EPS-009: COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
Tutor Marked Assignment
TMA

Answer questions in each category. Answer in your own words.

A)   DCQ: Answer any two of the following in about 500 words each.

20x2=40

1)   Describe the usefulness and limitations of the political economy approach to the study of comparative politics.

2)   What are the core features of the systems theory? Evaluate its usefulness in studying politics.

3)   Bring out the differences between the trade union movements in the developed and developing countries.

4)   Briefly describe the Marxian and Weberian theories of class formation.

B)   MCQ: Answer any four of the following in about 250 words each.

12x4=48

5)   Describe the essential features of a federal system.

6)   What are the differences between Elitism and Pluralism in their understanding of power?

7)   Examine the role of the United Nations in the promotion and protection of human rights.

8)   Describe the features and functions of the colonial state.

9)   Bring out the distinction between democratic legal rights and human rights.

10)   What do you understand by underdevelopment?

11)   Describe the functions of political parties.

12)   Write a note on the social bases of national movements.

C)   SCQ: Write a short note on any two of the following in about 50 words each.

6x2=12

13)   a) Judicial Activism

    b) Republican form of government

    c) Methods of Proportional representation

    d) Class consciousness

****

E.P.S.-9

Comparative Government and Politics

Answer questions in each category. Answer in you own words.

(A) DCQ: Answer any two of the following in about 500 words each.

Q. 2. What are the core features of the systems theory? Evaluate its usefulness in studying politics.

Ans. What is the Systems Approach?: The study of inter-related variables forming one system or a unit or a whole which is composed of many facts, a set of elements standing in interaction may be defined as the systems approach. This type of study assumes that the system consists of discernible, regular and internally consistent patterns. Therefore, it is the study of a set of interactions occurring within, and yet analytically distinct from, the larger system per say.

Among the assumptions of the systems theory we can mention the important one given below:

 (i) The unit or whole is independent;

 (ii) It is composed of parts;

(iii) It exists apart from the other wholes or units;

(iv) Every whole influences the other and in turn gets influenced;

 (v) The parts of the system are inter-related and interact with one another;

(vi) There is a patterned relationship between the parts.

Genesis of the Systems Approach: At the root of the origin of the systems approach, we have natural resources. It is true that there may be many movements aimed at the unification of science and scientific analysis which brought this approach into existence. Biology seems to have provided the basic idea to the social scientists for making the systems approach. In 1930s, the German biologist Ludwig Van Bertalanfly was the first to state the formulations of the general systems theory and later the social scientists evolved and formulated the concept of the systems theory.

According to Prof. S. N. Ray, the application of the 'systems' approach to politics allows us to see the subject in such a way that each part of the political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other part. In political science, David Easton, Gabriel Almond (1978), David Apter (1978), Karl Deutsch (1967), Morton Kaplan (1957 and 1950) and other leading American social scientists pioneered the systems analysis.

Historical Context: Similar to any other modern approach, the systems approach has evolved in a historical context. When the traditional approaches could not provide a proper platform for the study of politics, the need to understand it in a scientific manner became important. Moreover, the influence of other disciplines, both natural and social sciences and their mutual inter dependence provided a new impetus for looking at comparative politics afresh. This brought to the fore the idea that scientific analysis is the only way to understand politics and the study of political systems became more important than the study of constitutions and governments. The study of political processes came to be regarded more instructive, than the study of political institutions. Especially, in the USA, the post-second World War period saw a fundamental shift in the writings of American scholars. They started borrowing lot from other social and natural sciences so as to give new empirical orientation to political studies.

Easton, Almond, Kaplan and others introduced the systems analysis in comparative politics by as a reaction against the traditional tendency of unidimentionali- zation obstructing, in the process, the patterns of scientific analysis which make possible the unification of all knowledge.

General Systems and Systems Approaches: Distinctions: It may be noted that the systems approach must not be confused with the general systems theory. It is true that the systems analysis may have sprung from the general systems theory but the two are not the same. It may be said that the systems theory does recognize the separate existence of parts but the general systems theory gives the impression of a system as one which is as integrated as the parts of the human body together. This means that the general systems theory advocates organized unity of the system while the systems theory speaks of unity in diversity. Scholars have applied the systems theory successfully to the political phenomenon. For instance, David Easton has applied the systems theory to politics while Professor Kaplan has distinguished between the general systems theory and the systems theory. Moreover, the systems theory has been able to provide concepts like input-output, stability, equilibrium, feed-back, etc. which have been well accepted at the empirical level.

Systems Analysis: Characteristic Features: According to O.R. Young, systems analysis is a set of objects, together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes. Thus, the systems analysis implies system as a set of interactions. A system exists through its elements and its elements are interacted and they interact within a patterned frame. It has been seen that a systems analyst perceives inter-related and a web-like elements or objects and looks for ever-existing relationships among them. The major objectives of system analysts are as follows:

  (i) They stress upon the patterned behaviour of the objects,

  (ii) They try to explain the interactive among the objects,

  (iii) They search for factors that help maintain the system as a whole.

In order to understand a system, a set of concepts are elaborated by the systems analysis. These concepts include system, sub-system, environment, input, output, conversion process, feedback, and so on. A system that constitutes an element of a larger system is called a sub-system and the setting within which a system works is called an environment. The line separating the system from its environment is called a boundary. The inputs of the system are provided from the environment in the form of demands. When the system operates, inputs are subjected to the conversion process. This leads to system outputs embodying rules to be forced or policies to be implemented. Feedbacks occur when system outputs affect the environment so to change or modify inputs.

In this manner, systems approach has its own defining features which are given as follows:

  (i) Social phenomenon does not exist in isolation, nor is it just numerous parts joined together to make a whole. It is a unit, a living unit with an existence and its own goal.

  (ii) The parts of a social phenomenon may not be organically related together, but they do make a whole since they interact and are inter-related to each other.

  (iii) As a system, social phenomenon operates through a mechanism of inputs and outputs and within an environment which influences it and which, in turn, gives feedback to the environment concerned.

  (iv) The main concern of the system is as to how best it can maintain itself and face the challenges of decay and decline overtime.

  (v) There is a patterned relationship among its parts.

Systems Approaches: Concerns and Objectives: Scholars have tried to achieve some important objectives through the system analysis. Welsh suggests that among these objectives are the nations order, change and goal realization. According to him, the systems approach is concerned with maintenance of the system's integrity which depends on system's ability to maintain order. The next concern of the systems approach is to see as to how the system meets the changes in its environment. It is the system that has to adapt itself realities. Thus, the systems approach identifies the conflict and also the capacities to remove the conflict arising out of change. Finally, the systems approach aims to see the goal of a system since system can exist over a substantial period of time without articulating, determining and pursuing some specific identifiable goals.

Q. 3. Bring out the differences between the trade union movements in the developed and developing countries.

Ans. In his book "Trade Unionism" G. D. H. Cole writes that it has been shaped by the economic development of particular countries and also by the general structure of the society. Due to this different trade unions in developed countries had different goals and structures. In developed countries they were considered as pressure group but not played any active participation in political structure while in socialist countries trade unions played an important role in their political structure and considered as part of state or government. The trade union movement in the developing countries emerged and progressed in different circumstances and therefore are different in nature.

Trade Union Movement in U.S.A

Today, trade union is part and parcel of American society be it economic, political or social life. With the development of industrialization American workers realized the power of collective bargaining. Thats why they started to be united. Philadelphia printers was the first trade union which was got attention in 1786 when workers went on a strike for a minimum wage of $6 a week. But soon after six years permanent formation was made possible among shoemakers of Quaker city. After that there were several unions formed in American continent but in 1827 a labour movement came on surface which finally mobilized the workers for one central labour union–The Mechanics Union of Trade Association. Its central bodies established in New York, Boston and other cities.

Civil war was the turning point for the American workers when the labour markets were expanded drastically and the development of national market compelled labour to organize increasingly on a national as well as local scale. But this union did not survived long and later in 1869 another national labour organization, the rights of labour, was formed. In 1886, another labour organization American Federation of Labour appeared under the Presidentship of Samuel Gompers and it weakend the previous one. Apart from this, Industrial workers of the world came in existence in 1905 which espoused French syndicalism.

Committee on Industrial Organization (CIO) formed in 1935 after the split of AFL under the leadership of John L. Lewis. There were struggles started between these two organizations. These two organizations covered the whole labour scene at national level. These two trade unions are not associated with any political parties. But surprisingly they expresses their choice and accordingly supporting their preferential candidates.

Trade Union Movement in U.K.: Industrialization and capitalism emerged from the Britain thus the presence of trade unions in Britain was earliest one. It was the Britain whose workers first realized that they could not withstand with their employer untill they were organized and united. On the other employers was opposing the unity of workers and state helped the employer in this. G.D.H. Cole writes "there were, already in the 18th century a number of statutes forbidding workers. The workers faced persecution and repression. Yet against all odds they were able to win their right to unionise."

Workers were afraid with the mechanization of production system because they were feared that they would loss the jobs. Thus they showed their resistance towards machine and this kind of movement was called as Luddism. But soon they realized that this system will not disappear and they have to adjust with this mechanization process of production. And after that a new phase of unionism started in Britain. Now they not only demanded for the better wages and shorter hours but they also demanded the participation in political power. In 1830, National Association for the protection of labour was establislied and soon after in 1834 another trade union Grand National Consolidated Trade Union formed by the Robert Owen. They all together prepared a charter of demands which was called Chartist movement. During this period industrial workers obtained the representation of People's Acts of 1867, and 1884. And after that in 1868 a central organization of the English working class, Trade Union Congress, was formed.

Presently British Trade Union Congress is the apex body of the workers of Britain and most unions are affiliated to it. In general, it isolate itself from political inclination but some times labour party seeks their support from this. Some unions are supporters of conservative party but they are basically economic in nature.

Trade Union Movement in Socialist State Former Soviet Union: The structure and functions of trade unions in socialist political structure is very different from capitalist system. In capitalist system trade unions are considered as pressure group while in socialist system worker's participation in socialist political system is very active and straight. In the socialist structure workers association is considered as most powerful social force of change. The Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. enlisted the working people in coping with tasks connected with the further development

of production, teach the masses socialist discipline and communities attitude to work and public property, and instill in the industrial and office workers a sense of being masters of their own country.

Prior to Bolsheviks trade unions had not shown any strong presence in USSR or Russia. It was due to late appearance of capitalism in Russian Empire. It was 1905 when the first All Russian Trade Union Conference was composed. But Russian authorities suppressed their activities very harshly. They were almost surrendered themselves infront of Russian authority's ruthless suppression and its membership reduced to 1500 in 1916-17. But the March Revolution of Russia again boosts the trade union's activities and they seized the power in different cities of Russia. And finally it resulted in the October Revolution. In 1918, in Petrogard all Russian Congress was held. Later with the introduction of New Economic Policy, the unions became economic collaborators and advisers in the management of industry. Later all small trade unions merged and established a central organization known as the All Union Central Council of Trade Union/Central Council of Trade Union (ACCTU or simply CCTU).

Trade Union Movement in Developing Countries: Indian Trade Union Movement

The structure of trade unions in developing countries were very different from the developed and socialist countries. Even their development process was also different. Trade union movement started very late in developing countries due to late startup of industries in colonial states. Actually trade union movement appeared in these colonial societies only after first world war. In these developing countries most of the workers were inclined with the rural attitude and they were very new about the industrial culture. The other feature of trade unions in developing state was its affection and inclination with the national freedom struggle. Indian trade union movement is a classical example of this kind of trends.

Before first World War the presence of trade unions in India was negligible and short lived. However some efforts were made to form the modern trade unions and it was resulted in the formation of All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) in 1920. The main goal of this union was to represent India on international level at International Labour Organization. AITUC established closed link with national freedom movement. Before Independence it was the front organization of the workers, just like Indian National Congress which was an umbrella for different shades of opinions and ideologies. It also suffered with the diversity of ideologies and split in different new organisations. Gandhi also enunciated the trade union movement and example was Ahmedabad Textile Union or Mazdur Mahajan Sabha. These unions represented the Gandhian philosophy of industrial relations. After independence AITUC broke up in many trade unions which were inclined with different ideologies such as Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) linked with the Indian National Congress. Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, BMS with Bhartiya Janata Party, All India Trade Union Congress with Communist Party of India, (AITUC), Centre for Indian Trade Union ClTU with Communist Party Marxist Hind Majdoor Panchayat (HMP), Hind Mazdoor Sabha with socialists. Thus the most important characteristic of lndian trade union movement in developing countries is its close political involvement.

(B) MCQ: Answer any four of the following in about 250 words each.

Q. 8. Describe the features and functions of the colonial state.

Ans. The features and functions of the colonial state were quite different from those of the state in Europe and the post-colonial state. One of the distinctive features was that it was an instrument of control and oppression over the local inhabitants. For this, it established strong bureaucracies, police and military forces to maintain order. Thus, it was an authoritarian and not a liberal democratic state. Moreover, it served the economic and political interests of the European powers. Apart from this, the colonial rulers tried to civilize the local population by transplanting their culture and values in the colonies.

The features of the colonial state can be understood if we divide the colonial rule into two phases. First, an early phase of consolidation from the 19th century to 1920 (1880s in the case of Africa) and the second phase from the end of the First World War to decolonization after the Second World War. Due to the economic changes in the world, these two phases occurred in colonies.

In the first phase, a strong colonial state and policies supportive of the interests of the rulers were established.

The raw materials produced in colonies allowed the sharing of gains since the produce like the cotton and sugarcane of India, cocoa of Ghana, etc. fetched high prices in the international market. However, it may be noted that the colonial masters made new legal and land systems to maintain order and obtain revenue. They introduced zamindari system in India, invested in railways, roads, ports and so on for greater profit collection. The economy was monetized and a labour class to work in the plantations and mines was created.

Retardation of Development: According to the scholars like A.G. Frank and Amiya Kumar Bagchi, the economic policies of the colonial state created underdevelopment and retardation of the colonial economies. This meant that the colonies were reduced to being merely exporters of primary raw materials feeding the rapidly expanding industries of Europe. Retardation meant that the normal pattern of growth of these colonies was disrupted. For instance, the infrastructure introduced was both inadequate and very unevenly distributed in the colonies where the railways and roads were meant to facilitate transport of raw material for export. Moreover, changes were made in agriculture to promote growth and a model an export-led growth which, catered to the needs of the international and not the national economy became the pattern and there was little attempt to introduce diversification of the economy. As a result, there was everywhere uneven regional economic growth. Apart from this, the colonial system also led to delay of industrial and technological developments as the colonial rulers did not want any form of competition with finished goods produced by the home country. This also caused de-industrialization in some colonies. However, a number of benefits must be mentioned. For instance, the European powers introduced western education in their colonies and urbanization, modern technology, employment opportunities, transport and communications irrigation works, social reforms, the gradual introduction of self-government in many colonies and development of a middle class occurred.

Decline of Colonialism: Before the World War I, colonialism had reached its highest stage. The following period saw its decline started because of changes in the international economy, rejection of colonialism in Europe and emergence of national independence movements in the colonies. Moreover, the World War I was followed by the demand and price of raw materials falling and colonialism was no longer a profitable venture. Apart from this, the economic depression of the 1930s and the Second World War weakened the imperial powers further.

The attainment of independence in Latin American colonies in the early 18th century did not bring much change because at independence many of them became neo-colonies of Britain upto at least the First World War. Here, an authoritarian state was established, export-led growth continued and industrialization was delayed.

Q. 9. Bring out the distinction between democratic legal rights and human rights.

Ans. Human rights are fundamental to the stability and development of countries all around the world. Great emphasis has been placed on international conventions and their implementation in order to ensure adherence to a universal standard of acceptability.

The following definition expresses clearly the meaning of human rights: "A human right is a universal moral right, something which all men, everywhere, at all times ought to have, something of which no one may be deprived without a grave affront to justice, something which is owing to every human simply because he is human."

An alternative explanation was provided by the philosopher Kant. He said that human beings have an intrinsic value absent in inanimate objects. To violate a human right would therefore be a failure to recognize the worth of human life.

Different countries ensure these rights in different way. In India, they are contained in the Constitution as fundamental rights, i.e. they are guaranteed statutorily. In the UK they are available through precedence, various elements having been laid down by the courts through case law. In addition, international law and conventions also provide certain safeguards.

Difference between Democratic Rights and Human Rights: Without the rights no one can attain their best in the society and their social conditions. It is the rights who makes the personality of any individual. It became the part of the political and social system with the emergence of liberal democratic politics in Europe. Later provision, enforcement and protection of rights of the individual became the basis of judging the validity of any state. With the introduction of constitution and other legal development the focus and emphasis increased on the legal aspects of rights i.e. the rights are the creation of the state and they are granted to the individual as a citizen of the state. Rights are not considered as natural or inherent but are considered man-made because any rights get his authority and secured by the state. States defines the rights and also provides the legal framework to guarantee the rights as per the constitution of law. Whenever the law changes the structure and nature of the rights changes. Thus rights are not universal but are relative to the nature and form of the state through which these rights generate. For example, the rights which was given by USA to their citizen are not necessarily must have the citizens of India or Russia. But the human rights is considered universal in nature because these rights has been given to all humans irrespective of their

state, race, society or faith. These human rights are established by the UN and all member states have accepted as 'universal respect for the observation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms'. According to the Preamble of the UN Declaration, the purpose of human rights is to set "a common standard of achievernent for all peoples and all nations to the end that every individual and every organ of society keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teachings and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of the territories under the jurisdiction."

Q. 10. What do you understand by underdevelopment?

Ans. Latin American scholars were the first to explain the economic and political backwardness of Latin American societies. During the third decade of the 19th century, these countries had become independent from Spanish or Portuguese rule. It may be noted that their democracy, modernization and national state remained underdeveloped even after their political independence for more than 150 years. As a result, they continued as semi-colonial dependencies of imperial countries. Andre Gunder Frank argued that underdevelopment of Latin American countries in the past as well as some Afro-Asian countries found themselves after their political decolonization. We can see a link between the underdevelopment of the colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies and development of the metropolitan centres of imperialism. These have evolved through the historical process and through the mutual impact they would continue to exercise. According to Paul Baran, underdevelopment is organically and systematically associated with colonisation, political dominance and exploiter-exploited relationship in the economic field.

Let us understand the concept of economic surplus in order to explain development and underdevelopment. The actual or potential excess of a social unit's production which may or may not be invested or exploited is called economic surplus. Here, the contribution to economic surplus accruing to the imperialist country from the colony is very important. It is the loss of present and potential capital for the colonial country. It is true that the peripheral societies are denied the development possibilities of this capital and the metropolitan imperial country can use it for its own economic development. At the same time we must remember that many Native American tribes and nationalities were wiped out when the Europeans colonized America, through genocide. Therefore, development and underdevelopment are not the summation of economic quantities only. In this manner, the structure of underdevelopment imposes on the colonies mass poverty, loss of political freedom, loss of culture, loss of current production, infant mortality, and starvation for the disadvantaged groups, disease and epidemics and so on.

The pattern of underdevelopment is preserved by the multinationals or strategic sectors. For instance, it is witnessed in the case of the extraction of mineral resources or oil from underdeveloped countries. Moreover, foreign trade is usually controlled by the dominant country. Finally, it may be said that the domination over a sector by the bourgeois class and the state bureaucracy is sufficient to keep a colony or dependency underdeveloped for an indefinite period.

Q. 12. Write a note on the social bases of national movements.

Ans. While the westerners obtained a disproportionate share of the best and highest-paying positions in the civil service and in business of the colonies, even the educated natives had to take the lower jobs and sometimes remained unemployed. European firms in much of the colonized countries handled the bulk of the lucrative large-scale enterprises and even retailing in much of Africa. Large profits were sent out of the country and not used for local development.

Most of the Asians and Africans were poor, many were hungry and destitute which meant that they were often ill and died at a younger age than the Europeans in their midst. This contrast between the lives of the colonial people and the Europeans led to awareness of self and national movements builtup.

Feeling of Inferiority: According to westerners, the race and culture of Asians and Africans were inferior. Especially, this was true in the case of black Africans, many of whose ancestors had been captured and enslaved. Slavery left a deep stigma of inferiority. Similarly, the brown and yellow peoples of Asia were believed to be backward, lacking ability to improve or to govern themselves and also lacking intelligence.

Thus, in the colonies the peoples did not have a decisive voice in their governments. In some British colonies such as India the people were reluctantly and slowly given greater and greater representation in the local legislative councils.

However, it may be noted that most often the local peoples as in South Africa, the Congo, and Southeast Asia, had no political rights. Even their speech was not free, their newspapers were censored, and had to carry passes during crisis. These people could be arbitrarily arrested and jailed.

Role of Western Education: It is interesting to note that the colonial rulers, their officials and their missionaries, often professed to prepare the so-called backward peoples for good, moral lives and for self-government through religion and education. It is true that the introduced western education and they did provide elementary education for the native children. A few "natives" did obtain higher education at home or in France, Britain, and the United States: or, in the case of the Chinese, in Japan. These Asians and Africans who had learned about western technology, ideas, and ideals, often became, the most ardent nationalist opponents of western rule.

Role of Missionaries: In the colonies, missionaries made converts almost everywhere but at the same time they and their fellow Christians influenced many "natives" to be followers and submissive. They also brought hopes and practices that led to nationalism. The hostility in colonies was sharpened when imperial governments favoured the converts and discriminated against "natives" who, as in India and Morocco, followed their old and deep religious faiths and were determined to maintain them undefiled.

The teaching of Christian missionaries offered hope but also threatened old religious beliefs and ways of life. Thus, Africans and Asians reacted in differing ways, all pointing toward nationalism. For instance, the rise of messianic sects, as in the Congo, is believed to be a precursor of later nationalist groupings. Moreover, a much more important reaction was the strengthening of traditional religions through vigorous, inspirational. religio-political reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in India in the late 19th century and Salfiyya in the 20th century Morocco. And these movements and groups aimed at nothing less than the political and cultural rejuvenation of their nations based on religious tradition.

Africans and Asians came to understand the enormous contradiction between humanitarian ideal and imperial practice and became more hostile towards the colonial masters for their double standards. An increasing number of Asians and Africans followed nationalism as their new religion. Leaders wanted to maintain their cherished traditions and to acquire westernized political, economic and scientific techniques. The Arab nationalism was modernizing and aimed at purifying Islam.

Social Bases of National Movements

To begin with, national movements were often unorganized and sporadic protests of a small number of people. However, they in the process they became mass movements and every strata of society has had some role in these movements. The leaders and intellectuals spearheaded the movements and organized the masses enlightening about the need to become free. Parties and groups also emerged slowly as instruments of national movements. At the same time, peasants, workers and women also led their movements for national freedom.

The westerns, the Christian missionaries and optimistic intellectuals taught Asians and Africans to hope. The educated Asians and Africans became optimistic. Thus, we see that from the 1920s particularly their own leaders, through the press and later the radio, through political parties, mutual aid societies, and trade unions, taught them to believe that their future of freedom, justice and abundance would be achieved through nations of their own.

It may be noted that the motivations of the leaders of the nationalist movements were as varied as their peoples and their own individual personalities. Some of them (Sukarno of Indonesia) undoubtedly sought personal power while some of them (Nehru of India, Nyerere of Tanzania, and Senghor of Senegal), though not immune to private ambition: were high-minded idealists who put country above private gain.

(C) SCQ: Write a short note on any two of the following in about 50 words each.

Q. 13. *(b)* **Republican form of government**

Ans. The reaction against autocratic and absolute monarchical system gave rise to republicanism. However, to understand republicanism properly we need to define it as a form of government which has an elected head of the state together with a governmental system echoing the will and sovereignty of the people. Moreover, it ensures individuals' rights, their liberties, rule of law, free press, and an impartial and free system of election similar to democracy.

Republicanism: Meaning: One of the most important features of republicanism is the elected head as against the hereditary head in monarchy. Republic runs largely by the elected in a time-bound manner. The republican ruler exercises powers as given to him under the constitution or under prescribed rules. Republicanism functions in a responsive and responsible manner and puts emphasis on the rights and liberties of the people. Thus, republicanism is a state in which the supreme power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by representatives chosen directly or indirectly by them.

Republican Form of Government: Its Characteristics: The government in a republic is a government by its people acting directly and personally according to rules established by the majority. According to Jefferson, the best form of government that has ever been devised for protecting the rights of the people is the republican form. The republican form of government is a limited government regarding its functions and hence its powers are vertically shared by other levels of government and horizontally shared among numerous organs of government. It is democratic because those who rule are not only representatives of the people chosen either for a limited period of time, but are responsible to those who elect them. Moreover, it is elective, responsible and a responsive government. Similarly, it is democratic also because it is established by the people and remains with the wish of the people. It embodies the will of the people and a desire to execute it. It may be noted that the advocates of republicanism emphasize the principles of government are founded in the rights of man. According to Jefferson, the republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.

Some of the essential characteristics of a republican form of government have been mentioned below:

(1) It is a government by the people directly or through their representatives.

(2) It is responsible to those who make it.

(3) It is a representative and responsive government.

(4) Its functions and powers are limited.

(5) It has vertical limitation due to power sharing by regional and local levels of government and horizontal limitation because its powers are exercised by legislative, executive and judicial organs.

(6) It is a theory of freedom consisting of provisions for the rights and liberties of the people.

Democracy and Republicanism: It is true that all the features of republicanism may be found in a democracy but all republicanism is not democracy. Not all democratic governments are necessarily republican. For instance, Britain provides democracy, but its government is not republican. It is a fact that both democracy and republicanism seek to establish popular sovereignty; both are representative in character; both respect man's personality as the measure of human development; man's rights and liberties are considered by both as essential for man's progress; elective government is to be responsive to public opinion in both; both stress on accountability of the rulers towards the ruled people.

However, it may be noted that democracy is the rule of majority over minority lacking the safeguards of rights of the individual and the minority. In republicanism, the rule is of majority but it is a majority which is limited and there is a safeguard of the rights of the minority. The powers of the majority are controlled in republicanism by separation of powers between three organs – legislature, executive and judiciary. Moreover, republicanism as a theory of freedom assures the protection of inalienable individual rights. While republic is ruled under law, a democracy is a majority mob rule. Inalienable rights of the individual are recognized in a republic while in democracies only the public good is kept in mind. The republican representatives derive their power to act through election while in democracy authority is derived through mass meetings. While democracy prefers the will of the majority in the administration of justice, the republic uses established principles.

(c) **Methods of Proportional representation**

Ans. The system of proportional representation was invented in the 19th century and was adopted by many European democracies at the turn of the century or in the early decades of the 20th century. Now, it has become one of the most preferred systems for the elections to the parliaments as it is found in older West European democracies plus the United States, Canada, India, Japan. Australia. Since this system avoids disproportionalities inherent in majoritarian systems, it makes it popular. Moreover, it allows achieving a relatively high degree of proportionality between votes cast and seats won. It may be noted that unlike majoritarian systems, proportional representation can be applied only to the election of multi-member constituencies. The list system and the single transferable vote are the two main types of proportional representation system.

Single Transferable Vote System: Single transferable vote system is a proportional representation system also called Hare System as it suggested by Thomas Hare. This system is also known as Preferential Vote System since each voter is required to indicate their preferences of candidates, though the vote is only one. A multiple-member constituency where three or more members are to be elected from one constituency can use this method. The vote may be transferred, if necessary, according to the preferences indicated by the voter. Under this system, the total

number of votes polled are divided by total number of seats + 1, and 1 is added to the quotient for fixing the quota. A candidate is required to receive the number of votes equal to the quota. If there are surplus votes, they are transferred, according to the preferences. The candidates who polled least number of votes are eliminated, one by one, and all their votes are transferred according to their second or third preferences. A fair amount of representation is ensured according to voters' wishes and votes are not wasted. The elections to Indian Rajya Sabba use this method.

List System: Proportional representation may also be secured through list system which operates also in multiple member constituencies. The voting is for parties and not individual candidates. Thus, different parties put up lists of as many candidates (each) as number of members to be elected. For instance, if six persons are to be elected, each party will put up a list of six candidates in the preference in which they would like to be elected. Quota is fixed by dividing total number of votes by number of seats. Now, the party which secures votes equal to, for example, three times of the quota (less than half being ignored, and more than half taken as one), that party will have its first three candidates in the list elected accordingly.

Semiproportional Method: Japan is one of the countries which follow the semi-proportional method. It has used the single non-transferrable vote for its House of Representatives elections from 1947 to 1993. This method gives each voter one vote in multi-membered districts and the candidates with the most votes win. This system allows even minority parties to gain representation relatively easily.

An intermediate form between majoritarian and proportional representation systems also exists which guarantees representation for ethnic minorities. For instance, New Zealand has several special Maori districts in which only Maori voters can cast ballots. Moreover, India has a large number of constituencies in which only members of the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes can be candidates but this is just reservation of seats, not proportional representation in the real sense.

Slate System: American President's Electoral College election uses slate system whereby in each State different parties put up their lists called Slates and voters vote for a Slate, not individual candidates. Thus, the slate which gets majority of votes polled is declared elected in its totality. This means that if 51% voters in a state vote for Democratic Slate, all the Democrats will be elected but none of the Republican.

Cumulative Vote System: Cumulative Vote System is a semi-proportional method whereby if ten members are to be elected from one constituency, the voters have ten votes which they may use the way they like. For instance, a voter may cast one vote each for ten different candidates or all the 10 votes for one candidate. The first ten are decided by the maximum number of votes.

■ ■