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COMPARATIVE POLITICS
Semester 3

POL SC HELP

COMPARITIVE POLITICS

Introduction : Part 1

Meaning, Nature, Scope

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Introduction to comparative politics:
Meaning

Nature and Scope

Usefulness and challenges

Prominent Contributors

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Do you agree with the statement that comparative politics is a major sub-field of political science? Critically examine its **nature** and **scope**.

Q2. What do you understand by **Eurocentrism**? Highlight its impact on the study of comparative politics.

Q3. The classification of political systems provides an important tool for understanding comparative politics; Evaluate.

Q4. What do you understand by **Eurocentrism**? What challenge does it pose to the study of comparative politics.

Q5. Discuss the evolution of comparative politics. What **major challenges** has it faced?

Q6. Examine the **changing nature and scope** of comparative politics.

Comparative Politics: Meaning

- Understanding and theorizing about 'the political' by comparing political phenomena across space and time
- conscious and systematic use of comparisons to study political units or cases with the purpose of identifying, analyzing, and explaining differences and similarities between them in respect of a particular political phenomenon
- Political Phenomena- political activity, political process, and political power
- Units or cases for Comparison may be two or more countries, regions within one country, or same political unit at different times in history
- Comparative politics is distinguished from other disciplines which also use the comparative method, by its specific subject matter, language and perspective
- Integral part and method of the political science –its major sub-field

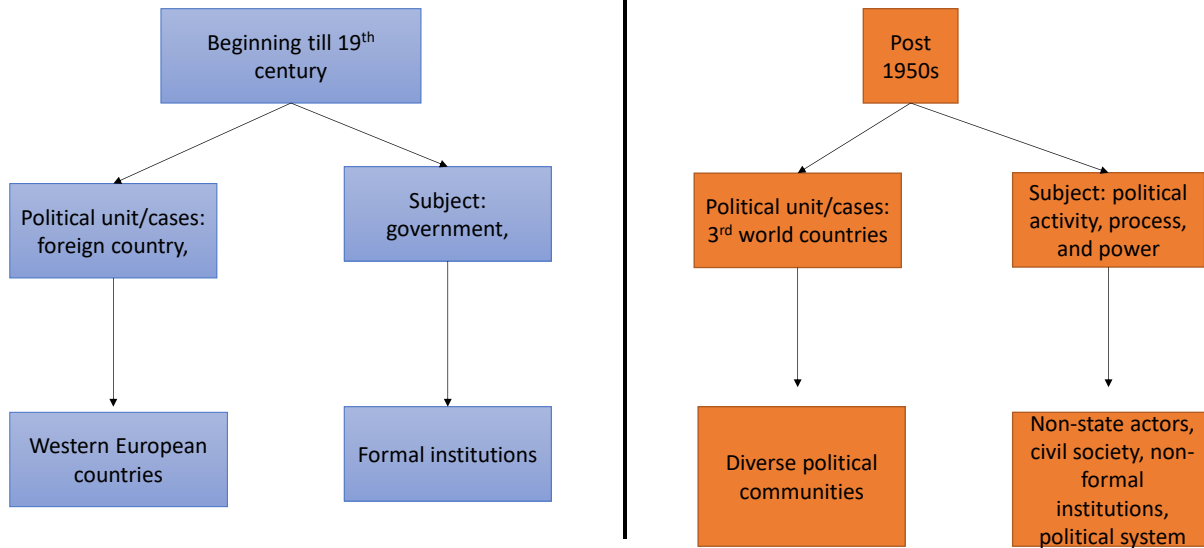
Comparative Politics: Nature and features

- Perhaps the first and foremost method of analyzing and understanding political phenomenon
- In the beginning it was merely study of 'foreign countries/state', and of their government – hence was called comparative government
- Traditional Approach was **normative, philosophical** and scope-**legal constitutional** – study of govt and formal institutions
- Modern Approach - **Analytical and Empirical, fact based, scientific, quantitative** ; **Scope:** Study of non-formal, non-governmental structures and institutions, political behaviours, informal process of politics - political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behaviour, power, etc
- Evolved from Eurocentrism to study of third world developing nations, small political communities, and diverse political phenomenon

Comparative Politics: Methods and Steps

- Choosing and defining **conceptual units**
- **Data** and information gathering
- **Classification**, categorization, and comparison
- **Hypothesis** formulation and **testing**
- Generalisation, **prediction**

Comparative Politics: Ever Increasing Scope

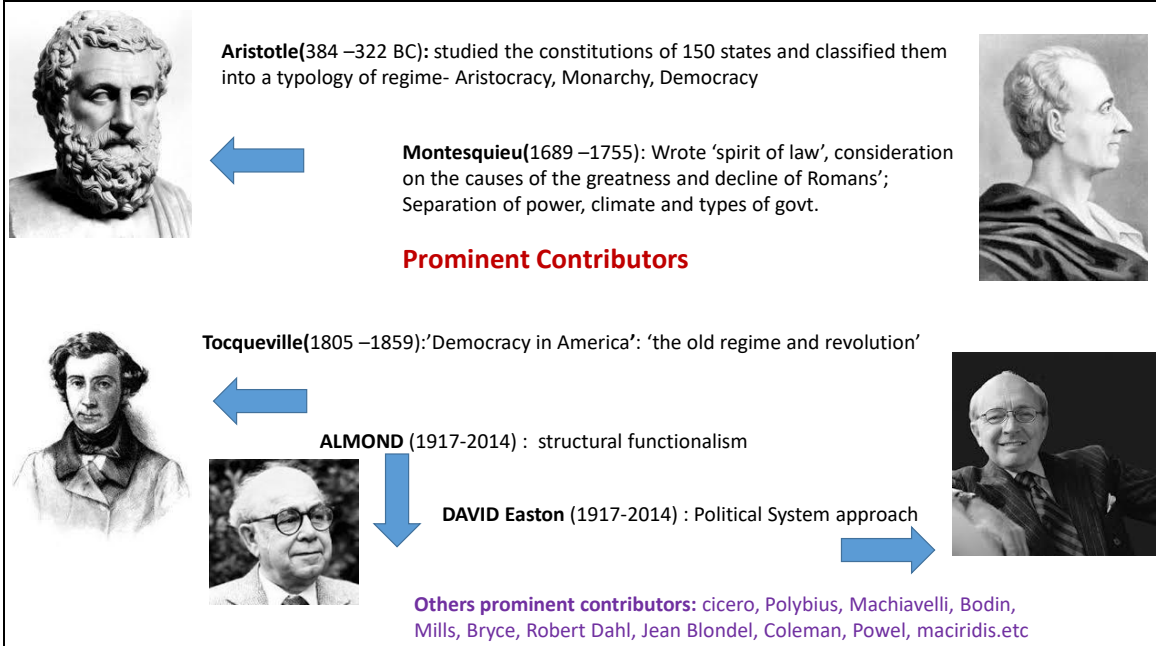


Usefulness of Comparative Politics

- Help understand political behavior, arrangements, patterns, and reality.
- Integral to formulation of hypothesis, testing, and theory building
- Lend credibility, reliability, precision, and validity to political theories
- Gives political theories scientific basis and rigour.
- Help study political phenomena in a larger framework of relationships of human behaviour.
- Help deepen our understanding and broaden the levels of answering and explaining political phenomenon

Comparative Politics: Major Challenges

- Ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism
- No standard and precise definition of important terms & concepts
- Difficulties in obtaining data/information about foreign political system
- Political behavior cannot be entirely value free- neither for the actor nor for the observer- rendering scientific study difficult
- Expansion of inter-disciplinary approach has diluted its substance, i.e. study of political phenomenon



SUM UP

- Since beginning, comparison has been the essential tools and method of study, understanding, and theorizing of 'the political'
- Nature and scope of comparative politics underwent considerable change since 1950s
- Nature: from traditional- normative philosophical- to modern- empirical scientific
- Scope: from 'foreign country of western Europe' to 3rd world nations, small and diverse political communities ; from study of govt. and formal institutions to Non-state actors, civil society, non-formal institutions
- Useful for formulation and testing hypothesis, scientific rigour, broaden the scope, and lend credibility
- Ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism, contested concept, difficulty in data collection, non-empirical nature of political behavior, and dilution of subject matter have been the major challenges

THANKS FOR WATCHING!

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COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Introduction part 2

EVOLUTION

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Evolution of the study of comparative politics

Initial phase, modern phase post 1950s

Comparative government vs comparative politics

Sum Up

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Do you agree with the statement that comparative politics is a major sub-field of political science? Critically examine its **nature** and **scope**.

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Evolution of Comparative Politics

- Initial phase : Aristotle compared more than 150 states, Romans- Polybius and Cicero considered them in formal and legalistic terms ; Machiavelli's 'Prince' revived comparative politics in 16th century.
- Montesquieu 'spirit of law' 17-18th century : link between traditional and modern phases
- Modern phase: 1950s : Behavioural revolution ; 'facts', realism, empiricism, scientific approach
- 1960s and 1970s: New Comparative politics led by theme of 'Developmentalism' and in tune with US foreign Policy
- The 1970s and Challenges to Developmentalism; dependency theory
- The 1980s: The Return of the State
- The Late twentieth and 21st century: Globalization and ICT revolution : Context mattered

Since Beginning Till 1950s: Traditional Phase

- Aristotle studied the constitutions of 150 states and classified them into a typology of regimes- democracy, aristocracy, monarchy etc distinguished them on the basis of certain norms of good governance -good and bad - ideal and perverted
- Aristotelian categories were acknowledged and taken up by Romans such as Polybius (201 - 120 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.) who considered them in formal and legalistic terms
- comparative study reappeared 'in the 15th century with Machiavelli' 'Prince'. (1469- 1527).
- The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: **Eurocentrism** : confined to the study of institutions, governments and regime types in European countries like Britain, France and Germany.
- largely concerned with a comparative study of institutions, the distribution of power, and the relationship between the different layers of government
- these studies were in fact not genuinely comparative in the sense that they excluded from their analysis a large number of countries.
- Approach: normative values of western liberal democracies which carried with it the baggage of racial and civilizational superiority, and assumed a prescriptive character for the colonies/former colonies.
- **Eurocentrism**: Europe at its centre, obliterating the rest of the world (colonised or liberated from colonisation) (a) as 'people without histories' or (b) whose histories were bound with and destined to follow the trajectories already followed by the advanced countries of the West

1950s : Post 2nd World War Era : Modern Phase

- Comparative study till the 1940s was predominantly the study of institutions, the legal-constitutional principles regulating them, and the manner in which they functioned in western (European) liberal-democracies
- Powerful critique of the institutional approach emerged in the middle of 1950s : Behaviouralism
- Behaviouralism: developing an enquiry which was quantitative, based on survey techniques involving the examination of empirical facts separated from values, to provide value-neutral, non-prescriptive, objective observations and scientific explanation of human behaviour
- Notion of politics was broadened: emphasis on 'realism' or politics 'in practice' as distinguished from mere 'legalism' or theoretical ;Included : less formally structured agencies, behaviours and processes e.g. political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behaviour, attitudes etc.
- Decline in the centrality of the notion of the state itself
- Development of frameworks which would facilitate comparisons on a large scale: primitive or advanced, democratic or non-democratic, western or non western- political system approach

Moving Away From Eurocentrism Post Decolonialization

- formulate abstract universal models, which could explain political phenomena and processes in all the newly de-colonized nations
- Enhanced Scope: examination of politics as a total system, including not merely the state and its institutions but also individuals, social groupings, political parties, interest groups, social movements, etc.
- Single universalistic framework which were applicable across cultural and ideological boundaries and for explaining political process everywhere
- Political phenomenon : political socialization, patterns of political culture, techniques of interest articulation and interest aggregation, styles of political recruitment, extent of political efficacy and political apathy, ruling elites etc

1960s and 1970s: New Comparative politics led by theme of 'Developmentalism' and in tune with US foreign Policy

- Comparison of very different nations/societies in terms of scio-political institutions and cultural practices.
- Investigation on evolution of 'modern' institutions in the 'west' and how 'New nations' can follow the path of 'modernization'
- 'Developmentalism' was the dominant conceptual paradigm of this time. Closely linked to US foreign policy towards developing countries and its attempt to check the tides of socialism/communism
- New approaches and methodologies : study of political culture, political socialization, developmentalism, dependency and interdependency, corporatism, bureaucratic-authoritarianism and transitions to democracy
- Large scale universal theory building : Easton's political system, Deutsch's **social mobilisation** and Shil's **centre and periphery**. The **theories of modernisation** by Apter, Rokkan, Eisenstadt and the **theory of political development** by Almond, Coleman, Pye and Verba
- These theories were claimed to be applicable across cultural, and were able to explain political processes everywhere

The 1970s and Challenges to Developmentalism

- abstract universal models, which flattened out differences among specific political social cultural systems, in order to study them within a single universalistic framework were criticized.
- Many started Criticizing Dominant theme of developmentalism.
- Dependency and Corporatism came to the fore
- Dependency theory criticized the dominant model of developmentalism for ignoring (a) domestic class factors and (b) international market and power factors in development. The theory argued that the development of the West had come on the shoulders and at the cost of the non- West.
- The corporatist approach criticized developmentalism for its Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism and indicated that there were alternative organic, corporatist, often authoritarian ways to organise the state and state-society relations

The 1980s: The Return of the State

- Bureaucratic-authoritarianism, indigenous concepts of change, transitions to democracy, the politics of structural adjustment, neoliberalism and privatization
- State was back into focus
- Easton's political system approach and Almond's state being part of pollical system was challenged

The Late twentieth century: Globalization and Emerging Trends/ Possibilities

- move away from general grand theory to emphasis on the relevance of context
- renewed influence of historical inquiry in the social sciences
- 'historical sociology' which tries to understand phenomena in the very broad or 'holistic' context within which they occur
- new emphasis on more culturally specific studies
- 'grand systems' and model building diminished
- Comparisons at the level of 'smaller systems' or regions
- Civil Society and Democratization Approaches:
- Information collection and diffusion

Evolution of the methods and scope of comparative politics

- Initial phases: Configurative methods, philosophical-normative approach, scope limited to western European countries.
- 50s & 60s : attempts to explain political reality were made through the construction of large scale models – system theory
- 70s: assertion of Third World-ism and the rolling back of these models
- 80s: constriction of the levels of comparison with studies based on regions or smaller numbers of units became prevalent
- 90s, globalization era : the imperatives for large level comparisons increased and the field of comparisons has diversified with the proliferation of non-state, 'non-governmental actors' and the increased interconnections between nations with economic linkages and information technology revolution.

Comparative Govt Vs Comparative Politics

Comparative Govt

- Scope: State and its institutions ; government and other formal institutions
- Institutional, formal, legal
- Approach: normative, historical, Institutional
- Eurocentric- left out third world countries
- Propositions not empirically verifiable

Comparative Politics

- Unit of study : political system, state only an element of the system
- Broaden Scope: Study of non-formal, non-governmental structures and institutions, political behaviours, informal process of politics
- Aim to understand the human behaviour in public life
- Scope : comprehensive, includes all aspects of political arrangements and behaviour
- Adopts modern scientific methods of data gathering, classification, comparison, testing
- Inter-disciplinary
- Studies third world and emerging 'New nations', small political groups, civil societies, etc

Sum Up

- Comparative politics evolved from traditional, 'unsophisticated' phase to highly sophisticated 'modern' phase post 1950s
- From mere comparison of 'foreign governments' it encompassed comparison of entire political system
- Influenced by 'Behavioural movement' of 1950s, it adopted scientific and empirical methods of data collection, analysis, and testing
- 1970s saw rise of 'developmentalism' guided by US foreign policy
- Post 1990s, globalisation and ICT revolution further changed the scope, approach, and methods of comparative politics
- In its course of evolution, it got rid of Ethnocentrism, and Eurocentrism but new challenges of understanding 'the political' continue to emerge.

References

- Comparative Politics: By J.C.Johari
- Study materials of IGNOU on this topic
- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
- Materials available on WWW and you tube videos

THANKS FOR WATCHING!

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COMPARITIVE POLITICS

Introduction part 3

Traditional Approaches

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS
IN
STORE?

Basic Definitions

Institutional Approach

Historical Approach

Philosophical- Normative Approach

Weaknesses of Traditional Approaches

Important Definitions

- **Model:** A model is a simplified representation of some aspect of real world. An intellectual construct which simplifies reality
- **Approaches:** a way of dealing with a situation or problem. Consists of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data. A mode of analysis which provides a set of tools and develops concepts for the study and comprehension of any political phenomena.
- **Concepts:** It is an abstract idea to which a descriptive label is attached. It helps to carry out an investigation and analysis.
- **Methods:** systematic or established procedure for accomplishing or approaching something. Methods link data to theory. Example: comparative method (using more than one case), configurative (using a single case study) and historical (using time and sequence).
- **Technique:** Techniques link method to the relevant data. It represent various modes of observation and ways of recording empirical information.

Institutional Approach

- Focus of comparative study : Institutions and structures of political system
- Institution/structure:
 - Govt., and other organizations through which socio-political arrangements are carried out.
 - Consistent and organized pattern of behavior or activities established by law or custom
- Features:
 - largely legalistic, speculative and prescriptive/ normative
 - philosophical, historical or legalistic perspective
 - Eurocentrism and Ethnocentrism
 - Evolved as comparative government
 - Scope: formal institutions of govt – legislature, executive, judiciary-, constitution, party system, interest/pressure groups, etc
- Main contributors: Aristotle, Polybius, Bryce, Finer, Duverger, Sartori

Pros and Cons of Institutional Approach

Plus

- Helped compare state, constitution, and other formal legal institutions
- Helped institution building in newly de-colonized nations
- Included non formal institutions- party system, movements, pressure groups, etc
- New Institutionalism gave sociological perspective to study of political behaviour

Minuses

- Speculative, Narrow, Normative, configurative
- Descriptive, historical, not analytical
- Ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism
- Not contextual- lost sight of cultural setting and ideological framework
- Undermine role of individual agency
- Ignored International politics

Historical Approach

- Comparing two or more historical trajectories of major political phenomenon, or selected slices of national historical trajectories as the units of comparison to develop causal relationship about specific phenomenon(e.g. revolutions), draw generalizations- develop and test hypothesis
- Example : comparative analysis of the French, Russian and Chinese Revolutions, by Skocpol
- Features:
 - Genealogical – treating history as a genetic process – how a political phenomenon evolved
 - Comparing with historical perspective may loose sight of socio-cultural contexts
 - More importance to role of individual agency in making history
 - Studying past to understand the causes of political phenomenon in present
 - Scope: major political events, socio-political crisis – revolution, nation-state, wars, etc.
 - Drawbacks: few cases, superficial comparison, prejudiced analysis, non-scientific- speculative
- Main contributors: Machiavelli, Oakeshott, Hobbs, Locke, Rousseau, Marx, Laski

Normative- Philosophical Approach

- Oldest one : pre- political science era in which philosophers such as Socrates, Plato , and Aristotle analyzed and prescribed ideal state/society
- **Features:**
 - Normative- ethical, value loaded, prescriptive, deductive, speculative
 - Aim was to have ideal state and society – ideal political community
 - Method: Abstract reasoning, moral arguments, Formal logic and analytic philosophy
 - Scope: state, constitutions, and government
- **Drawbacks:** speculative, abstract, less factual-hypothetical, state taken to mystical heights, made politics as mere helping hand of ethics or metaphysics
- **Proponents:** Aristotle, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Green, Leo Strauss, Berlin

Drawbacks of Traditional Approaches

- **Narrow:** confined mostly to study of western political system
- **Formal legal:** focused on state, govt. and formal institutions ; privileging formal institutions over non-formal political processes
- **Subjective:** value laden, less factual, less objective analysis, hypothesis not put to test
-
- **Descriptive** rather than analytical and problem solving nature
- **Prescriptive** rather than realistic
- **Speculative:** because of its philosophical orientation
- **case-study oriented** rather than genuinely comparative
- **Eurocentrism and Ethnocentrism:** exclusive emphasis on the western world and the conceptual language Approaches which had been developed with such limited comparisons in mind

References

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COMPARITIVE POLITICS

Introduction part 4

Modern Approaches

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Political System Approach

Derivatives of system approach: Input/output
and Structural- functional approach

Pros and Cons of system approaches

Political culture and other modern approaches

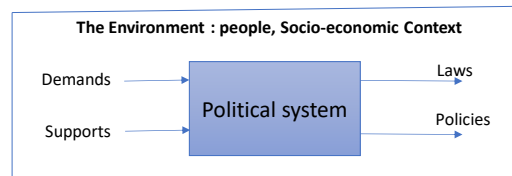
Traditional Vs Modern Approaches

Important Definitions

- **Model:** A model is a simplified representation of some aspect of real world. An intellectual construct which simplifies reality
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- **Methods:** systematic or established procedure for accomplishing or approaching something. Methods link data to theory. Types of method comparative (using more than one case), configurative (using a single case study) and historical (using time and sequence).
- **Technique:** Techniques link method to the relevant data. It represent various modes of observation and ways of recording empirical information.

Political System Approach

- **Political system:** Inter-related institutions, political activities, political actors and processes (arena for the 'political') which continuously interact with each other and to its environment to protect and sustain it
- Features:
 - Derived from Biology and general system theory
 - dynamic, self regulating,
 - 'whole' consisting of interacting 'parts',
 - patterned interactive relationship among 'parts',
 - Input, Output, Environment, Feedback
- Notion of the 'system' replaced the notion of the state and enabled study of the 'extra-legal', 'social' and 'cultural' institutions, non-western politics, 'pre-state or 'non-state' societies as well as roles and offices not overtly connected with the state



Input- Output Derivative of System Approach

- David Easton : Political system- those interactions (among 'parts' of the system) through which **values are authoritatively allocated** and implemented in a society
- regularized persistent **patterns of relationships** among the people and institutions within it.
- System: dynamic conversion system; converting input into output
- Input, Output, Feedback
 - **Inputs** to the system :
 - **Demands** : claims for actions that people make to satisfy their interests and values
 - **Support**: political obligation – Consent, obey law, pay taxes
 - **Outputs** : Laws, rules, regulations, judicial decisions – *Authoritative Allocation of Values*
 - **Feedback**: *Signals from the environment so to change or modify inputs*

Pros and Cons of Political System approach

Plus

- Easy to understand
- Present macro picture of interaction between the socio-economic environment and political system
- Can be applied to different countries, societies, and contexts
- provided a set of concepts and categories which have made comparative analysis more interesting and instructive

Minuses

- Highly general and abstract
- Does not reveal policy process
- Focus on maintenance/status –quo , leaves decline, disruption, change
- Confined to North America and the Western World
- deal only with the present and has, therefore, no perspective of future and has less study of the past
- Not much information about the political system – the black box

Structural - Functional derivative of system approach

- Formulated by Gabriel Almond : "All political systems have a structure, i.e. legitimate patterns of human interactions by which order is maintained; all political structures perform their respective functions, with different degrees in different political systems; "
- *Political System perform the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the employment or threat of employment of more or less legitimate coercion*
- Input functions: political socialization, recruitment, interest articulation and aggregation, and political communication
- Output functions: Rule making, application, and adjudication
- **Features:**
 - Central question "What structures fulfil what basic functions and under what conditions in any given society"?
 - Elements or parts of the system and Patterns of behaviours and interactions among them forms structures which perform specific functions
 - Dominant tendency : stability through in built mechanism
 - Changes are gradual, incremental, and adaptive
 - involves identification of a set of required or recurring functions and structures and their interrelations performing those functions
 - political structures perform the same functions in all system ; all political structures are multi-functional ; all systems adapt to their environment when political structures do have behave dysfunctionally

Pros and Cons of Structural functional approach

Plus

- introduced new conceptual tools in political science, especially in comparative politics
- offered new insights into political realities
- widely adopted, and is being used as a descriptive and ordering framework.
- Micro analysis of political system possible
- Attempt to decipher the 'Black box' i.e. the political system
- Help compare political systems, and other systems – economic, social, etc.

Minuses

- feedback mechanism gets only a passing reference
- Focus on maintenance/status –quo
- Separation of structures add function not neat and logical
- talks about the functions of the structures and ignores the interactions which are characteristics of the numerous structures as parts of the political system
- undue importance on the input aspect, and much less on the output aspect

Political Culture Approach

- By Almond : Political culture : pattern of orientation to political actions both explicit and implicit ; basic attitude in a society towards political system; Macridis : a structure of value and belief in the political system
- political ideologies, popular attitudes, conception of political arena, public opinion, rule of the games, the ethos, orientation and attitudes of various interests in a society
- Characterized as fragmented, homogeneous, isolative, fusional, bargaining, mixed, secular, and incorporative
- Substance of political socialization: the process by which an individual is inducted into a political culture
- Usefulness: Affects political behavior, useful device for broad configurational comparison; help compare and study political system
- Weaknesses: vaguely developed concept, undermine sub-culture, overlapping conceptual boundaries, empirical research difficult
- Major Contributors: Almond, Samuel Beer, Macridis

Other modern approaches

- **Behavioral Approach:** emphasis on collection examination, and analysis of 'facts' of political behavior of man
 - Common frame of reference to that of sociology, psychology, and cultural anthropology for theorizing
 - Empirical, objective, scientific methods, testability, rigorous research design, separating facts and values, interdisciplinary
- **Political Economy approach:** Study, understand and explain socio-political phenomenon from the analytical framework of relationship between politics and economics and multifarious ways in which it unfolds
- **Sociological approach:** understanding political behavior from socio-cultural context
- **Psychological Approach:** role of emotions, habits, sentiments, instincts, ego, power, etc in understanding political behavior and phenomenon
- **Marxian approach:** analyzing political phenomenon from perspective of class contradictions. Politics mere sub set of economic relationship and manifest as stages in historical material dialectics.

traditional Vs Modern Approach

Traditional approach

- Normative- philosophical approach
- Legal-constitutional in scope
- Institutionalism as method
- ase-study oriented rather than genuinely comparative
- Eurocentric- left out third world countries
- Prescriptive- 'ought to', descriptive, formal-legal, historical
- Focussed on government and other formal institutions- study of formal political institutions
- Less emphasis on observations and data
- Institutional, formal, legal
- Dominated by moral Philosophy and history
- Propositions not empirically verifiable

Modern Approach

- Analytical and Empirical, fact based, scientific, quantitative- 'As it is'
- Value neutral, realistic, quantitative
- System and Structural- functional approach
- Study of non-formal, non-governmental structures and institutions, political behaviours, informal process of politics - political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behaviour, attitudes etc
- quantitative :observations, empirical data
- Adopts modern scientific methods of classification, comparison, testing
- Subject to testability and falsifiability
- Aim to understand the human behaviour in public life
- Inter-disciplinary
- Studies third world and emerging 'New nations'

Sum Up

- Comparative politics, i.e. understanding 'the political' by comparing has been the integral part of political science
- Comparative politics evolved from philosophical normative comparative studies during ancient Greek and Roman times to empirical scientific comparative politics post 1950s
- Its nature and scope underwent significant change during its evolution; from comparative govt. it became comparative politics ; from formal legal institutions it encompassed all aspects of political behaviour and process
- Approach to comparative politics changed from traditional- institutional, historical, normative, philosophical- to modern- political system, political culture, political economy, and behavioural.
- Presently, rigorous scientific methods using sophisticated statistical tools are deployed to do the comparison to understand 'the political' in the specific socio-cultural context. This truly blend facts with values to make enterprise of study politics an integrative approach.

References

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GOOD LUCK !

CAPITALISM

PART 1

Meaning, Features, Dimensions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Meaning, and nature of Capitalism

Capitalism and Liberalism

Capitalism and colonialism, globalisation,
and nation-state

Sum Up

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1.Explain the origin and development of Capitalism.

Q2. examine salient features of capitalism in the context of globalisation.

Q3.Define globalisation. Do you agree that it has affected the nature of state in recent times?

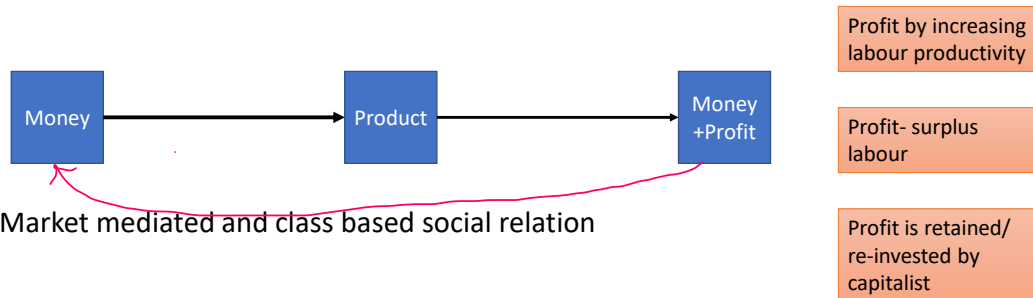
Q4 Write an essay on history of capitalist expansion in the world.

Q5. Define Capitalism. Do you agree that globalisation is the face of modern capitalism ? Elucidate.

Q6: What are the major challenges of capitalist world order today?

Meaning of Capitalism

- Production for profit by private entity
- A mode of production in which means of production (land, equipment, technology, capital, entrepreneurship) are owned by very small section of propertied class who purchase wage labour from vast majority of property less class
- Capital(Money) — buys—> Means of Production & Labour — to Produce —> Product/Service — to sell for—>Money+1 (Profit)



- Market mediated and class based social relation

How Capitalism is different from earlier mode of production and social relationships

Pre-Capitalist

- **Land**- chief means of production
- Producer own the produce
- Produce/**surplus labour** expropriated(taken away) from producer by extra-economic means
- Expropriating class: King, feudal lords, Church ; Expropriated class: Peasants, small artisans
- Social relation guided by custom, tradition, religion
- Intermingling of economic and political spheres

Capitalist

- means of production - land, equipment, technology, **capital**, entrepreneurship, **Labour**)
- Producer do not own the products
- **Surplus labour** expropriated by economic means
- Expropriating class: capitalist class
- Impersonal Social relation mediated by market and manifest in class relationship
- Separation of Economic and Social Spheres- private property separate from state power

Features of Capitalism

- Producers loses ownership on his produce - *Labour sells not fruit of his labour but the labour itself*
- Capitalist class take away surplus labour in form of profit – extraction and exploitation not by coercion but by economic means- exploitation by enhancing labour productivity
- Capitalist class also gained political supremacy and intellectual leadership : became Elites; labour class- the masses
- Dependency and subordinate class relationship between capitalist and labour class
- Impersonal Social relation mediated by market- invisible hand of market determined both economic and social interactions
- Capitalist spirit: Competitiveness, enterprising, Expansionist, Impersonal, liberal, democratic

Who formed the capitalist class?

- They were **Bourgeoisie**- rising middle class in post feudal Europe
 - Enterprising Tenants, Traders/Merchants, professionals, Artisans, small workshop owners
- They were not nobles or feudal lords; rather they resisted them
- Gained political power: Glorious revolution in England, French Revolution
- Forefront of reformation movement, Industrial Revolution, Liberalism, and democracy
- **Proletariat** : class of property-less wage workers who sold their labour power to the Bourgeoisie; by whose surplus labour capitalist profit is made

Capitalism and Liberalism

- John Locke's idea of absolute and unalienable right to property as natural rights became core of liberalism
 - One has absolute right on one's labour and things created by mixing labour to natural objects, labour- self or purchased
- Liberal doctrine- individualism, rationality, reasoned- self, liberty, natural and democratic rights, limited states, free-market, etc- propelled capitalism
- Bourgeoisie became champion of both Liberalism and Capitalism
- Today's liberal democracy and free-market economy is carrier of capitalism across the globe
- Contemporary phase of capitalism is known as Neo-liberal phase – L.P.G.

Capitalism and Nation-state

- Evolution of state- unambiguous sovereign power over a clearly defined territory- is closely linked to evolution of capitalism
- Same social process- separation of economic and political sphere and transformation of politically constituted property into capitalist property- brought about both nation-state and capitalism
- In nation-state, political sovereignty became separate from and allied with a national economy which was capitalist in nature
- Thus, moment of coercion (political power), and moment of appropriation(extracting surplus labour by capitalist) were separated
- Seeming contradiction of globalized capitalism which strengthen nation-state

Capitalism and Colonialism & Imperialism

- Expansionist tendencies of capitalism is considered as possible causes of colonialism and imperialism
- Provided economic and ethical rationale to colonialism:
 - Capitalist spirit of creating value by mixing labour and entrepreneurship into hitherto useless/waste natural assets of colonies
- Bourgeois class of colonial nations (core) allied with Bourgeois class of colonies(Periphery) to strengthen and stabilize colonialism
- Colonialism helped capitalist class in getting cheap raw material and even cheaper labour
- Colonialism helped develop capitalism in colonies

Capitalism and Globalization

- Liberal democracy and free-market capitalist economy are twin engines of globalization
- Economic liberalization, privatization, free-trade, free exchange rates, capital convertibility, etc are propelling globalization
- Capital as finance, circulation of hot money, interconnectedness of global financial market- further fueling globalization
- MNC (Multi-national corporation) and TNC(trans-national corporation)- representing capitalism are bearer of globalizations
- Global commodity supply and demand chain are distinctive features of globalization.

Sum Up

- Capitalism is production for profit which comes from enhanced labour productivity
- It also entails class based social relation- dominant capitalist and subordinate labour class
- Despite being exploitative system, the exploitation is not by coercion but primarily by economic means- extraction of surplus labour
- Being inherently expansionist, closely linked to colonialism, imperialism, and globalization
- Liberalism is the ideological vehicle of capitalism and democracy its face

References

- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
- Comparative Politics: By J.C.Johari
- Study materials of IGNOU on this topic
- Materials available on WWW and you tube videos

THANKS FOR WATCHING!

PLZ POST YOUR QUERIES THROUGH COMMENTS!

GOOD LUCK !

CAPITALISM

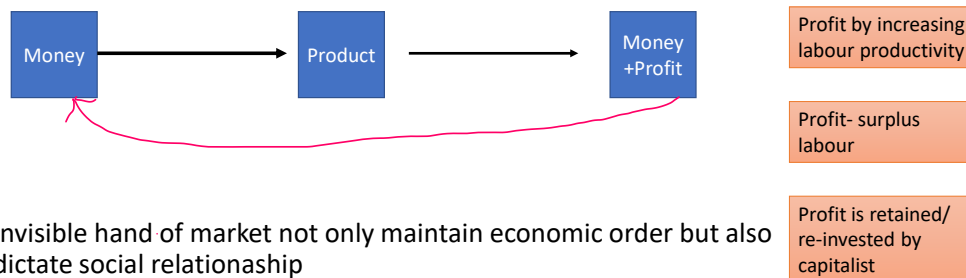
Part II

Evolution, Globalization, Challenges

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Capitalism : Recapitulation

- A mode of production and consequent socio-economic order in which means of production are owned by very small section of propertied class who purchase wage labour from vast majority of property less class



- Invisible hand of market not only maintain economic order but also dictate social relationship

Agrarian origin of capitalism: 16th-17th Century England

- Several factors led to market-mediated relation between landlords and peasants in which extraction of 'surplus labour' was by economic means and not by coercion or 'extra-economic' means
- Separation of economic and political sphere, emergence of unified national market and de-militarized centralized state, balance of power between central Monarch and aristocratic Parliament were some of favourable factors
- Land Rent were market determined, only those peasants who could have increased the labour productivity by innovative methods and technology would have increased cultivable land and this was the beginning of competitive capitalism....extraction and exploitation of 'surplus labour' was in built into the economic system and mode of production.
- Contrast this with 16th-17th century France, where ruling elites and emerging Bourgeois both vied for extracting 'surplus labour' of peasants through taxation and coercive means...persistence of 'politically constituted property' and feudal and pre-capitalist social order.

Evolution : Phases of Capitalism

- **Mercantile Phase** : 16th- 18th Century Europe- colonialism and imperialism
- Early phase- **Agrarian Evolution of classic capitalism** : 16th-17th Century England
- **Classical Phase** : 19th Century
 - Competitive capitalism
- **Monopolist Phase**: 20th Century- Inter-war period, Post WWII to 1973
 - *Keynesian* or 'Demand led' Capitalism
 - Evolution of MNCs
 - Fordist phase- assembly line, affordable mass production by scientific management, monopolist firms, economies of scale
 - Welfare and Regulatory state – Social Democrats
- **Neo-liberal phase** : 1973 till 1991
 - De-Regulation, Privatization
 - Regan- Thatcher era
 - Post Fordist phase- differentiated products, decentralized production, economies of scope
- **Globalisation phase** : post 1991
 - Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalization (L.P.G.)
 - Fall of USSR and communist economy: 'End of History'
 - Economic and financial globalisation

Globalization of Capital: Evolution

- **Classic Phase** : Colonial era: 18th Century
 - Colonies- exporter of raw material, importer of finished factory goods from colonial master
 - Destruction of pre-capitalist mode of production in colonies
 - Few FDIs- plantation, Railways, Mining
- **Old phase**: from 1945 to 1973: golden period of capitalism
 - Import substitution and protection to domestic Industries by Developing nations
 - Evolution of MNCs : branch plant subsidiary- Hierarchical internationalization
- **New phase** : 1973 to till 20th century
 - Economic globalization
 - Global commodity supply and demand chain
 - Erosion of authority of nation-state and national barriers
 - MNC to giant TNC
- **Contemporary phase**: 21st Century : Financial globalization
 - International flow of Capital as finance
 - Delinking of international financial flow from international commodity flow
 - 'hot money' flow

Challenges & Contradiction

- **Dialectic nature: In built contradiction**
 - Contradiction of liberal democracy and free market economy
 - Equal treatment to unequal by **market**: increases inequality
- Separation of political and economic spheres ; separation of two moments of exploitation ; make it **inherently unstable**
- **Frequent crisis** : 1930, 1973, 2001, 2008
- **Jobless growth**
 - Service sector led growth
 - **Financialization** of capitalism – **M-----P-----M+1** replaced by **M----M+1**
- **Crisis of 3 E: ECOLOGY, ENERGY, ECONOMY**
 - Ecology- environmental degradation- climate change ; Global Energy Crisis; Unsustainable Development

Sum Up

- Decline of Feudal system in Europe, especially in England, gave rise to Capitalism
- It evolved first in 16th-17th Century England where landlords started leasing land on market determined rent, improving labour productivity and generating profit
- Subsequent reformation movement, Industrial Revolution, Bourgeois revolutions, liberalism, evolution of nation-state, etc helped in its evolution
- Four phases: **Classic-19th century**, **Monopolistic-** inter war, post WWII till 1973; **Neo-Liberal-** 1973 till 1991 ; **Contemporary or globalized**
- Phases of globalization of capital : **Classic Phase** : Colonial era: 18th Century; **Old phase**: 1945 to 1973; **New phase** : 1973 to till 20th century; **Contemporary phase**: 21st Century

References

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- Study materials of IGNOU on this topic
- Materials available on WWW and you tube videos

SOCIALISM

Part I

Meaning and Comparison

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss various factors leading to the growth of Socialism.

Q2. Discuss the rise and growth of state Socialism

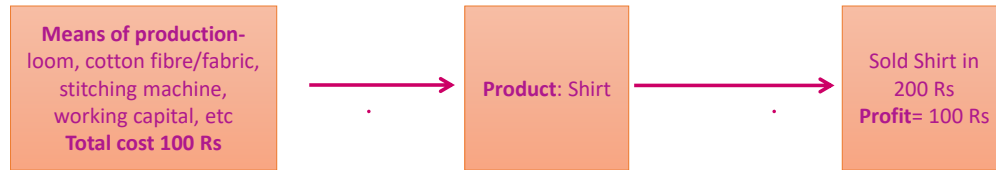
Q3. Explain the meaning of Socialism. Critically analyse the rise and fall of socialism in former soviet union

Q4 Discuss main causes of decline of state socialism with specific reference to Europe.

Q5. Discuss the factors contributing to growth of state socialism.

Q6: Discuss main causes of decline of socialism in former soviet union.

Capitalism, Socialism, Communism Simplified



Capitalism: Means of production are owned and operated by individual/private entity. Profit is retained and re-invested by capitalist class to increase production to earn more profit. Competitive system- survival of the fittest

Socialism: Means of production are owned and operated by Society/**state**. Profit is used for social welfare and distributed on the principle of equity

Socialism in practice: Means of production are mostly owned and operated by **state**. Private property and enterprise regulated heavily, Progressive taxation, welfare state- free or subsidized education, health care, social security, public facilities, income distribution to lessen inequalities.

Communism: Property less, class-less, and stateless autonomous, self-governing co-operative community living where everyone works as per his ability and get as per his needs. Remained largely an *Utopia*

Socialism----> Communism

- A mode of production and consequent socio-political order in which means of production (land, equipment, technology, capital, entrepreneurship) are owned by society as a whole represented by state.
- Social ownership of means of production
- Profit earned are socially distributed on the principle of equity
- Society/state and not market decides what and how much to produce, how to produce, and for whom to produce
- From Socialism to Communism:
 - Vision of class less, money less, property-less, and state-less society wherein everyone live as co-operative community life of bliss, contentment and happiness
 - From everyone as per his ability and to everyone as his need

Socialism vs Social Democracy vs Communism

Aspect	State Socialism	Social Democracy	Communism
Means of production	owned and operated by state	owned and operated by Individuals/pvt. entity	owned and operated by self-governing community
Private property	Heavily regulated	Allowed/protected	No Private property
Role of state	All pervasive- take all economic decisions, control all aspects of citizen's life	Welfare state: free/subsidized education, health care/social security, employment guarantee, etc	State-less – NO STATE
Individual freedom, democratic rights	Least- no political choice, movement curbed, state dictate all other aspects of life	High level of Individual freedom, democratic rights	State of bliss, complete freedom, equality, and rights
Examples	Erstwhile USSR, North Korea, China to some extent	Nordic Nations- Sweden, Norway, Denmark, etc.	Largely remained utopic: 'New Harmony' of Owen, Kibbutz in Israel, communes in China

Socialism Vs Capitalism

socialism

- **Nature of man:** Social, co-operative, motivated by moral incentives
- Communitarian, collectivism
- Social ownership and operation of means of production
- Collective ownership of property/wealth- abolition of private property
- Surplus labour divided among labour class
- Social relation guided by universal brotherhood (comraderies)
- Equality of outcome – social equality
- Positive freedom
- Societal Common Good

Capitalism

- Self-interested, Competitive, motivated by material incentives
- Individualism
- **Private** ownership and operation of means of production
- Absolute right of private property
- Surplus labour taken away by capitalist class
- Impersonal Social relation mediated by market and manifest in class relationship
- Formal Equality of opportunity- legal & political equality
- Negative Freedom
- Individual Rights



John Ball : Revolutionary Priest in late 14th Century England. Instigated major peasant's revolt against Lords. Vision of Common ownership of property, and class less society

Robert Owen(1771-1858): Founded 'New Harmony', an experimental co-operative commune in USA



Early Proponents



Thomas Müntzer (16th Century Germany): Stirred movement to end private property and peasant uprising against nobility'

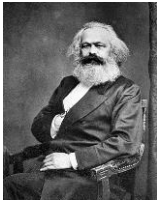
SIR THOMAS MORE (1478-1535) : More's '*utopia*': an imagined communist society



Charles Fourier (1772-1837) : French social theorist who advocated reconstruction of society based on communal associations of producers known as phalanges. one of the founders of **utopian socialism**



Others prominent contributors: Proudhon, Saint Simone, Campanella, John Wycliff, Norman Cohn, 'the revolutionary of upper Rhine', etc.



Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) was a German **philosopher, economist, sociologist, political theorist, and journalist**. Arguably the greatest social scientist of 19th Century..

Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895) was a German **philosopher, sociologist, political theorist, and journalist**. Best friend and bedrock of support to Marx...



MODERN PROPONENTS



- **Lenin:**
- Revolution led by **vanguard** party,
- democratic **centralism**,
- Imperialism as height of capitalism,
- worldwide network of revolutionary activities- **Comintern**

Mao Zedong:

- communism in **rural** societies,
- rejecting elitism, thought reform, **indoctrination**,
- **state** as **supreme** educator,
- communalism, social experimentation,
- militant **nationalism**

Sum Up

- Socialism is understood as social ownership and operation of means of production, distribution of profit for social welfare, reducing inequality
- Communism is vision of property-less, class-less, stateless co-operative community living of bliss and contentment
- Idea of common ownership and classless community is as old as human civilisation – pre-historic tribal community, primitive communities
- Many early proponents of socialism devoted their life to realize the socialist vision but credit goes to Marx for providing scientific and critical analysis of capitalism as phase of historical evolution of social relation and mode of production and vision of socialism and communism.
- According to Marx, history of social relation and mode of production shall follow the path of primitive, feudal, capitalist, socialist, and communist phases
- In practice, socialism was realized in form of totalitarian state socialism, social democracies, and mixed types; communism largely remained an utopia.

References

- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
- Political Ideologies: An introduction by A **Heywood**
- Materials available on WWW and you tube videos

SOCIALISM

Part Two

Rise and Fall of Socialism

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss various factors leading to the growth of Socialism.

Q2. Discuss the rise and growth of state Socialism

Q3. Explain the meaning of Socialism. Critically analyse the rise and fall of socialism in former soviet union

Q4 Discuss main causes of decline of state socialism with specific reference to Europe.

Q5. Discuss the factors contributing to growth of state socialism.

Q6: Discuss main causes of decline of socialism in former soviet union.

Revisiting Socialism

Socialism: Means of production are owned and operated by Society/**state**. Profit is used for social welfare and distributed on the principle of equity

Socialism in practice : State Socialism: Means of production are mostly owned and operated by **state**. Private property and enterprise regulated heavily, Progressive taxation, welfare state- free or subsidized education, health care, social security, public facilities, income distribution to lessen inequalities.

Totalitarian State: State led by communist party decides all aspect of socio-political aspects of society. Equality of outcome vs Liberty; In the name of positive freedom state guides individual's life

Communism: Property less, class-less, and stateless autonomous, self-governing co-operative community living where everyone works as per his ability and get as per his needs. Remained largely an **Utopia**

Rise of State socialism in Europe

- **Formation of USSR:**

- 1917: 'Bolshevik revolution' : Russia became communist state overthrowing the 'Tsar' regime
- 1920-39: Rise of communist parties in East and central Europe – as far as France, and Italy
- 1922: USSR formed: Union treaty- Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Transcaucasia-Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan
- 1924-36: Re-organization and inclusion of central Asian Republics- Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan- were included into USSR
- 1940: Baltic nations-Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia – and Moldova (cut from Romania) incorporated into the USSR;

- **During word war II:**

- Germany occupied most of eastern European nations, reached almost up to Moscow. But 'Red Army' of Russia pushed German army back and won most of the eastern Europe

- **Post World War II :**

- Russia allowed quasi independent status to Eastern European nations as its satellite
- Soviet-imposed communist regimes in central and eastern Europe
- Western Europe and USA accepted Russia's zone of influence and policy of no-interference
- 1947: **Cominform** (from **Communist Information Bureau**): Forum of all the communist parties of Eastern Europe
- 1955: Warsaw pact: collective defense treaty between the Soviet Union and seven other Eastern Bloc socialist republics of Central and Eastern Europe
- 'Iron Curtain' – Stalin and 'Brezhnev Doctrine'

Rise of state Socialism in Eastern Europe

- **Poland**
 - 1945: Yalta Conference : Territories of Poland was re-organized
 - 1947: After series of political maneuvers, communist govt was established
- **Hungary**
 - 1948: Communists' leader, Rakosi overthrew non-communist elected Govt of Zoltan Tildy
- **East Germany**
 - was the Soviet zone of Germany. In 1949, they set up a Communist-controlled state called the German Democratic Republic(GDR) vs FDR (West Germany)
- **Czechoslovakia**
 - 1945 :A coalition Govt with Communist party set up
 - 1948: Communist leader Gottwald took over the government
- **Bulgaria**
 - 1945 : In the 1945 elections, a Communist-led coalition was elected
 - 1946: Communists gained control, Monarchy abolished.
- **Romania**
 - 1945 : a Communist-led coalition was elected to power. The Communists gradually took over and in 1947 they abolished the monarchy.

Common Features of Communist control of East Europe

- Three Step control:
 - a general coalition of left-wing, Anti-fascist forces; but communists controlling Radio, Newspapers, and Secret Police
 - a reorganized 'coalition' in which the Communists would have the upper hand and neutralize those in other parties who were not willing to accept their supremacy
 - complete Communist domination. 'Purging' of opposition

Features of State Socialism

- **Single party rule**
 - Vanguard party representing dictatorship of proletariat
 - No difference in party and Govt.
 - Important role of party in political socialization, political culture, other socio-cultural matters
- **Democratic Centralization**
 - Democratic structure of communist party, free election at all levels of party, democratic decision making
 - But power was centralized in single structure- the party
- **Socialist and Welfare state**
 - Collectivization of farming, nationalization of Industries, central planning
 - Govt. taking all economic decisions- how to produce, how much to produce, for whom to produce
 - Govt. insuring free education, health care, employment, housing, and almost all basic needs of the citizen
- **Totalitarian state**
 - Press Censorship, Information control, ideological doctrinarian, propaganda, torture, imprisonment, exile, and extermination of opposition
 - Heavy Militarization, secret police and spy services
 - Virtually no role of Religion, civil society, nationalism, and public opinion- dialogue/deliberations

Fall of Communism in Eastern Block Nations : Events Trajectories

- **Poland**
 - 'Solidarity': opposition front of workers, Intellectuals, students, catholic churches, and peasants waged longest mass movements beginning 1980
 - 1989: Decisive victory of 'Solidarity' in free democratic election
- **Hungary**
 - 1956: student led mass revolution and overthrow of communist regime, military action by USSR, increase in cold war tensions
 - 1989: change from inside; abandoned Leninism, adopted democratic socialism, multi-party election in 1990
- **East Germany**
 - 1989: mass movement and exodus, fall of Berlin wall, abandonment of communism, unification of east and west Germany
- **Czechoslovakia**
 - 1968: 'Prague Spring' USSR led Warsaw pact forces invaded to suppress reformist movements
 - October- November 1989: Mass movement and strike, abandonment of communist rule in December 1989
 - Free elections and establishment of non communist govt led by Vaclav Havel on 29 Dec 1989
- **Romania**
 - November 1989: Violent mass movement, short civil war, fall of communist govt.
- **Bulgaria**
 - November 1989: nine independent organizations joined together to establish the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria
 - January 1990: End of communist rule; plural democracy, market economy adopted

Fall of state Socialism in Europe: Features

- **Suddenness** : Few months to few years
- **Endo-genetic**: changes from within
 - Civil resistance : mass movement by people
- **Chain Reaction**
- Virtually no intervention by USSR ;No open role by Capitalist Powers
- In Majority of states, it was largely peaceful – ‘**Velvet Revolution**’
- Not only change of ruling party but **denouncement of communism**
 - Banning of communist party and negative connotation to ‘communism’ word

Disintegration of USSR: Event Trajectories

- 1985
 - Mikhail Gorbachev takes charge of USSR ; He Initiate ‘Glasnost’- Openness and ‘perestroika’- Restructuring
- 1989 :
 - 1989 Revolution in Eastern Europe: Demise of communist state one by one
 - Fall of Berlin Wall ; USSR withdrew from Afghanistan
 - first openly-contested elections for new Congress of People's Deputies in Russia.
- 1990
 - Boris Yeltsin became president of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
- 1991:
 - Open, democratic election to Presidency: Boris Yeltsin Russian president of Russian Republic
 - August 1991 : Coup by hardliner communist leaders; failed by street protest led by Boris Yeltsin
 - September 1991 : Baltic Republics- Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia- became independent from USSR
 - November 1991: Communist party was banned in Russia
 - December 25, 1991 : Gorbachev Resigned, USSR dissolved

Factors for fall of state socialism in USSR

- **Social change**
 - Demographic, Rise of middle class, growing awareness of western cultural openness and economic prosperity
- **Critical Thinking within Communist party**
- **Transformational leadership of Michael Gorbachev**
- **Economic problems**
 - Stagnant economy, low productivity, low quality, lower living standard,
- **Rise of Nationalism in Republics of USSR**
- **International contexts**
 - Reagan-Thatcher doctrine? Improving west-east relations
 - Lessening of cold-war rivalry
 - Soviet-Yugoslav split
 - Economic Reforms in China
 - Success of mass oppositions/demonstration in eastern block countries-chain effect

Impact of fall of state socialism in Europe

- **End of cold war**
 - Removal of 'iron Curtain', Dissolution of 'Warsaw Pact', expansion of 'NATO'
 - Ideological win of Capitalism, free market economy, and liberal democracy
 - Unipolar world : Hegemony of USA
- **Decline of Socialism in 3rd world**
 - Demise of communism in Cambodia, Magnolia, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Angola, Congo, Kenya
 - Only 5 communist state: China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos
- **New Independent nations**
 - 15 new states of erstwhile USSR, 5 new state from erstwhile Yugoslavia, 2 state from Czechoslovakia
- **'Shock Therapy'** : Big bang privatisation and introduction to market economy
 - great socio-economic turmoil
- Rapid **Globalisation**

Sum Up

- Socialism is understood as social ownership and operation of means of production, distribution of profit for social welfare, reducing inequality
- State socialism is specific variant of socialism in which state owns and operate means of production, act as supreme guardian and providers for the citizen
- Russian Revolution in 1917 led to establishment of single party communist rule in Russia, setting up of USSR, and communist rules in Central and Eastern Europe
- Most of eastern Block nations were restored from German control by 'Red Army' of Russia during World War II; USA and Western Europe accepted Russian Influence in these states; they became satellite nations to USSR
- Beginning 1980s, factors such as socio-cultural changes, Poor economic conditions of communist state, rise of nationalism, transformative leadership of Gorbachev and Yelstin, Waning of Cold War, and many other international factors led to sudden demise of communist state during 1989-91
- Post communist states faced great economic hardship and social turmoil due to 'Shock Therapy' prescribed by western capitalist power
- End of cold war, unipolar world, ideological victory of capitalism and liberal democracy, decline of socialism in 3rd world, emergence of many new nations, etc are major impacts of fall of socialism in Europe.

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COLONIALISM

Part One

Meaning, features, Forms

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Differentiate between Colonialism and Imperialism. Discuss the impact of colonialism in any one colony in Asia.

Q2. Explain the decolonisation process with an example drawn from erstwhile colony.

Q3. how the anti-colonial struggles influenced the political processes of post-colonial societies in Asia?

Q4. Give an account of process of decolonisation in Asia and Africa in the twentieth century.

Q.5: Examine the contributions of anti-colonial struggles in the study of comparative government and politics.

Q5 Notes: Lenin's theory of Imperialism ; neo-colonialism; forms of colonialism

Colonialism: Definitions & Meaning

- The policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. (<https://www.lexico.com>)
- **Colonialism** is the practice by which a powerful country **directly** controls less powerful countries and uses their resources to increase its own power and wealth. (*Collins Dictionary*)
- Colonialism is a practice of **domination**, which involves the **subjugation** of one people to another. (*Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*)
- a policy or system in which a country controls another country or area. (*Cambridge English Dictionary*)
- Colonialism is the extension of a nation's rule over territory beyond their borders. Colonizing countries usually control and exploit the resources, labour and markets of the colonized.
- Colonialism is a relationship between an indigenous majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule. (*Jürgen Osterhammel's Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview ; taken from Wikipedia*)

Colonialism and Imperialism

- Both are related but slightly different concepts
- **Colonialism**, originating from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer, denote transfer of population to a new territory, where they live permanently while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin
- **Imperialism**, originated from Latin term *imperium*, meaning to command, denotes the way that one country exercises power over another. It may be through settlement or indirect mechanisms of domination and control.
- Thus, practice of colonialism is driven by the ideology of Imperialism. Colonialism is one of the methods of Imperialism
- All colonialism is Imperialism, but all Imperialism is not colonialism
- Neo-colonialism and Imperialism: Left/Marxist ideology treats global capitalism led by free trade, and free market as form of modern colonialism and Imperialism

Ideological/Theoretical basis for Colonialism

- **Liberal approach:** Contradiction between Colonialism and liberal belief Individual Liberty, Rights, equal worth, shared humanity and universal human capacity for reason and self-government
- **“Civilizing Mission,”**: A way for moral reconciliation of above contradiction which suggested that a temporary period of political dependence or handholding was necessary in order for “uncivilized” societies to advance to the point where they were capable of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government.
- The idea that civilization is the culmination of a process of historical development
- **Social Darwinism:** ‘Survival of the fittest’ ; stronger/powerful people shall rule the weaker
- **Marxist approach:** View colonialism and imperialism as distinctive phase of late capitalism; expansion is inherent and inbuilt in capitalism
- Marx and Lenin’s views: Imperialism- stage of late capitalism but progressive force for development of peripheral
- **Wallerstein** world system theory and **Andre Gunder Frank’s** dependency theory

Chief Colonial Powers and their Colonies

- Population of people in colonial power nations: 370 Million ; population of colonized people: 560 Million
 - **Britain (70%)**
 - India, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Myanmar, Kenya, West Indies, Nigeria, Uganda
 - **France (10%)**
 - Canada, Algeria, Chad, Gabon, French India(Puducherry), Cambodia, Laos, French West Africa, Morocco, Lebanon, Tunisia
 - **Netherland (9%)**
 - Dutch East Indies, Dutch New Guinea, Suriname, Dutch Brazil
 - **Portugal(2%)**
 - Portuguese Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde), Portuguese India (Goa, Daman, Diu)
 - **Spain(2%)**
 - Peru, Chile, Canary Islands, many areas of Latin America, Cuba, Puerto Rico
 - **USA(2%)**
 - Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Nicaragua, Panama, Liberia
 - **Japan(4%)**
 - Taiwan, Korea, Kwantung
- Other colonial powers: Russia, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand**

Brief Timeline of Colonialism

- **First wave: 15th – 16th Century**
 - 1492: Discovery of the America by Columbus and beginning of the colonization of the Americas
 - 1494: Treaty of Tordesillas: Divided world outside Europe between Spain and Portugal
 - Spain colonized Brazil, Mexico, and large parts of Latin America
 - England, France, Netherland also started colonizing north America
 - 1498: Vasco de Gama reached Calicut via cape of good hope. Portugal started colonizing Asia
- **Second Wave: 16th to 18th Century**
 - 1600: Setting up monopoly trading companies- British, French, Dutch East India companies
 - Colonization of India, Myanmar, and many parts of Asia
- **Third wave: late 19th Century-1914**
 - *Scramble for Africa*: Invasion, occupation, division, and colonization of African territory by European powers.
- **3 stages of colonialism:** Trade/Mercantile, Industrial , Finance/Investment

Forms or types of Colonialism

- On the basis of economic relationship between colonizer and colonized people
 - Mercantile or trading colonialism
 - Industrial or Capitalist or extractive Colonialism
 - Finance or Investment capitalism
 - Planter colonialism
 - Transport colonialism
- On the basis of Modes of control
 - Direct : India, Indonesia, Algeria, Kenya
 - Indirect: China, Thailand, Japan
- On the basis settlement and motives : Settler, Exploitative, Surrogate, Internal

Forms of Colonialism: On the basis of Motives and Transfer of Population

- **Settler Colonialism: Thick** Colonialism: Large numbers of people from colonizing power settle down permanently in the colonized land
 - Example: New Zealand, Canada, The United States of America and Australia
- **Exploitative:** Main motive is to economic exploitation, not settling or **thin** colonialism
 - Example: Most of European colonies in Asia and Africa
- **surrogate colonialism:** *by Scott Atran:* Colonizing power encourages and provides support for settling of a non-native group over land occupied by an indigenous people.
 - **Example:** British allowing Zionist settlement in Palestine; white settlement in South Africa
- **internal colonialism:** Coined *by Frantz Fanon*, oppression and subordination of one group/region by another group/region in a decolonized country
 - Ethnic domination of Sinhalese in Sri Lanka; racial oppression of Blacks in USA

Features of Colonialism

- Greatly varying forms and patterns of colonization
- Global Phenomenon- almost all parts of the globe got involved
- Master- subordinate relationship between colonizing and colonized
- Political subjugation and economic exploitation of colonies
- Economic exploitation
 - Unequal exchange – drain of wealth
 - Colonies becoming market for expanding European capitalism
- Cultural hegemony, Racism, and Eurocentrism
- Closely linked to Capitalism and Imperialism

Impacts of Colonialism

- On the Colonized nations/people
 - Cultural Shock and turmoil
 - Economic Exploitation- unequal exchange, 'Peripheral' status, drain of wealth
 - Integration of colonies into world capitalist system as 'Periphery'
 - Breaking link with the past: Societal progress took different path which continued unchanged even after independence
 - National consciousness, becoming nation-state like European states without having homogeneity and long historical evolution
 - aspects of everyday life , including literature, arts, religion, architecture, music, food, hairstyle, clothing, customs, and even the standard of beauty, deeply influenced by European culture.
- Dichotomy and contradiction in socio-economic life in the colonies- 'Prismatic Society'
 - Superimposition of 'modern' institutional structure on traditional structure and practices
 - Homogeneous nation-state on top of highly heterogenous and multicultural society
 - 'core' and 'Periphery' in colonies; dualistic/prismatic society
 - Western educated Elites vs largely illiterate impoverished masses
- Eurocentrism, Ethnocentrism- cultural hegemony
- Evolution of International state system, International Society, and globalized world

Colonialism and Globalization

- Played crucial role in evolution of modern International society of nation-states
 - Only after decolonization and emergence of post colonial states and their inclusion into European state system, state system became International
- It became vehicle for expansion of capitalism, free market economy and liberal democracy worldwide
- Information and communication technologies (ICT)- crucial for globalization- Evolved as solution for the problem of control from distant land
- Brought the world closer in theory/ideology and practices:
 - Normative political values- Freedom, Rights, Equality, Justice
 - Political Practices: Democracy, rule of law, separation of power, professional public administration ;
 - Economic practices: Free trade, Investment

Colonialism: Its importance for Comparative Politics

- Colonialism had different forms, colonizing power, and event trajectories in different colonial nations. Valuable treasure for comparative study
 - comparing colonization in different part of globe, finding pattern and causal relationship have enriched comparative politics
- Western political thinkers came to know more about political phenomenon in colonial nations- despite Orientalism and Eurocentrism
- Study of anti-colonial struggle provided deeper insights on political behaviours of people in both the colonies and colonizers
- Process of De-colonization and subsequent creation of new nation-states- post colonial states- provided another rich sources for comparative politics
- **Examples:** Comparative IR- modernization, developmental, and Dependency theories; Comparative Public Admin- Riggs Ecological approach; Sartori's comparison of political parties



Chinua Achebe(1930-2013): Nigerian poet, thinker, critic of colonialism. His first novel '*Things Fall Apart*' (1958) is significant account of colonialism in Africa

Joseph Conrad(1857-1924): Polish-British Writer. Wrote **Novels on** European-dominated world— including imperialism and colonialism. Central to Conrad's work is the idea that there is little difference between "civilized people" and those described as "savages"; His '*Heart of Darkness*'(1899) raises questions about imperialism and racism



Prominent Contributors



Frantz Fanon(1925-1961): French West Indian, Psychiatrist, political philosopher and author ; '*Black skin, while mask*(1952)' '*A dying Colonialism*(1959), '*the wretched of the Earth*(1961)' Perhaps the most influential writer on post colonial studies

Edward Said (1935 –2003):Palestinian born US citizen; Professor of Literature in Columbia University. Very influential writer on colonialism.Said is known for the book '*Orientalism*' (1978), provides deep insight about colonialism from the perspective of colonized people. a critique of the cultural representations of 'Eastern' Culture by 'Europe'



Sum Up

- Colonialism is domination, control, and rules of foreign powers on people/nations
- Colonialism denotes socio-political and economic dominance of European powers on people/nations of other parts of the Earth during 16th to 20th Century
- Colonialism evolved in different forms, patterns, features, and consequences
- Essential features of colonialism- political subjugation, economic exploitation, cultural hegemony, and its close links to capitalism and Imperialism
- Study of different patterns, forms of colonialism, anti-colonial struggle, de-colonization process, and post colonial states are rich sources for comparative politics
- It deeply affected socio-political structure and processes of colonies. It shaped the current International society, and globalized world

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COLONIALISM

Part Two

De-Colonisation and Post Colonial States

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Meaning and definitions of Decolonization

Forms, Features, and Process of Decolonisation

Anti-colonial Struggle: pattern, process, features

Post Colonial State: Ideological perspectives and features

Prominent Anti-Colonial Leaders

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Differentiate between Colonialism and Imperialism. Discuss the impact of colonialism in any one colony in Asia.

Q2. Explain the decolonisation process with an example drawn from erstwhile colony.

Q3. how the anti-colonial struggles influenced the political processes of post-colonial societies in Asia?

Q4. Give an account of process of decolonisation in Asia and Africa in the twentieth century.

Q.5: Examine the contributions of anti-colonial struggles in the study of comparative government and politics.

Q5 Notes: Lenin's theory of Imperialism ; neo-colonialism; forms of colonialism

De-colonisation: Definition and Meaning

- Process by which colonies become independent of the colonizing country.
- Short period of about 25 years post world war II during which colonizers were forced to transfer power and grant political sovereignty to the colonies.
- De-colonization represented not only the transference of legal sovereignty, but also movement for moral justice and political solidarity against imperialism
- De-colonization, therefore, also denoted rejection of superiority of European cultural and civilization and reclaiming the indigenous culture & civilization
- Thus, it refers both to the anti-imperialist political movement and to an emancipatory ideology which sought or claimed to liberate the nation and humanity itself.

De-colonization Process

- Japan victory over Russia in 1905- first victory of the dominated peoples against an imperial power.
- Anti-colonial struggles intensified during inter-war period but not a coherent event like Russian revolution
- was accompanied by the appearance of national consciousness in the colonies
- The timings and patterns of decolonization were extremely varied, and the goals of the anti-colonial struggles in different countries were not always consistent with each other.
- However, had an overarching pattern and process: Led by western educated urban Elites, Great leaders successful in mass mobilization, unified resistance for political and cultural sovereignty, nation building, political process and institution building on the pattern of European nation-states
- First to get Independence was Philippines from the United States in 1946. But, India's Independence in 1947 accelerated the demonization process first in Asia, then west Africa, and East Africa
- Bandung conference 1955, in which newly independent Afro-Asian nations denounced Imperialism and expressed solidarity , further accelerated decolonization in Asia and Africa
- NAM movement in 1961 helped strengthened autonomous political existence of new nations
- However, from Marxist perspective Decolonization denotes Integration of post colonial state into global capital system as 'periphery'

Factors behind accelerated/sudden decolonization

- Weakened European powers after two world wars
- Rise of USA and USSR as superpowers with polar opposite ideologies
- Rise of Germany and Japan as new Imperial power
- Setting up of UN and its role in giving voice to colonized nations
- Anti-colonial struggle and nationalist movements in colonial nations
- Independence of India and coming together of Afro-Asian against colonialism
- New Discourse on Civilization: Ideological crisis post WW1– Denouncement of 'Civilizing Mission'

Features of decolonialization

- Suddenness: In 25 years almost all colonial nations became independent
- Anti Colonial Struggle led by western educated Elites of the colonies
- Continuance of Colonial institutional structure and socio-political system
- Superimposition of 'homogeneous nation-state concept' on historically multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic heterogenous society
- Quasi-state nature of post colonial nation-states
 - Continued dependence- economic, political, military- on colonial powers
 - Neo-colonialism and Neo-Imperialism
 - Internal Colonialism
- Greatly varying post colonial experience
- Divide and quit; ethnic conflict, Civil war, boarder conflict

Anti Colonial Struggle: Forms and Features

- Forms based on violence/armed struggle
 - **Peaceful** : India, Sri-Lanka, Ghana, Myanmar, Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya
 - **Violent**: Algeria, Congo, Portuguese colonies of Guinea -Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea, French colony of Indonesia, Vietnam)
- Based on motive
 - **Independence movement**: freedom from rural but to continue the socio-political system- India, Ghana
 - **Liberation movement**: Changing the socio-political system with freedom – Vietnam, Algeria
- Overarching Features:
 - Led by western educated Elites who believed in western political values
 - Mobilization of masses in rural areas and Hinterland
 - Built on three pillars- socialism, and New discourse on civilisation, and national self-determination
 - significant interconnections among individuals, organizations, and ideas among worldwide anti-colonial movements
- Methods:
 - invoking historical nation, ancient civilization, Emancipatory vision, anti-colonial sentiments, homogenization overlaid on highly heterogenous society
 - Non-violent opposition: satyagraha, boycott, non-cooperation, civil disobedience
 - Violent arms struggle: Guerilla warfare

3 stages of Anti-Colonial Struggle

- By Geoffrey Barraclough- an English Historian
- **Proto-Nationalism**
 - Demand for more concession, reforms, and representation
 - Ex: Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905
- **The Rise of New Leadership**
 - New mass leaders, mass mobilization, demand for independence
 - Ex. Sarakat Islam committed itself to independence in 1917 under the leadership of Sukarno ; Leadership of INC passed on to Gandhi, Nehru
- **Mass Movement :**
 - Active mass movement for independence
 - Ex: Civil disobedience, Quit India; Indonesia in 1945; Nigeria in 1951

Anti-colonial struggle and political process

- First time people's political behaviour manifested in mass political mobilization against the colonial rule
- Introduction of democratic political processes and Institutions :
 - Nationalism, nation-state
 - Political Parties, Political socialization and recruitment, political thoughts, discourse, media
 - Elections and voting rights
 - Legislative accountability of executives
 - Parliament, state legislature, elected government
- Anti-colonial struggles were led by urban coastal core by western educated elites who were liberals and hence strengthened the western political processes and institutions.
- This created a Dichotomy and gap between modern core and hinterland.
- Political system and process having colonial imprints: authoritarianism, paternalistic, patrimonial, and elitist democracy

Features of Anti-Colonial Struggle- Indian Case

- Leadership : Western educated middle class, mostly lawyers – Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah
- Method of mass mobilization : Raising National consciousness, fight against colonial power for emancipation
- National consciousness, National Awakening, Nationalism- unified opposition to Imperialism and nation founded on ancient civilization
- Largely non-violent led by liberal leaders. Far left – Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad- and Subhash Chandra Bose- adopted violent means but were not successful
- A long mass movement- non-cooperation 1919, Civil Disobedience-1931, Quit India-1942 led by Congress party following Gandhian ideologies of non-violence but active non-cooperation, economic independence, and social reforms
- Nationalist leaders attempt to raise national consciousness by invoking ancient Indian civilization and historical past resulted into alienation of Muslims who claimed to form separate nation.
- Project of nation building (by highlighting homogeneities) in tension with universalistic political values of rights, equality, and Justice
- Peaceful transfer of power but partition led to civil war and large scale violence.

Post colonial state: Ideological perspectives

- **Liberal perspective:**
 - state as an instrument for development, modernization, and nation building
- **Marxist view:**
 - state as an instrument of class domination and as a forum to manage affairs of bourgeois; principal agent for developing capitalism in the postcolonial era
 - Post colonial state protecting interests of 3 classes- metropolitan bourgeois, indigenous bourgeois, and landed class(Hamza Alvi)
 - Influence of dominant class and International Capital- relative autonomy
 - State capitalism: state controlled capitalist mode of production
- **Pluralist View**
 - Post colonial state as mediator of multiple competing interest groups, consensus builder, correcting market failures
- **State as neo-patrimonial entity :**
 - Informal patron-client relationship; patrons use state resources to secure loyalty
 - state controlling resources. Power holders and brokers develop network of patronage to get material benefits

Post colonial states : Features

- Very different pattern of peace, progress, development
- Ideological leaning towards socialism; Façade of Non-Alignment
- Quasi-states nature: not truly sovereign, dependent on ex colonial master
- Developmental authoritarianism
- Faced ethnic clash, civil war, threat from neighbours, economic crisis
- Maximization of territories, homogenization of population, and militarization of borders- boarder or frontier issues
- Dealing with multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism
- History(path dependency), geopolitical situation, political agency- factors
- Post Colonial state created nation vs nations created state in Europe



U Nu (1907-1995) : Burma/Myanmar
1st PM of Burma

Sukarno (1901 –1970): Indonesia; its 1st President



Kwame Nkrumah(1909-1972): Ghana (Gold Coast)
1st PM and 1st President of Ghana

Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969):
Vietnam ; PM and president of
North Vietnam



Prominent Anti-Colonial Leaders



Julius Nyerere(1922 –1999):Tanzania
Its 1st PM and President

Sun Yat-Sen(1866-1925): Republic of China
(Taiwan)



Mao Zedong (1893-1976): China
Its supreme leader of China till his death

Mahatma Gandhi(1869-1948): India



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THANKS FOR WATCHING!

PLZ POST YOUR QUERIES THROUGH COMMENTS!
Email: dupolschelp2018@gmail.com

GOOD LUCK !

EUROCENTRISM

Meaning, features, Impacts

How it affected Comparative Politics

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Eurocentrism: Meaning

- It Denotes judging the nations and people of world from the perspective and worldview of 'Europe'
- Worldview and ideologies which assume culture, norms, and values of 'Europe' as mainstream, centre, and prime and those of Asia/Africa/Latin America as 'other', peripheral, inferior
- Projecting 'European' culture as rational, scientific, progressive, and modern and 'Oriental' culture as irrational, superstitious, and traditional
- It is more like Paradigm which provides overall framework and academic/intellectual consensus within which academic research and theorization are done and knowledge are produced.
- Hegemony of 'Europe' in socio-cultural, scientific, technological, and almost all fields
- Europe's reconstruction of the world- '*gave the world its world*' (**Stephen Spender**)
- Closely related to 'Ethnocentrism' : visualizing and judging other culture/traditions from one's own culture's lens (perspective)
- Also related to colonialism and Imperialism -Globalization led by capitalist free market economy and liberal democracy are manifestation of Eurocentrism in present times

Symptoms of Eurocentrism

- **Cartography and distorted Geography**
 - Mercator's Projection: World Map distorting European nations as bigger, on top, and at centre
 - Assuming Climate, topography, coastline, flora/fauna of 'Europe' as best and contributing to its 'Pre-Eminence'
- **Historiography**
 - sees history as following a linear path from Greece through Rome to medieval then modern Europe
 - Highlighting and glorifying historical events of 'Europe' and undermining those of 'Others'
- **Claim of Universal Truth/values/norms: parochial universalism**
 - Claiming universal applicability of Liberty, Rights, Democracy, Scientifically discovered truth and principles- disregarding context and co-existence of multiple truth
- Assumption of **superior western civilization**
 - Projecting 'European' culture as rational, scientific, progressive
- **Orientalism**
 - Discrediting 'Eastern' culture/civilization as irrational, superstitious, traditional, Backward
- Its attempt to impose theory of progress and development: **modernization theory**
 - modernity is a European phenomenon and that the decisive events in modernization have occurred purely on European soil
 - Path to progress, development, and modernity is same for all nations as it was for 'Europe'

Why Eurocentrism?

- Superior achievements of 'Europe' in last 300 years- in science, technology, military might, academics, Economy, International Relation, and almost all fields of human endeavour
- Discovery, conquest, colonization and integration of America and Australia-New Zealand in its fold
- Hegemony of 'Europe' in the world 'Superstructure' – socio-cultural, legal-political dominance
- 'European Miracle'-16th-19th century- Industrial/scientific Revolution, Capitalism, democracy, bureaucratization, individual freedom, rights, etc
- Demise of USSR and socialism, Globalization led by free market economy and liberal democracies – 'End of History and ideological battle'

Eurocentrism in Political Science

- Modern Social Science developed in 'Europe', in response to social problems of 'Europe' and its language, meaning, concepts, terminologies are rooted in European Culture.
- Normative political values- core of political theory- Liberty, Rights, Justice, Democracy are defined in the socio-cultural context of 'Europe'
- Almost all note-worthy political thinkers are from 'Europe'- Plato, Aristotle, Hobbs, Locke, Rousseau, Marx, Weber, Rawls, Simon- and were Eurocentric in their approach
- Almost all political theories were propounded, tested and validated in the socio-cultural settings of 'Europe'
- Majority of the greatest political thinkers suffered from Eurocentrism;
- Examples:
 - Marx: Asiatic mode of production, despotic orientalism, excluded Asia/Africa from his historical dialectics
 - Weber: Rationality of European Race, Irrationality and traditionalism of non-European
 - John Rawls: His theory of Justice is by and for the liberal people/culture of West
 - Hegel: Europe has a special, privileged, central place in world history; European civilisation led by Christianity has advanced the spirit of freedom ; Non-European do not have proper History

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Eurocentrism in Comparative Politics

- From Aristotle to Montesquieu and Tocqueville, units/country taken for comparison were mostly European
- Paradigm, be it normativism in traditional approach or behaviourism/Empiricism in modern approach were Eurocentric
- During Colonial era, countries/people of Asia/Africa were taken for comparison, but it was to prove superiority of European culture/race and justify colonization- as civilization mission
- Comparative politics departments of all major universities focus more on Issues/phenomenon of European nations/people
- System approach of Easton, World system Theory, Modernization theory, Riggs ecological approach, Human relation theory, Weber's theory of authority, Simon's rational choice theory, etc have Eurocentric overtones.

How Eurocentrism is posing challenges for Comparative politics?

- has distorted its analyses and its capacity to deal with the problems of the contemporary world.
- Whatever Europe did have been analyzed incorrectly and extrapolated inappropriately which have dangerous consequences for science and social sciences/political theories/comparative politics
- Obstruct, hinder understanding the social world for many social phenomenon, alien to western cultures, are either not visible or meaningful to the researcher/social scientists
- Cultural, historical, and developmental determinism is harming comparative research in 'Europe' as well as 'Peripheral' nations
- It distort the frame of reference of comparison, leading to misleading causal relationship
- Only 'European' academic ecosystem is truly international, but Eurocentrism help produce research scholars of 3rd world having distorted understanding of political phenomenon
- It robs comparative politics its very essence, i.e. Comparison of diverse units/items to discover patterns of relationship. Forces closed or circular comparison.
- Undermine multicultural, context oriented comparative study.

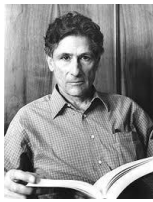


Samir Amin(1931-2018): Egyptian-French political scientist having Marxist orientation. He coined 'Eurocentrism' in 1980s and wrote extensively on this topic. May be called father of 'Eurocentrism' '*Eurocentrism (1989)*' ; '*Global History - a View from the South*'; '*Capitalism in the age of Globalization*'

Immanuel Wallerstein (1930 –2019): American sociologist and economic historian. Propounded World System Theory. He wrote '*EUROCENTRISM AND ITS AVATARS: THE DILEMMAS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE*'



Prominent Contributors



Andre Gunder Frank (1929-2005): German-American sociologist ; Dependency theory '*Re-Orienting the 19th century: global economy in continuing Asian age*'
Busted the myth of 'European Miracle' ; *Avowed critique of 'Eurocentrism'*



Edward Said (1935 –2003):Palestinian born US citizen; Professor of Literature in Columbia University
Said is known for the book *Orientalism* (1978), a critique of the cultural representations of 'Eastern' Culture by 'Europe'

Sum Up

- Eurocentrism, coined in 1980s by Samir Amin, denotes centrality and supremacy of 'European' culture, history, civilization, progress, modernity, language, and everything associated with it.
- It also denotes undermining culture, civilization, achievements, and anything associated with 'Eastern' or 'Oriental' world
- Industrial and scientific revolution, economic development led by free market capitalism, liberal democracies, colonialism, and heavily tilted global power balance towards 'Europe' led to Eurocentrism
- Modern political science is highly Eurocentric. All major political concepts, values, terminologies are defined in socio-cultural settings of 'Europe'.
- Comparative politics, since its beginning, has suffered from Eurocentrism. Overwhelming majority of comparisons were limited to 'Europe'; comparative methods, approaches, and principles were all 'European' and 'western'- ignoring 3rd world
- Eurocentrism has harmed comparative politics by making many important political phenomenon invisible, distorting political reality, and obscuring understanding of socio-political world in its totality.

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BRITAIN

PART ONE

Constitutional Developments and Political Culture

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the role of conventions in the political system of Britain.

Q2: British Parliament is a unique amalgamation of progressive and conservative forces. Discuss.

Q3: Critically examine the major changes in the British political economy after WW II

Notes: Party system in Great Britain ; Westminster System;

Britain: At a Glance



Great Britain Vs United Kingdom Vs England ?

- **The UK** – a sovereign state that includes England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.
- **Great Britain** – an island situated off the north west coast of Europe.
- **British Isles** – a collection of over 6,000 islands, of which Great Britain is the largest.
- **England** – a country within the UK.

Britain: At a Glance

- **Official Name:** United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- **UK:** England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland
- **Area:** 0.244 million Sq.Km (India 3.2 m sq-km): 1/13rd of India
- **Demography:** Population: 60 million (India 1300 m) same as Gujarat
 - Ethnic White British of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Viking and Norman origin
 - Religion: Christian- Majority Protestants
- **Political System:** Multi-party Democracy; Parliamentary system
- **Economy:**
 - GDP : about 2.83 trillion USD (India about 2,72 T USD): 5th largest in world
 - GDP per Capita: about 42558 USD (India: 2000 USD) : 21st highest
 - Export 400 B USD: Import : 617 USD (2017) ; Trade Deficit: 217 USD
 - 10th largest export economy in the world and the 11th most complex economy
- Member of G8, G20, NATO, Commonwealth , EU (Brexit?)
- **Geography** : Island in Atlantic ocean, separated by English channel from mainland Europe
- **Historical** : Neolithic period Stonehenge, Roman Bath, Ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge – Newton's college

Major Political Phases

- **11th to 17th Century:** Norman Rule since 1066; Magna Carta 1215 ; 1536 Acts of Union- England and Wales unified; 1603 – unification of Scottish & English crown; Act of Union of 1707- political unification of England, Wales and Scotland
- **16th-17th Century :** religious conflicts, national rivalries, and struggles between rulers and Parliament
 - 1640s : Civil War ; 1688 : Glorious Revolution- Constitutional Monarchy ; Supremacy of Parliament
 - Dominance of Church of England (Anglican Church) over Roman Catholic Churches
- **Industrial Revolution and British Empire(18th-19th Century)**
 - 18th Century: Industrial Revolution helped shape the development of the British state and changed forever the British people's way of life. It also helped Industrial Colonization by British Empire
 - 19th Century: Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), confirmed Britain's commercial, military, and geopolitical preeminence. British Empire became hegemonic power- Global Empire, Royal Navy ensuring Free Trade, British Culture, convention
- **Struggles for representation and participation in Governance(20th Century- till 1928)**
 - Reform Act of 1832 extended the voting rights to a section of the (male) middle class – 5 % to 7% !
 - more representation to manufacturing centers, such as Manchester and Birmingham
 - The Chartist movement: 1830s- People's Charter- universal male suffrage and other radical reforms
 - Representation of the People Act of 1918: Voting rights to all adult male but only to female over age of 30 years
 - 1928: voting rights to all adult female over age of 21 years ; 1969 : voting age reduced to 18 years for both men & women
- **Interventionist state(World war periods)**
 - management of the economy and the provision of social welfare for citizens- primary responsibilities of the state
 - contradicted the policy of laissez-faire ((minimal government interference in the operation of markets)- cornerstone of Liberalism
- **Collectivist Consensus (Post WWII-1945–1979)**
 - Extended role of state in Economic Governance and social welfare : Welfare State : Social Democracy
- **Neo-Liberal phase: Thatcher era- State retreating from direct economic management- Steering rather than rowing**

Britain: Political System

- **Unitary state in which some power is given(devolved) to national govt. of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland**
- **Constitutional Monarchy and Parliamentary form of Govt.**
- **Executives:**
 - Prime Minister and his cabinet; PM is the leader of majority party in House of Commons
 - Some executive power is devolved (de-centralised) to govt. of Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, Greater London Authority
- **Legislature:**
 - British Parliament : **Upper House: House of Lords**(793 members mostly appointed, Tenure varies ; **House of Commons** (650 members directly elected for maximum 5 years)
 - National Legislature: Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales, the Northern Ireland Assembly and the *London Assembly*
 - Local Govt: Council: directly elected councillors; headed by mayor
 - Supreme power is vested in British Parliament- unlike India ; No judicial review power to courts
- **Judiciary:**
 - 218 county courts for small cases and the High Court; Court of Appeal; Highest court of appeal is now Supreme court of UK (previously House of Lords Appellate Committee)
 - Judicial system of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland vary
 - No codified law: Common Law are part of convention and unwritten constitution
- **Election system:** First past the Post ; Multi party system but actually two plus one party system: Conservative and Labour party and Liberal party

Party System

- More than 400 registered parties in UK
- But in essence two plus one party system
- Two main parties- Conservative and Labour ; third one is Liberal democrats
 - Before 1850 : Whigs and the Tories
 - Whigs: aristocratic dynasties committed to the Protestant, emerging capitalist class
 - Tories: landed class, the Church of England and Scotland.
 - After 1850 Tories developed into Conservative and Whigs as Liberal party
 - 1920s: Labour party emerged - labour movement, organized trades unions and various socialist societies.
 - Conservative: centre-right ; Liberal : Centrist; Labour : Centre left
- Nationalist parties: Scottish National Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Sinn Féin (Ireland), Plaid Cymru (Wales)
- Specific agenda parties: Green party, UK Independence Party(UKIP), Brexit party, Change UK (Pro EU)

Constitutional Convention in UK

- No written constitution and codified law
- an informal and uncoded procedural agreement that is followed by the institutions of the state
- conventions constitute 'the understandings, habits or practices' that 'regulate the conduct of the several members of the sovereign power, of the Ministry or other officials'.(Dicey)
- Codification of Conventions: The Cabinet Manual, Sewel convention, court rulings
- Examples:
 - The monarch will accept and act on the advice of their ministers, who are responsible to Parliament for that advice
 - Collective responsibility of the Cabinet
 - the House of Lords will not oppose the second or third reading of any government legislation promised in its election manifesto- Salisbury Convention
 - The monarch grants royal assent to all legislation but monarch does not refuse to sign a Bill approved by Parliament
 - During a general election, no major party shall put up an opponent against a Speaker seeking re-election
 - The Prime Minister should be a member House of Commons
 - UK Parliament does not legislate on matters devolved to Scotland without prior consent of the Scottish Parliament -The Sewel convention

Features of British Political culture

- Celebrates democracy's continuity, gradualism, Constitutionalism, consensus, and tolerance.
- Important role of conventions/traditions in socio-political sphere
- Monarchy is symbol for unity, tradition, and continuity
- Highly class conscious society
- more secular politics than most other countries in Western Europe
 - party loyalties are divided only by class and not by religion.
- Strong sense of Sovereignty, nationality, and exclusiveness from mainland Europe
- Preference for important role of state in management of the economy Welfare state but check on govt's power
- British politics is often studied as a model of representative Democracy
 - : 1st parliament, representative govt, Party system, Parliamentary system
 - a model of gradual and peaceful evolution of democratic government
- Multi-national Identity : Scottish, Wales, Irish nation

Social Welfare & Security

- Very Robust Social Welfare schemes
- National Health Service : Universal free medical care : Major Electoral Issue
- Free and compulsory Education up to High School
- Govt. provide loan to students for higher education; student pay only when they start earning above a certain level
- Social Security Schemes for old age care, pension, Universal Credit, Jobseeker's Allowance, Maternity Allowance, etc.
- Most benefits are only for those having income less than a certain limit - means-tested
- Very Supporting social and physical infrastructure for physically challenged and old population

Westminster Style of Parliamentary Govt

- British Parliament Sits in the palace of Westminster in London
- All the Constitutional conventions associated with parliamentary form of Govt in Britain
 - Nominal/figurative head of state
 - Real power vested in PM- head of Govt
 - PM is the leader of majority party/coalition in lower house of parliament
 - Collective Responsibility of Cabinet
 - Lower House has upper hand in legislation and governance
 - Supreme power of the parliament- representing will of the people

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BRITAIN

PART TWO

Political Economy

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the role of conventions in the political system of Britain.

Q2: British Parliament is a unique amalgamation of progressive and conservative forces. Discuss.

Q3: Critically examine the major changes in the British political economy after WW II

Notes: Party system in Great Britain ; Westminster System;

Britain: At a Glance



- **Official Name:** United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- **UK:** England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland
- **Area:** 0.244 million Sq.Km (India 3.2 m sq-km): 1/13rd of India
- **Demography:** Population: 60 million (India 1300 m) same as Gujarat
 - Ethnic White British of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Viking and Norman origin
 - Religion: Christian- Majority Protestants
- **Political System:** Multi-party Democracy; Parliamentary system
- **Economy:**
 - GDP : about 2.83 trillion USD (India about 2,72 T USD): 5th largest in world
 - GDP per Capita: about 42558 USD (India: 2000 USD) : 21st highest
 - Export 400 B USD: Import : 617 USD (2017) ; Trade Deficit: 217 USD
 - 10th largest export economy in the world and the 11th most complex economy
- Member of G8, G20, NATO, Commonwealth , EU (Brexit?)
- **Geography :** Island in Atlantic ocean, separated by English channel from mainland Europe
- **Historical :** Neolithic period Stonehenge, Roman Bath, Ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge – Newton's college

Political Economy

- May be studied in Five Phases
- Before World war II
 - Medieval period: Feudal society and agrarian economy
 - 15th-16th century: Evolution of large scale commercial farming- evolution of capitalist agrarian economy
 - 17th century: Mercantile capitalism : Monopoly trading companies, colonization
 - 18th-19th century: Industrial Revolution: Export oriented large scale Industrialization- textile, steel; Industrial colonization
- Collective Consensus Era : 1945- 1970s
- Neo-Liberal Era (Thatcher era) : 1979-1997
- New Labour Era (Blair-Brown era) : 1997-2010
- Coalition Era and Brexit : Since 2010

Collectivist Consensus Era

- Post World War II till 1970s
- Golden period, political consensus for interventionist and welfare state
 - State shall have primary role in economic management of the nation and shall ensure social welfare, and equity - free education, free health care, social security
- State took the responsibility to secure low levels of unemployment (a policy of full employment), expand social welfare services, maintain a healthy rate of growth, keep prices stable, and achieve desirable balance-of-payments and exchange rates
- Nationalization of key sectors- telecom, utility, airlines, oil/gas
- Social peace and harmony, strong sense of patriotism and nation building
- Approach : **'Keynesian'** demand management
- But by 1970s economic slowdown, high Inflation, high unemployment, social unrest, and labour strikes broke the consensus and the "winter of discontent": 1978–1979 finally ended the golden era

Thatcher Era: Neo-liberalism- free market economy

- 1979- 1997
- Rejection of Keynesianism- Demand side management by Govt spending
- Influenced by neo-liberal doctrine of Friedrich Hayek
- Monetarism and strict fiscal policy: controlling the money supply, tax reforms, containing fiscal deficit and public debt,
- minimal intervention of state in market economy – steering than rowing
 - Privatisation of state owned companies- British Telecom, British Airways, British Gas
 - Reforms in National Health Service: Purchase provider separation
- promote entrepreneurship, competitiveness, and individual autonomy
- Successes: Impressive GDP growth, Lower Inflation, Lower unemployment

New Labour Era: The Third Way

- 1997-2010
- The Labour Party, having traditionally socialist agenda, changed its colour under the leadership of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown
- New Labour projected itself as an alternative to both Thatcherite monetarism and traditional Keynesianism
- Attempted to combine best of both socialism and capitalism – Mixed economy
- Human resource development, education, skill enhancement, training to help them take benefit of market economy
- Accepted and embraced globalization: , attracting FDI, strict control of Inflation, pro-business and pro-investment economic environment
- Inclusive “stakeholder” economy in which business has the flexibility, security, and mobility to compete and workers have the skills and training to participate effectively in the global labor market
- Balance pragmatism and innovation in economic management
- commitment on the Social Welfare. broader social investment in education, health care, and training

Political Economy of Britain: Common Features

- Very strong sense of social welfare responsibilities of the state
- Its deep rooting in gradualism makes it economic policy slow and reactive
- Economic **strength**: Financial services, knowledge intensive high-technology industrial sectors, superior microeconomic competitiveness, top rank in national business environment and company operations and strategy
- Economic **weaknesses**: low productivity in manufacturing, large trade deficit (50 b USD in 2019), low investment, and low spending on R&D, rising costs of fuel, declining housing values, and the credit crunch, low GDP growth
- Low to moderate GDP growth rate- averaged 2.45 percent from 1956 until 2019 ; all time high in 1973 and lowest in 2009 ; below 2 % in recent years
- **Economic shift in focus**: heavy industry to a predominantly service economy especially financial services - now net importer of manufactured goods;

Edmund Burke(1729--1797) Anglo-Irish statesman and philosopher. Father of Conservatism in Britain. The Reflections on the Revolution in France, was critic of French revolution. He was member of Whigs party but very close to Tories due to his conservative philosophy. Left deep impact on British political Culture



Margaret Thatcher(1925-2013): longest serving British PM in 20th Century 1979-1990. Neo liberal phase of British political economy known as Thatcherism. Known as 'The Iron Lady' her uncompromising politics and leadership style.



Leaders/Philosophers who Influenced British Political Culture

Anthony Charles Lynton Blair(1953): Led 'New Labour' into power in 1997, remained PM from 1997 to 2007. Most successful phase of Labour party.



John Locke(1632-1704):Father of Liberalism; supported power to parliament
Strongest impact on political culture of Britain.

Other prominent Contributors: Hobbs, Chamberlain, Winston Churchill

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BRAZIL

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Constitutional Developments and Political Economy

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. How have the neo-liberal forces impacted the political economy of Brazil?

Q2. Brazil has emerged as the major economic power in the recent years. Discuss the political economy of Brazil in light of this statement.

Notes: Democratic change in Brazil, Multi-part system in Brazil

Brazil: At a Glance

- **Official Name:** Federative Republic of Brazil
- **Area:** 8.5 million Sq.Km (India 3.2 m sq-km): 5th largest
- **Demography:** Population: 200 million(India 1300 m) : 5th Largest
 - White: 54%, Mulatto (mixed white and Black) 38.5%, Black 6.2%, 1.5 m Japanese origin
 - Religion: Mostly Christian- 75% Roman Catholic, 15% protestants
- **Political System:** Multi-party Democracy; Presidential system
- **Economy:**
 - GDP : about 2 Trillion USD (India about 3 T USD): 9th Largest
 - GDP per Capita: about 9000 USD (India about 2000 USD) 73rd ; India 145
 - Export base Economy: Largest producer of Coffee, Sugar, Soyabean ; other Agri exports :Cocoa, Tobbaco, Corn, beef, ethanol and frozen chickens ; other export items: crude oil, iron ores, chemical woodpulp, cars, steel
 - Huge Trade surplus : more than 50 b USD (India – minus 176 b USD)
- Member of G20, BRICS, MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market) , FTAA(Free Trade Agreement of the Americas)
- **Cultural :** World famous for its Football, Carnival, Samba dance & Music, Sun shined Beaches, Amazon basin

Some Unique Socio-political Features of Brazil

- Brazil is the only Portuguese-speaking nation in America.
- Despite successfully launching largest social welfare schemes such as Bolsa Familia, one the most inequal society ; Gini coefficient 0.6
- Democracy coexists with corruption just as growth coexists with poverty and inequality in Brazil.
- Amazon basin : 40% of the globe's entire rain-forests, exists one-fifth of planetary oxygen production and one-fifth of planetary fresh water. one-tenth of the planet's plant and animal population
- Brazilian state is an anomaly. It has been both highly centralized and decentralized during different periods of its history.
- Fragmentation and Personalism in Brazilian politics : politicians switching parties many times ; Patrimonialism, populism, corporatism, and corruption undermine democratic institutions

Major Political Phases

- 1500 to 1822: Colony of Portugal : Pedro Alvares Cabral discovered and won it for Portugal
- 1822-88 : Constitutional Monarchy
 - 1822: Dom Pedro I declares himself emperor of Brazil, ending Portuguese colonial rule.
- **Old Republic (1889–1930) : 1st Republic**
 - 1889: Dom Pedro II exiled; landowning elites establish an oligarchical republic- **Coffee & Milk politics**
 - 1891: A new constitution establishes a directly elected president
- **New State (Vargas era): 1930-45 : 2nd & 3rd Republic:** authoritarian corporatist regime; nationalism, populism, social welfare, centralisation, Industrialisation
- Populist and Fragile Democratic Period (1946-64) : 4th Republic :Expansion of democracy
- **Military dictatorship (1964–1985) : 5th Republic**
 - Bureaucratic Authoritarianism, State led development, “Brazilian miracle”
 - 1984 : **Diretas Já!**, a mass mobilization campaign, calls for direct elections
- **New Republic (Since 1986): 6th Republic**
 - 1988: A new constitution grants new social and political rights

Brazil: Political System

- **Federal Republic** : 26 states and one Federal District ; 5570 Municipalities
- **Executives:**
 - Federal state – President; State- Governor; Municipalities- Mayor
- **Legislature:**
 - Federal (National Congress) : Senate (81 members elected for 8 years, 3 from each state and Federal District) ; Chamber of Deputies (513 members directly elected for 4 years)
 - State : Unicameral ; state legislative assembly
 - Municipalities : Chamber - directly elected councillors
- **Judiciary:**
 - Supreme federal Court, Higher court of Justice, regional courts, labor courts, electoral courts, military courts, and state courts. Judiciary has financial and administrative autonomy. Most judges are appointed for life by President with the advise of Senate.
- **Voting in Brazil is compulsory** for all literate citizens over 18 and under 70, and optional for citizens who are aged 16 and 17, older than 70 or illiterate
- Extremely fragmented party system; 70 parties(32 registered); top one got only about 12% votes

Political Economy

- How Economics of a nation is shaped by historical processes, and socio-Political structures and systems.
- how economic theories such as capitalism, socialism, and communism work in the real world.
- Thus, it is broader study of economics in the socio-political settings of a particular nation/community
- Comparative political economy studies interactions between the state, markets, and society, both national and international (Britannica.com)
- Subject matter: Economic structure, economic relations- individuals and state; society and market, income distribution, economic policies, economic changes, etc

Political Economy of Brazil : Features

Historically Agri Export base Colonial Economy	87 % Brazilian lives in Cities- Huge Rural Migration; favela (Slum)	Relatively Closed Economy: Trade(Export+Import = 20%) ; India : 45%	From double digit GDP growth during Military Regime to moderate and negative growth rates
state led Industrialization and Development- mega PSUs- Petrobras, Vale	Huge debt despite trade surplus- Excessive public expenditure on mega projects and social welfare	Hyperinflation: 1980-1994 : (4 digit annual inflation)	The Environmental Costs of State-Led Growth
one of the most unequal countries in the world: Gini Index 51.3 (India 35.2)	5 vs 95 :richest 5 % have the same income as the remaining 95 %.	6 vs 50% : six richest men have the same wealth as poorest 50%	Huge Regional Disparity:

- Large Informal (Parallel) Economy outside Tax Net

Political Economy of Brazil : Features

- Historically Agri Export base Colonial Economy
- state led Industrialization- mega PSUs- Petrobras, Vale
- one of the most unequal countries in the world: Gini Index 51.3 (India 35.2)
 - 5 vs 95 :richest 5 % have the same income as the remaining 95 %.
 - 6 vs 50% : six richest men have the same wealth as poorest 50%
 - Huge Regional Disparity: South, South Eastern – Developed vs Poor, undeveloped north and North Eastern Regions
- 87 % Brazilian lives in Cities- Huge Rural Migration; **favela** (Slum)
- Huge debt despite trade surplus- Excessive public expenditure on mega projects and social welfare
- **Bolsa Família**: Largest and most successful Direct cash transfer Scheme
- Corruption, Nepotism, Patrimonial state, Clientelism, Populism
- Hyperinflation: 1980-1994 : (600 percent or more annual inflation) :Huge Debt, Low commodity price, and Oil Sock
- Relatively Closed Economy: Trade(Export+Import = 20%) ; India : 45%
- From double digit GDP growth during Military Regime to moderate and negative growth rates
- The Environmental Costs of State-Led Growth
- Large Informal (Parallel) Economy outside Tax Net

Political Economy: Major phases

- 1900- 1930 : Agri Commodity export led growth: **Coffee**, Sugar, Cotton, Corn, Soya, Rubber
 - Relative autonomy from state, low public finance
- 1930-84 : Import substitution industrialization (ISI) model ; state led growth
 - Light phase: ISI sectors- Textile, food processing; low state capital, small subsidy, tariff protection; created jobs
 - 45-64: Heavy phase: state led heavy, core, and mega Industries- Hydro-electricity, Iron& steel, Mining, Petroleum, shipbuilding,
 - Para-statals : PSUs: Petrobras, Electrobras, vale
 - 1964-84:Consumer Durable phase: automobiles, televisions, refrigerators, and machinery for the domestic market.
 - 1980s: “Lost Decade” : Low growth rate and huge public debt, hyperinflation
 - Linked to ideology of ‘Dependency Theory’
- 1990s: Neo-Liberalism ; Liberalization, Privatization, and Globalization (LPG)

Neo-liberalism in Brazil: Impacts

- Started in 1990s, under President Collor De Mello, when Brazil was battling hyperinflation and huge debt
- Guided by IMF and based upon 'Washington Consensus'
- Neo-liberal prescription:
 - checking inflation through drastic fiscal adjustments,
 - privatization, trade liberalization,
 - market determined interest rates,
 - opening sectors to FDI and de-control foreign capital
- Impacts:
 - Inflation was tamed
 - GDP growth declined- from average of 3% during 1980s to 1.82% in 1990s
 - No reduction in Income inequality- unchanged GINI index
 - Ranking on Human Development Index slipped from 59 (1990) to 74(1998)
 - Reduction in Poverty – reduced by 50% (38% to 19%) between 1983-2006
 - Increase in real wages but Increase in Unemployment



Getúlio Vargas(1882-1954): President for more than 18 years- 1930-45, 1951-54. Called 'Father of the poor' Founder of the 'new State' which launched a series of reforms that established the terms on which Brazilian society would be linked to the state for decades. Most Influential leader of Brazil

Fernando Cardoso(1931): Sociologist, president 1995-2002
Tamed Inflation (**Plano Real**), Reduced inequality and poverty through massive cash transfer schemes and liberalized economy by privatization of state corporations.



Prominent Leaders



Lula da Silva(1945): President from 2003-10 ; Launched '**Bolsa Família**' and '**Fome Zero**' social welfare programs one of the most popular politicians in the history of Brazil ; Deep impact on politics of the country

Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca(1827-1892): Founder of the 'Old Republic' by disposing of the emperor Pedro II in 1889.



Sum Up

- 5th largest in both area and population, 9th largest economy in world and largest in South America, 2nd largest in America, Brazil is a emerging and potential superpower
- Its strong Agri based export, trade surplus, reasonably high Industrialization and development are countered by highly unequal and sluggish growth, high inflation, huge debt, Unemployment, and Corruption
- Its fragmented and personalized party system, authoritarian tendencies of head of the state, Populism, Corporatism, Clientelism, and corruption pulls down the nation
- Starting with export led economy to state led industrialization and development since New state in 1930s and then adopting neo-liberalism under the guidance of IMF in 1990s, Brazil followed the path similar to India and other developing 3rd World Nations
- Neo-liberalism has mixed to negative outcomes- slower growth, unemployment, no reduction in inequality, low investment, etc positive impacts were lower Inflation, poverty reduction, and fiscal Discipline
- Political economy of Brazil denotes the vital role played by socio-cultural factors on the economic structure and relationship in any nation. Brazil is everything to become superpower but it is held back by social structure and power relations which is highly inequal and unjust

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NIGERIA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Constitutional Developments and Political Economy

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the role of military in the Nigerian politics.

Notes: Federalism in Nigeria, Multi-part system in Brazil

Nigeria: At a Glance



- **Official Name:** Federal Republic of Nigeria ; Capital: Abuja
- **Area:** 0.92 million Sq.Km (India 3.2 m sq-km): 1/3rd of India
- **Demography:** Population: 200 million (India 1300 m) 7th Largest
 - Ethnic Division: North: **Hausa and Fulani** 29.0%, South east: **Igbo** (Ibo) 18.0%; South west **Yoruba** 21.0%
 - Religion: Christian- 50 % Muslim : 50 %
- **Political System:** Multi-party Democracy; Presidential system
- **Economy:**
 - GDP : about 400 billion USD (India about 3 T USD): largest in Africa
 - GDP per Capita: about 2000 USD (India about 2000 USD) 147th
 - Oil export base Economy: 90 % Oil & Gas ; other: Cocoa, Rubber
 - Trade surplus : more than 8 b USD (India – minus 176 b USD)
- Member of African Union (AU)
- **Geography :** Sub Saharan Africa, Chad Lake, Niger Delta, Zuma Rock

Major Political Phases

- 1900 to 1960: **Colony of Britain** : Unification of northern & Southern protectorates as state of Nigeria in 1914
- 1960-66 : **Independence**, New Constitution in 1963, Parliamentary democracy, 1st Republic
- **Military Rule and Civil war (1966–1979)**
 - 1966: Igbo led Military coup; 2nd coup few months later by Yakubu Gowon, a Middle Belt Christian
 - 1966-69: Civil war between Nigerian state and Biafra, an independent country declared by Igbo
- **2nd Republic (1979-83)** : return to democracy, new constitution 1979; Presidential form
- **2nd period of Military Rule and aborted 3rd Republic (1983-1999)**
 - Military coup in 1983, General **Muhammadu Buhari became President**
 - 3rd Republic: New constitution 1989, 1993 presidential election, but military ruler **Sani Abacha** Suppressed democracy and ensured military rule till 1999
- **4th Republic (1999- till date)** : Return to Democracy ; New Constitution of 1999
 - Olusegun Obasanjo, military ruler who restored democracy in 1979 became civilian president
 - Peaceful election held every 4 years since then
 - In 2015 election, General **Muhammadu Buhari**, who led the military coup in 1983, defeated incumbent president **Goodluck Jonathan**
 - Muhammadu Buhari returned to power again in 2019 Election

Nigeria: Political System and state organs

- **Federal Republic** : 36 state, 1 federal district, 774 local govt
- **Unitary Federalism**: all-powerful central government surrounded by weak and economically insolvent states.
- 1st republic : parliamentary ; 2nd rep : 1979: presidential
- **Executives**:
 - Federal state – President; State- Governor; local government areas: Chairman of Local Government Council
 - overdeveloped executive arm at all levels of government—federal, state, and local—at the expense of weak legislative and judicial institutions.
- **Legislature**:
 - Federal (National Assembly) : **Senate** (109 members elected for 4 years, 3 from each state and Federal District) ; **House of Representatives** (360 members directly elected for 4 years)
 - States: Unicameral: State Legislative assembly
 - Local Govt, area : Local Government Council : directly elected councillors
- **Judiciary**:
 - Federal, state, and local court system, headed by the Federal Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court. **shari'a** courts in states for cases involving only Muslims in customary disputes (divorce, property, etc.). No Judicial review powers.
- **Election system**: First past the Post ; Parties based on ethnicity, now alliances of convenience among 'Big Men' from across Nigeria.; APC : All people's Congress is the ruling and PDP – People's democratic party- are the main political parties

Some Socio-political Features of Nigeria

- Typical **post colonial state**: Stateless tribal life disrupted by colonial rule, present system is broken from the past traditions, Dualism, formalism, heterogeneity, and functional overlapping
- Nigerian state is an **work in progress**, unfinished. Instabilities and Uncertainties ,Weak legitimacy of the state, low political obligation, Fragile Democracy, Individuals tend to identify with their immediate ethnic, regional, and religious communities than to the state/nation
- **Contradictory state** : constant struggle in Nigeria between authoritarian and democratic governance, the push for development amidst persistent underdevelopment, the burden of public corruption, and the pressure for accountability.
- Boundaries of the country was arbitrarily drawn crisscrossing ethnic ties ; **Ethnic and regional competition** among northern Muslim community of Hausa and Fulani, South western Yoruba and South Eastern Igbo, both mainly Christian .
- **ethnocentric prebendal** system.
- **'Big Men'** or Godfather political culture ;Hierarchical Client-patron network - loyalty pyramid
- **Extreme poverty**- almost 50 % lives in extreme poverty; Huge corruption-144th rank, Security threat by Boko Haram, Low HDI index- 157

Social Welfare & Security

- life expectancy is barely above fifty years, and infant mortality is estimated at more than 70 and under five mortality ratio is 201.
- Nigeria's provision of basic education is also inadequate. Girl's education is very low. Moreover, Nigeria has failed to develop a national social security system,
- Extreme poverty: More than 50 percent of the population live on less than a dollar per day
- Very high rate of unemployment: more than 20% ; 50 % for graduates
- The provision of health care and other social services—water, education, food, and shelter—remains woefully inadequate in both urban and rural areas.
- The nation stands on the verge of an AIDS epidemic of catastrophic proportions

Military Rule : Features

- 2 periods : 1966-1979 and 1983-1999 : total 29 years out of its 59 years of independence
- People, by and large, accepted Military Rule which was not tyrannical
- No legislature; Law: executive decrees ratified by ruling council of high-level military officers. a Supreme Military Council
- Military president ruled with the help of expanded collegial institutions
- individuals were appointed on the basis of patronage, ethnic group, and regional origin rather than merit.
- Military rule left Nigeria with strong authoritarian influences in its political culture.
- Most of leading presidential contenders in 4th Republic are former military men, one of whom—Buhari—was the ringleader of the 1983 coup

Political Economy of Nigeria

- **Oil based Export Economy** ; Largest in Africa and 8th largest in world ; 90% export and 75% govt revenue ; but oil revenue is unpredictable and depends on external factors
- **ill-managed industrial and infrastructural expansion** under both military and civilian regimes, combined with the neglect of the agricultural sector, despite fertile land, Not able to grow enough food for its population
- low investment, low capacity utilization, dysfunctional power supply, unreliable distribution, rampant corruption, and overregulation.
- **state is supreme** in the Nigerian economy, : Big Parastatals: NNPC, agricultural commodity boards, Telecom, Power, utilities ; Corruption, Nepotism, Patrimonial state, Clientelism, Populism
- **Huge debt** despite trade surplus, debt/GDP ration had been more than 100% for many years
- triple threats of **clientelism**, **corruption**, and **unstable authoritarian** governing structures, which together foster ethnic group competition and hinder economic potential
- **Low to moderate GDP growth** rate- average 3.8 % from 1982-2017 ; negative growth rate during 1980s
- **Large Informal Economy** – one-fifth of the GDP, outside Tax Net
- **Top down policy making** – president initiate but filtered by ‘Big Men’ interests and tussle

Olusegun Obasanjo(1937): Served as President both under military and civilian rule for more than 10 years - 1976-1979 ; 1999-2007. Pro democracy, moderate, and reformist. Brought back democracy in 1979 and was chosen as consensus president of 4th Republic in 1999 after the end of Military rule



Sani Abacha (1943-98): Military dictator president from 1993 to 1998; Impressive economic growth; hugely popular in north; He suppressed rise of 3rd Republic in 1993



Main Leaders of Independent Nigeria



Muhammadu Buhari(1942): Current president since 2015. Served as President both under military and civilian He was the ring leader of military coup of 1983. But he was accepted as ‘converted Democrat’

Abdulsalami Abubakar (1942):Last president under Military rule from 1998-99 ; he passed on the power to democratic president in 1999 – 4th Republic ; He is the current Chairman of the National Peace Committee.



Sum Up

- largest population in Africa, 7th largest in world, largest economy of Africa, 8th largest oil exporter of world, Nigeria is undoubtedly African Powerhouse, but its story is of a nation that could be...but couldn't
- Its economy is dangerously dependent on oil export. Both Agriculture and Industry are poorly developed; Infrastructure, especially power, is inadequate
- Its political economy suffers from Interventionist, patrimonial state having low legitimacy and even lower accountability, Ethnocentric prebendalism, 'Big Men' politics, weak political and economic institutions, and rampant Corruption
- Nigeria provides important insights into the political economy of underdevelopment. Rich endowment of resources is not enough to ensure economic development. In fact, it may encourage rent-seeking behavior that undermines more productive activities.
- Another Lesson is that Democracy and Development depend on leadership, political culture, institutional autonomy, and the external economic climate;
- Political economy of Nigeria denotes the challenges post colonial state faces in nation building and managing its economy and social well being. Many of Nigeria's problems has colonial roots, self-interestedness, and opportunistic behavior of its elites aggravated those problems.

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CHINA

A Comparative Study

Constitutional Developments and Political Economy

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Do you agree that globalisation has forced china to shift from socialism to capitalism?

Q2: Discuss the main features of the Chinese political system.

Q3: Analyse the major constitutional development in the Chinese political system.

Two China

- Taiwan : An Island South east of Mainland China is called Republic of China (RoC)
 - After defeat in the civil war with Communist party of Mao Zedong, Chiang Kai Shek, the leader of Nationalist Party of China fled to Taiwan and continued ruling in the name of ROC, which was the name of China before 1949
- Mainland China is known as Peoples' Republic of China (PRC)
 - After victory in the civil war with the nationalists, China became a communist nation led by Communist party of China(CPP) under the supreme leader and ideologue Mao Zedong
- USA and Western Europe continued recognizing ROC (Taiwan) as Chinese state in the UN and world state system till 1979

China: At a Glance

- **Official Name:** People's Republic of China (PRC)
- **Area:** 9.6 million Sq.Km (India 3.2 m sq-km): 3 times of India
- **Demography:** Population: 1400 million (India 1300 m) : Largest in World
 - 92% Han Chinese, 8% others
 - Religion: 81% Buddhist 12% Christian 2%; Muslim 1-2%; Daoist <1
- **Political System:** Single party communist and Unitary state
- **Economy:**
 - GDP : about 13 trillion USD (India about 2,72 T USD): 2nd largest in world after USA (20 Trillion)
 - GDP per Capita: about 10000 USD (India: 2000 USD) : 73rd rank
 - Export 2.50 Trillion USD: Import : 2.14 USD (2018) ; Trade surplus: 360 billion USD
 - largest export economy in the world and the 2nd largest Imports after USA; Largest trading country
- Member of Security Council of UN, G20, BRICS, **RCEP**
- **Geography** : Large landmass in eastern Asia , China Sea in South east, share Boundary with 14 countries North Korea, Russia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam
- **Historical** : More than 4000 years old civilization, Known as Middle Kingdom, longest continuing Empire- 221 BC to 1911 ; Invented paper, printing, ink, gun powder, silk, Bureaucracy ; great wall, Great Canal

Major Political Phases

- **221 B.C.–1911 A.D. : Age of Empires : more than a dozen different family-based dynasties- Han, Ming, Song, Yuan, Qing-ruled China.**
 - **1839–1842:** Opium war with Britain; Defeated ; Semi-colonialism
- **1912-1949 : End of Empire, Republic, Civil war between communists and nationalists**
 - 1911-12: Revolution led by Sun Yat Sen : China became Republic
 - 1921: Chinese Communist Party (CPP) ; Alliance between Communists and Nationalists against Warlords
 - 1927: Chiang Kai-shek became Nationalist President; Alliance with CPP broke; CPP was pushed deep into rural China
 - 1937: Japan Attack China; nationalist Govt. defeated; CPP fight back ; Popularity of CPP rises
 - 1946-1949 : Civil war between CPP led by Mao Zedong and USA supported Nationalist led by Chiang Kai-shek ; CPP wins, Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan, establishes Republic of China (ROC), CPP established People's Republic Of China (PRC); Mao Zedong becomes President
- **1949-76 : Mao Zedong's China**
 - Land Reform, Increased Agricultural production, Social Reforms, Centrally Planned Economy
 - Isolation from World Politics ; even didn't participate in Olympics
 - **Great Leap Forward** (1958–1960), accelerate the country's economic development by relying on huge labor power and revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses
 - Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) : Ideological , political and cultural purification; People's liberation Army (PLA) and Youth 'Red Guard'
 - 1960S : China-Soviet Tie broken ; Repercussion in India, too
- **1977- 1997 : Deng Xiaoping era End of Maoism, Economic Reforms**
 - Open door policy; Privatization, Special Economic Zones, FDI, Mass industrialization, Export led Industrial growth, Economic Boom
 - 1989 : Tiananmen Square Incident
- **1997- till date : Rise of China as Regional and global Superpower**

China: Political System

- **Single Party ruled Communist state;** principle of democratic centralism
- **Unitary state having 22 provinces, five autonomous regions, four centrally administered cities (including the capital, Beijing), and two Special Administrative Regions, Hong Kong and Macao**
- **Executives:**
 - Premier (head of government) and president (head of state) formally elected by legislature, but only with approval of CCP;
 - the head of the CCP, the general secretary, is in effect the country's chief executive, and usually serves concurrently as president and head of central Military Commission.
 - **Premier heads 'State Council'**- highest executive organ of the State – Chinese Government
 - State council is accountable to NPC who nominates its members under the guidance of CPP
- **Legislature:**
 - Unicameral National People's Congress (NPC); Single party (CPP) members
 - about 3,000 delegates elected indirectly from lower-level people's congresses for five-year terms.
 - Largely a rubber-stamp body for Communist Party policies, although in recent years has become somewhat more assertive.
 - Day to day function by standing committee of NPC
- **Judiciary:**
 - A nationwide system of people's courts, which is constitutionally independent but, in fact, largely under the control of the CCP;
 - a Supreme People's Court supervises the country's judicial system and is formally responsible to the National People's Congress, which also elects the court's president.
- **Election system :** all adults above 18 choose People's Congress members up to the county level. Above the counties, delegates at each level elect those who will serve at the People's Congress of the next higher level

Constitutional Development

- **Constitutionalism between 1949-54**
 - The Organic Law consisting of 31 Articles
 - Instrument to legalize the system created for carrying out Mao's Common Programme.
- **Constitution of 1954**
 - a brief document with only 106 Articles
 - unlike other socialist constitutions, did not give a constitutional recognition to the status and role of the Communist Party of China.
 - seven fundamental freedoms of the citizens, their social, economic and political rights, and duties towards the socialists.
- **The Constitution of 1975**
 - only 30 Articles divided into only 4 chapters, It had a very long Preamble.
 - **Vision of an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial economic system.**
 - **4 modernization : of agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology**
 - right to freedom of procession and freedom of strike to the people. It curtailed the list of duties.
 - **Officially recognized prime role of CPP**; The National People's Congress was described as the highest organ of state power under the leadership of CPP
- **1978 Constitution**
 - The Consolidation of the socialist economic base" and "development of the production forces at high speed."
- **The 1982 Constitution : Changing Mao's Legacy?**
 - emphasis on decentralization and liberalization of the economy- Embracing market socialism
 - The separation of the government and Party was affected.

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Political Culture

- strong sense of collective national identity
- cultural and ethnic homogeneity- except border regions of the country –Tibet and Muslim in North west
- Ancient civilization based nation- different from European nation state
- Strong Influence of Confucianism
- Vision of organic society, state as supreme moral guardian, essentially stoic and conservative society

Political Economy

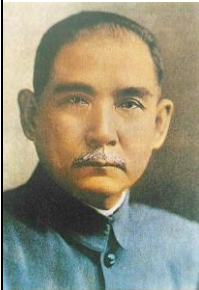
- Very divergent economic policies since 1949 :Soviet-style planning system in the early 1950s, the radical egalitarianism of the Maoist model, and market oriented policies implemented by Deng Xiaoping
- **1949- 78 : State Socialism guided by Maoist ideology**
 - Command Economy: state owns or controls most economic resources, and economic activity is driven by government planning and commands rather than by market forces.
 - First Five-Year Plan of 1953–1957
 - Great Leap Forward (1958–1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) : Less bureaucratic and more egalitarian developmental model
 - **Agriculture First," 1961–65 : 2nd light Industry, 3rd heavy industry**
 - Four Modernizations of Premier Zhou Enlai : agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology
 - Closed Economy – trade less than 10% of GDP
 - by 1977 China was lagging behind Japan, Taiwan, and Hongkong and people faced insufficient food supplies, rationed clothing, inadequate housing, and inadequate and inefficient service sector
- **Since 1978 : Open door Policy, reform of the economic system and opening to foreign trade, free market Socialism**
 - Implementation of Four Modernizations
 - Policy shift : developing the productive forces of Chinese people and economy to have overwhelming abundance of material wealth.
 - More authority to Enterprise managers at the expense of party officials, Differential Wage System, increased foreign trade, Educational research, Foreign exchange program
 - Agriculture : *contract* responsibility system of production; free farmers' markets in urban areas; specialized households
 - special economic zones ; promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
 - Private entrepreneurship and free-market activities were legalized
 - ambitious ten-year plan for the 1976-85 : Large construction projects, super high growth of Agriculture & Industry

Features of Political Economy

- rift between China's authoritarian political system and its increasingly modern and globalized society remains deep and ominous
- Chinese Miracle
 - GDP in 1978- 149 b USD (India 135 b USD), crossed 1 trillion only in 1998, crossed 13 trillion in 2018
 - Largest trading nation: Cheap Chinese product flooding USA/Europe
 - Largest producer of coal, **hydel power**, Steel, **aluminium**, **Tin**, **Gold**,
 - Largest producer of Rice, Wheat, Tobacco, Tea, Apple, pear, peach, tomato
- Contradiction between central command and guidance and free market economy
- Income inequality; Regional Disparity; Environmental problems
- Cheap low quality mass industrial product based export
- Despite being 2nd largest and fastest growing large economy, low per capita Income; still a poor Country; lack of freedom and choice

CHINA: THE NEXT SUPERPOWER?

- Fastest growing economy for decades , projected to overtake the US as the world's largest economy by 2040s.
- Largest population, 4th largest area, largest export/Import, 2nd largest GDP, 2nd Largest Military expenditure, Veto power in UN
- Unique in being communist politically and capitalist economically
- BRI (Belt and Road Initiatives)- Building structural power
 - Multi-trillion dollar project to build infrastructure for smooth trade with China
 - Dedicated trade corridors-Road, High speed train, maritime silk route, building ports, oil pipelines, optical fibre cables, technology parks –
 - 60 countries joined, cheap unconditional loans to authoritarian and non-democratic countries of Africa & Asia
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)-50 % world population, 40% GDP
- In comparison to USA: faces less threat from terrorism, antagonism with Muslim world, trade deficit, and pluralism but lack the soft and structural power
- **Challenges:** Demographic- aging, gender imbalance , Non-Democratic, Poor HDI , Environmental degradation, Regional rivalry- Japan, Russia, India, Less favorite destination for global talent pool,, inequality and corruption, and risks to social stability.



↖ **Sun Yat-sen(1866-1925):** Led the Revolution to establish republic in 1911-12; became its first President; Founded and led Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China).

Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975): nationalist politician, revolutionary and military leader who served as the leader of the Republic of China between 1928 and 1975, first in mainland China until 1949 and then in Taiwan until his death.



Prominent Leaders

Mao Zedong(1893-1976): communist revolutionary , founding father of the People's Republic of China (PRC), which he ruled as the Chairman of the Communist Party of China from its establishment in 1949 until his death in 1976 ; Different brand of socialism- Maoism ; big leap forward cultural revolution, Hundred Flowers movement



↖ **Deng Xiaoping(1904-1997):** Revolutionized Chinese Economy by reforming economy and foreign trade. Led the Chinese Economic Miracle along with continuance of single party communist rule.



Sum Up

- Chinese civilization is more than 4000 years old. It is land of Confucius and Buddhist religion. For most of its existence Chinese nation was ruled by dynastic Empire till 1911. Last 100 years of which was semi colonial
- Revolution by Sun yat Sen's nationalist party made China a republic in 1912. After formation of Chinese communist party in 1921, long struggle between nationalists and communists happened
- Japan's attack on China in 1937, nationalist's defeat and communist's resistance led to rise of Communist Party which established Communist China (PRC) in 1949; Nationalists formed govt in Taiwan (ROC)
- From 1949-76, under supreme leader Mao Zedong, China followed state socialism of different kind- rural peasant based, cultural revolution, socio-political purification, and revolutionary zeal
- But Maoism didn't bring economic prosperity. By 1977, China was a poor underdeveloped economy far behind Japan, Taiwan, and Hongkong
- Under pragmatic leadership of Deng Xiaoping, since 1978 China adopted controlled capitalism, unleashing productive potential of its huge labour force. Unique combination of single party communist rule and market economy brought Chinese Miracle
- Today, China is 2nd largest Economy, largest trading nation, regional superpower and most credible challenger to USA hegemony. But its lack of soft and structural power may come in its way of becoming global leader.

Intriguing Questions?

- Why has China's communist party-state so far proved more durable than that of the Soviet Union and nearly all other similar regimes?
- What signs are there that it is likely to continue to be able to do so for the foreseeable future?
- How and why has China resisted this wave of democracy?
- Will it be able to develop soft and structural powers matching to Britain of 19th century and USA post WWII?
- How the world state system react to a superpower which is non-democratic and from 3rd world ?

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