, an extensive and penetrative network of mass communication media, and in general by widespread participation and involvement by members of the society in modern, social and economic process."[26] All the traditional social and political structures have undergone substantial change as a result of modernization. One important aspect of political modernisation is changed relationship between elite and common man.

The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa are rapidly trying to modernize themselves. Their political institutions were, generally speaking, based on models of the erstwhile ruling countries. In many of them democracy failed, and military dictatorships were soon established. Later, people asserted their power and re-established democracy, as in Bangladesh. The different levels of modernization reached in the developed, developing and under-developed countries is an important basis on which comparative politics can be studied.

4. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political Development, or Developmentalism as Apter would prefer to call it, is another systematic approach to the study of Comparative Politics. This approach is very close to Political Modernization. It "implies a progression toward a goal by means of economic growth."[27] Just as democracy is regarded by traditional writers as embodiment of philosophical ideas of societal good, so to the developmentalists, the conclusion to a period of change is "part of an evolutionary, cyclical or repeating history of industrial nations".

Several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America attained freedom from the western imperialism, after the Second World War. These countries are collectively called the Third World. The Third World countries decided to rapidly industrialise themselves. They had numerous social, economic and political problems. In most of them democracy as a form of government did not succeed. Modern Political Scientists

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26. James S. Coleman, 'The Political System of the Developing Areas', in *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Almond and Coleman' ed.), p. 532.
27. Apter, op. cit., p. 455.

tried to evolve a new approach to the study of politics of these developing countries, so that they could find answers to several problems. They adopted the Development approach to understand problems of institutions, culture and politics of the developing countries. The concept of political development was provided by Max Weber, Radcliffe Brown and Talcott Parsons and developed by scholars like Apter, Coleman and Lucian Pye.

The concept of developmentalism has been variously defined. According to S.N. Eisenstadt, the concept of political development involves the ability of the political system "to absorb varieties and changing types of political demands and organisations. It also includes the skill to deal with new and changing types of problems which the system produces or which it must absorb from outside source."[28] William Chambers says, "Political development may be understood as a movement towards political system which is capable of handling the loads it confronts, characterized by significant differentiation of structures, and specifity of function, increasingly centralized and able to maintain itself".[29]

There is some confusion about various definitions of developmental approach. However, Lucian Pye had dealt with ten prevailing notions of the concept. It will not be proper to explain all of them in detail in this brief section of political development approach. We may only mention these notions. They are : Political Development as the political prerequisite of economic development; Political Development as the politics— typical of industrial societies; Political Development as political modernization; Political Development as nation-building; Political Development as administrative and legal development; Political Development as mass mobilization and participation; Political Development as the building of democracy; Political Development as stability and orderly change; Political Development as mobilization and power; and Political Development as one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change.

Lucian Pye has tried to locate common points in these ten notions. The three common features are : (a) *Equality* (participation by all in the political process, equality before law and recruitment to political offices on the basis of certain achievement standards, and not ascriptive considerations); (b) *Capacity*—(political outputs, governmental performance, effectiveness and efficiency, and rationality in administration); and (c) *Differentiation*—(specialisation of structures based on an ulti-

28.   S.N. Eisenstadt, in Joseph Lapalombara (ed.) *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, p. 16.

29.   William N. Chambers, in Lapalombara and Weiner (ed.), *Political Parties and Political Development*, pp. 87-88.

mate sense of integration). Pye felt that tensions are likely to occur in reconciling these three dimensions of political development. The three dimensions are explained thus :

Dimensions of Political Development

Three Dimensions of Political Development	Relevant Components of Political System
Equality	Political culture and sentiments about legitimacy and commitment to the system.
Capacity	The performance of the *authoritarian structures* of government.
Differentiation	The performance of the non-authoritarian structures and the general political process in the society at large.

Apter correctly opines that the change from a non-developed or underdeveloped to a developed society is an extremely complex transition. He says that, "the faith in development as mankind's hope is dimmed by practice..."[30] Nevertheless, development process must continue. Apter goes on to comment that most developing countries build tough one-party states, military regimes or corporatist governments in the process of modernising themselves. But, this is not universally true. The fact remains that every country is trying to develop and to modernize. Different third world countries have different problems and varying solutions. The study of politics of these third world countries can be effectively pursued by examining their political (and economic) development. Dealing with the "political economy of development", Almond and Powell write : "Political development has specifically referred, first, to the rise of specialized political executive and bureaucratic agencies capable of setting collective goals and implementing them ... second, it has been used to mean the rise of ... political parties, interest groups, and communication media ..."[31] The developing role of these structures in various countries should be carefully compared and analysed as a significant new approach of Comparative Politics.

Development and Underdevelopment : The intimate relationship between economy and politics must be carefully studied to understand the modern comparative political analysis. It is suggested that for a very long time the mankind has lived in a 'single world economic system.' Andre Gunder Frank, dealing with the single system says : "Its fundamentally unvarying unequal structure and uneven development

30. David Apter, op. cit., pp. 456-57
31. Almond and Powell (Jr.) op. cit., p. 358.

has, as its mode of production, been based on and reproduced the polarisation of owned wealth and disowned poverty, of development and underdevelopment, and of periods of cyclical expansions and stagnation."[32] The argument is that the world system, at different periods, has experienced both development and undevelopment. This has been the result of class-based exploitation. Underdevelopment is not just lack of development. It is not simply a comparison between some areas which are more developed than the other. Both development and underdevelopment are related to each other. In an essay On Development and Underdevelopment, Frank insists that, "development and underdevelopment are also related, both through the common historical process that they have shared during the past several centuries and through the mutual, that is reciprocal, influence that they have, on each other throughout history."[33] Frank and many other scholars have argued that in the period after industrial revolution, division of the world into developed and underdeveloped regions is caused by capitalist exploitation. The liftist view is that "underdevelopment developed in intimate relation into the development of the now developed countries" which is the result of historical process of capitalist development. According to Yves Lacoste, "underdevelopment results fundamentally from the intrusion of the capitalist system." He also says that, "the present state of the underdeveloped countries, from the economic as well as social point of view, comes from the rise in England at the end of 18th century of this complex phenomenon called the industrial revolution." This theory is that industrial revolution brought into existence the system of capitalism, which in turn created underdevelopment in its own class interest. However, Lacoste does not say that every colony is necessarily underdeveloped or that every industrialised country is a developed country. Thus, he argues that "not all colonised countries became underdeveloped (USA, Australia) ..." Lacoste also wrote that Japan is the only underdeveloped industrialised country. In fact Japan is the only country which was never colonised and whose ruling class itself decided to develop the country and did that before she could become incorporated into "the colonialist-imperialist-capitalist system."

Referring to various interpretations of dependency Ronald H. Chilcote says that idea of modernisation seems to have originated in the nineteenth century in the belief "that the Western world would civilize other backward areas by spreading Western values, capital and technology." He adds, it was hoped that "underdeveloped areas would evolve into

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32. Andre Gunder Frank : *Crisis and Transformation of Dependency in the World System*, in Chilcote & Johnson (ed.), *Theories of Development*, 1983, p. 181.
33. Andre Gunder Frank, *On Capitalist underdevelopment*, Oxford, 1975, p. 1.

developed, modern nations along path charted in the West."[34] This means that Western capitalism took upon itself the task of developing some and depriving others of development.

The dependency theory is based on an examination of relationship between the developed *metropole* and underdeveloped *periphery*. Frank concludes that the "capitalist productive organisation in the underdeveloped countries relegates owners of large scale land, domestic trade, international commerce, industry, finance all together to bourgeoisie." While conflicts do still occur between capitalists in different developed countries, the participation of above mentioned groups in capitalist economic system relegates them to the bourgeoisie in company with those of other countries both developed and underdeveloped. "By virtue of their relation in the productive process to the proletariat, these capitalists in one underdeveloped country are allied to analogous ones elsewhere and to the bourgioisie in remainder of the periphery and in the metropole."[35]

After the Second World War two traditions had emerged. A nationalist developmentalist view was concerned with the prospects of reforming capitalism in the periphery; the other tradition not only opposed outside influence but urged revolutionary means to overcome imperialism and transform underdevelopment. The nationalist sentiment in the periphery was accompanied by an outcry against imperialism, demands that national resources be preserved, and insistence that the domestic economy be transformed through "state-guided national capitalism". This view emphasised nationalism and autonomy to oppose the exploitative tendencies of world market and multinational corporations.

The opposite trend was revolutionary in outlook, opposed imperialism and presented capitalism as a negative force in the periphery. The nationalist economist Raul Prebisch had divided the world into two parts, a centre of industrialised countries and a periphery of underdeveloped countries. Prominent among the revolutionary leftist intellectual circles was Frondizi, and Argentinian Marxist. He was one of the first to focus on the questions of underdevelopment and dependency. He argued that capitalism, not feudalism, was responsible for the underdevelopment and dependency on world capitalism. According to this view dependency on capitalism is the major cause of underdevelopment of what we call the Third World. However, Warren, in his *Imperialism : Pioneer of Capitalism*, argued that capitalism as an agent of social and economic progress must be considered in analyses of dependency and

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34. Chilcote : *Dependency on Mode of Production?* in Chilcote & Johnson (ed.) : *Theories of Development*, p. 9.

35. Frank : *On Capitalist Underdevelopment*, p. 94.

imperialism, and that capitalism is a prerequisite to socialism. Warren insisted that, contrary to contemporary. Marxist view, the prospects are good for capitalist development in underdeveloped peripheral areas.

Andre Frank summarises his thesis on capitalist underdevelopment by saying that, "Underdevelopment, no less than development itself is the product but also part of the motive power of capitalism." Capitalist development, he argued, has been a fundamentally contradic- tory development based on exploitation, and resulting at the same time in development and underdevelopment, Associated with the growth of powerful states, the expansion of mercantalism-capitalism led to the development of a metropole and, related to it through ties of commerce and force, of a periphery. The metropole has been variously related to colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The metropole exploited the periphery in such a way and to such an extent that "the metropole became what we today call developed while the periphery became what we now call underdeveloped."[36] Frank adds that the same basic contra- dictions of capitalism have created development and underdevelopment *within* the metropole, and also *within* the periphery. Thus, there are further divisions between development and underdevelopment inter- nally within both the developed metropole and underdeveloped periph- ery.

Capitalism, and particularly the single world capitalist system, has neither changed, nor can change its "exploitative structure and charac- ter." The leftist scholars insist that the capitalist system continues to operate as development of development and the development of the underdevelopment maintains itself both at national and international levels. Frank and other Marxists try to convince us that only those people have been able to escape underdevelopment who have discarded capitalism and adopted socialism. Frank tells us : "Only the develop- ment of socialism has permitted any people already suffering from metropolitan produced peripheral underdevelopment to excape from the structure of the world capitalist system and from its consequent underdevelopment."

These views of Marxist scholars cannot be accepted without ques- tion. Capitalism indeed has several exploitative tendencies and prac- tices, and the system has surely been responsible for division of the world into developed North and under-developed South—between metropole and the periphery. But, their assertion that only socialism has enabled certain countries to escape underdevelopment has proved to be largely untrue. The sudden collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union and the disclosure of lack of development in certain sectors in these countries goes to prove that all was not well with the socialist

36. Frank : *op. cit,* p. 95.

system adopted in these countries. Large scale liberalisation in some of the erstwhile socialist countries as well as many Third World nations, with its attendant evils, has been widely welcomed in the "socialist developed" as well as Third World non-socialist countries. Economic liberalisation initiated in last decade of twentieth century in countries like India may succeed in many cases in speeding up their development. If that happens the view that only socialism is a sure guarantee of development may not be universally accepted.

5. MARXIST-LENINIST APPROACH

Marxist-Leninist approach is largely based on the theories propounded by Karl Marx in the nineteenth century. These are still accepted by the Communists as basic or of eternal value. Lenin's interpretation is very valuable. Thus, Marxism-Leninism, as an approach of Comparative Politics, though not new, is still considered 'modern'.

Several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America attained independence, as we have seen earlier, after the Second World War. Most of them adopted liberal democracy, but democratic governments could not last long in many of them. These new countries decided to go ahead with rapid social, economic and political development. Traditional values of politics, and methods of study of political institutions became irrelevant in these countries. Many of the countries of the "third world" were undergoing rapid, and even revolutionary, changes. Scholars of comparative politics were keen to evolve an approach that could enable the students to systematically examine the politics and revolutionary changes of the third world countries. We have explained earlier in this chapter different approaches adopted by the western, particularly American, scholars. Marxist-Leninist approach also attracted attention of the scholars of Comparative Politics. Soviet union has emerged as one of the "super powers". Communist governments had assumed political control in several East European countries. Communist revolution in China had overthrown Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt government. In view of rapid adoption of communism, it became imperative to pay due attention to the Marxist-Leninist approach of study of comparative politics. It was felt that politics of developing countries could be easily generated with the help of Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Meaning and Characteristics of Marxist-Leninist Approach. The advocates of Marxist-Leninist approach firmly believe in the following premises : (*i*) Marxist-Leninists give very little importance to the formal political institutions; (*ii*) they believe that the problems of developing countries can be easily examined according to

Marxist-Leninist approaches of state-power, class-structure and industrialisation; (*iii*) they believe that communist ideology must be accepted in order to examine the political systems of the developing countries; and (*iv*) they raise general, rather than specific, problems and seek generalised solutions to these problems. These premises may be briefly explained thus :

(*i*)   Advocates of Marxist-Leninist approach admit that political institutions have to exist in every system, yet they give them very little importance. In this respect this approach is similar to other modern approaches, like the System Analysis. Formal institutions lost importance even in western models after the introduction of behaviouralism. Thus, Marxist-Leninist approach is concerned more with the socio-economic-political processes than political institutions.

(*ii*)   It is argued that the outlook of developing countries in respect of power, class-structure, and industrialisation is similar to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. For example, the concept of democracy in developing countries is closer to Marxian democracy rather than the concept of liberal democracy. Actually, western type of democracy has failed in many of the third world countries.

(*iii*)   An important feature of Marxist-Leninist approach is that, like other modern approaches, it is inter-disciplinary in nature. They believe that important national questions get unnecessarily divided, in the traditional approaches, between separate disciplines of economics, political science, sociology, etc. No proper solution can be found when experts look at the problems from narrow angle. Therefore, Marxist-Leninist scholars consider an entire political system as one unit, and try to find solutions of all problems in the framework of a single system.

(*iv*)   Marxist-Leninist approach has its clearly set-out variables and ideology. In the western comparative analysis new ideas are evolved for the solution of every problem. Unlike that, Marxists have set ideas about class-war and dictatorship of proletariat etc. They apply the same ideas in every situation, and seek generalised solutions.

The points discussed above reveal that in many respects Marxist-Leninist approach is similar to the western approaches. However, there is one basic difference. Unlike Western scholars, Marxist-Leninist scholars are permanently tied down to Marxian ideology. They are dogmatic. They refuse to look at any problem except in the context of Marxist philosophy.

It is neither desirable nor possible to discuss here the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. We will, therefore, briefly mention

system adopted in these countries. Large scale liberalisation in some of the erstwhile socialist countries as well as many Third World nations, with its attendant evils, has been widely welcomed in the "socialist developed" as well as Third World non-socialist countries. Economic liberalisation initiated in last decade of twentieth century in countries like India may succeed in many cases in speeding up their development. If that happens the view that only socialism is a sure guarantee of development may not be universally accepted.

5. MARXIST-LENINIST APPROACH

Marxist-Leninist approach is largely based on the theories propounded by Karl Marx in the nineteenth century. These are still accepted by the Communists as basic or of eternal value. Lenin's interpretation is very valuable. Thus, Marxism-Leninism, as an approach of Comparative Politics, though not new, is still considered 'modern'.

Several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America attained independence, as we have seen earlier, after the Second World War. Most of them adopted liberal democracy, but democratic governments could not last long in many of them. These new countries decided to go ahead with rapid social, economic and political development. Traditional values of politics, and methods of study of political institutions became irrelevant in these countries. Many of the countries of the "third world" were undergoing rapid, and even revolutionary, changes. Scholars of comparative politics were keen to evolve an approach that could enable the students to systematically examine the politics and revolutionary changes of the third world countries. We have explained earlier in this chapter different approaches adopted by the western, particularly American, scholars. Marxist-Leninist approach also attracted attention of the scholars of Comparative Politics. Soviet union has emerged as one of the "super powers". Communist governments had assumed political control in several East European countries. Communist revolution in China had overthrown Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt government. In view of rapid adoption of communism, it became imperative to pay due attention to the Marxist-Leninist approach of study of comparative politics. It was felt that politics of developing countries could be easily generated with the help of Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Meaning and Characteristics of Marxist-Leninist Approach. The advocates of Marxist-Leninist approach firmly believe in the following premises : (*i*) Marxist-Leninists give very little importance to the formal political institutions; (*ii*) they believe that the problems of developing countries can be easily examined according to

Marxist-Leninist approaches of state-power, class-structure and industrialisation; (*iii*) they believe that communist ideology must be accepted in order to examine the political systems of the developing countries; and (*iv*) they raise general, rather than specific, problems and seek generalised solutions to these problems. These premises may be briefly explained thus :

(*i*) Advocates of Marxist-Leninist approach admit that political institutions have to exist in every system, yet they give them very little importance. In this respect this approach is similar to other modern approaches, like the System Analysis. Formal institutions lost importance even in western models after the introduction of behaviouralism. Thus, Marxist-Leninist approach is concerned more with the socio-economic-political processes than political institutions.

(*ii*) It is argued that the outlook of developing countries in respect of power, class-structure, and industrialisation is similar to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. For example, the concept of democracy in developing countries is closer to Marxian democracy rather than the concept of liberal democracy. Actually, western type of democracy has failed in many of the third world countries.

(*iii*) An important feature of Marxist-Leninist approach is that, like other modern approaches, it is inter-disciplinary in nature. They believe that important national questions get unnecessarily divided, in the traditional approaches, between separate disciplines of economics, political science, sociology, etc. No proper solution can be found when experts look at the problems from narrow angle. Therefore, Marxist-Leninist scholars consider an entire political system as one unit, and try to find solutions of all problems in the framework of a single system.

(*iv*) Marxist-Leninist approach has its clearly set-out variables and ideology. In the western comparative analysis new ideas are evolved for the solution of every problem. Unlike that, Marxists have set ideas about class-war and dictatorship of proletariat etc. They apply the same ideas in every situation, and seek generalised solutions.

The points discussed above reveal that in many respects Marxist-Leninist approach is similar to the western approaches. However, there is one basic difference. Unlike Western scholars, Marxist-Leninist scholars are permanently tied down to Marxian ideology. They are dogmatic. They refuse to look at any problem except in the context of Marxist philosophy.

It is neither desirable nor possible to discuss here the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. We will, therefore, briefly mention

only those principles which are applicable in the study of comparative politics.

Firstly, Marxists-Leninists believe that economic aspects of power is most important in our social system. Entire human behaviour is regulated by his economic status. They believe in class structure of society, and hold the view that the class that holds economic power dominates over other classes, and makes them do whatever it likes. This system is basis of class struggle and exploitation. Marxists want to do away with the control of any one class over the economic power. They want economic power to be shared by the entire community.

Secondly, since economic power is superior and wealthy class dominates over others, political power is also subordinated by the dominant class. All the institutions and structures in a political system are subordinate to this dominant class. Thus, comparative politics can be studied keeping in view this fact of domination of only one class over political structure. Actual nature of a political system is determined by the fact as to who controls the means of production and distribution, and how the property is distributed in a country. Thus, the study of comparative politics can become realistic only if economic aspect of power is taken into consideration.

The most significant feature of Marxist-Leninist approach is its belief in Marxian ideology–its faith in inevitability of class-war and ultimate success of the Communist Party-led victory of the working class. As far as modern scholars of comparative politics are concerned they find the following characteristics of Marxist-Leninist approach as significant.

(a) There is conceptual stability in the Marxist-Leninist approach. The beliefs, variables and vocabulary of Marxism-Leninism has remained unchanged for the past 80 years or so. For example, for them the meanings of class-struggle and revolution are the same today as they were in 1920. Thus, it has been remarked that if a scholar of Marxist system went off to sleep in 1950 and got up in 1987, he would have no difficulty in understanding Soviet social system and Marxist variables. But, if similar thing happened with a western scholar, he would find in 1987 that he was totally misfit because in the intervening period variables, vocabulary and techniques of comparative studies of western countries would have been completely changed. This is because western researchers are busy finding new definitions and new approaches, while Marxist students do not change the interpretation of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Most Marxists insist on eternal truth of Marxian ideology, while no two western scholars seem to agree on a single approach.

(b) Marxist-Leninist approach has an integrated methodol-

ogy of wholistic or collectivist nature. Marxist scholars insist on examining the entire socio-economic-political system. They do not examine any political situation in isolation. They feel that a given political situation is invariably a consequence of its historical and economic background. That is why history, social conditions, nature of economy and politics are examined as different aspects of one single collectivist system.

(c) Marx not only gave his own interpretation of history, but he also predicted definite course of future development. He believed that there is much less dissatisfaction and change in an essentially agricultural economy, while in a highly industrialised society there is greater degree of dissatisfaction and change. Development of politics is very slow in agricultural societies because of small degree of dissatisfaction. But, more rapid ups and downs take place in industrial economies which make for rapid growth of entire political system.

The above discussion of marxist-Leninist approach brings out the fact that it is essentially based on examination of developing political systems, and devised for estimating directions of future changes in those systems. Marxism-Leninism has devoted its attention mainly to developing countries. Any two political systems can be compared with the help of Marxist-Leninist approach. The bases of this comparison are stage of capitalism and nature of social, economic and political structures in two given systems. Briefly the bases of Marxist-Leninist approach of comparative politics are comparative studies of : (i) the structure power and importance of the public and private sectors of economy; (ii) the class composition of the rulers ; and (iii) the nature of economy. It is believed that realistic conclusions about various social and political systems can be arrived at only if comparisons are done on the basis of three above mentioned factors.

The Marxist-Leninist approach received a major setback when the entire socialist bloc of East European countries dropped Marxism as the basis of socio-economic structure and of governance. The Soviet Union which was the cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism not only disintegrated but even discarded socialist method of governance. Thus, Marxism-Leninism can no more validly claim to be fine-tuned basis of determining level of development, or the stage of capitalism in a developing society.

Political Economy Approach : Closely related with Marxist–Leninist Approach of Comparative Politics is Political Economy Approach. It deals with inter-relationship of political and economic processes. Sometimes it is viewed even in non-Marxist, classical *laissez-faire* framework also as outlined by Adam Smith and David Recardo. The classical *laissez-faire* argued that

state being a necessary evil should perform minimum political and military functions, leaving economy completely free in the hands of individuals. As against this, contemporary political-economy approach, following Marxist analysis, focuses on the economic base of political super-structure. The state is said to serve as an instrument of the economically dominant class. In other words, politics is determined by economic factors. The exploitation of the working people by economically dominant class is not only tolerated but is often supported by political set-up in return for the support of capitalist class for those who possess political power.

The classical approach believing in separation of economy from politics, viewed capitalist-worker relationship purely as economic phenomenon. The state was treated to be a neutral institution which was not expected to intervene on behalf of the poor and have– nots. The progress of civilisation was seen in the pursuit of the profit motive of the individual, who through division of labour led to mutual satisfaction of needs, and there was no need of political power to intervene. In fact, intervention by an external agency such as the state could be disruptive of the harmony promoted by the economic actors among themselves. This view was totaly individualistic and promoted capitalism and interest of the bourgeoisie.

The modern Marxist view of political economy approach is that the domains of politics and economics are not separate and exclusive who have to be related in externalities. Actually, their spheres overlap. It assumes that in the capitalist system the economy is political and involves the relationship of domination and subjugation. The state supports the dominant class. The Marxist view is that once capitalism is destroyed, exploitation ends, the state will wither away. But, until that happens post-behaviouralists support the political economy approach which rests on the assumption that the study of politics cannot be isolated from social and economic phenomenon. In the post-behavioural phase a reformation of comparative politics was attempted along with the lines of radical political economy with attention not only on the state and the economic classes, but also on the transnational fronters by focussing on economic im-perialism and dependency at the international level in addition to focus on class and state. In the current phase of globalisation, with liberalised economics and privatisation, a new dimension is added to political economy. While privatisation and disinvest-ment has curtailed the role of politics in economy, yet greater freedom given to the private sector and encouragement to foreign investment is regulated by political processes. Thus, even this phenomenon of globalisation proves that politics and economics are inseparable and interdependent.