CHAPTER-I

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of comparative politics underwent major transformation with the emergence of a large number of independent nations as a result of the decolonisation drive after the Second World War that forced the political scientists to reframe their tools of investigation. The traditional approach was consequently found to be unsuitable to the study of non-western systems, whereas, behavioural approach, evolved during the initial decades of the 20th Century, became a method of great political significance for the study of Afro-Asian systems. However, the rigorous emphasis on scienticism by the Behaviouralists met with severe criticism at the hands of political scientists and post behavioural approach came to dominate the understanding of politics as a compromise between the traditional and behavioural approach to the study of politics. Against this backdrop, the concept of political development was coined by the economists and the sociologists. It was gradually adopted by the political scientists for the study of various political systems. But the theories built by the political scientists were not free from the Western bias. So it was, in many ways not found to be quite suitable for the study of developing as well as underdeveloped political systems of the post colonial societies.
Before discussing the issues of development, an analysis is made regarding the developmental approach to political systems, in order to develop a clear understanding of the systemic coordinates, which affect as well as are affected by the process of development. Any theorization of the process of development has to begin with a proper comprehension of the structural and functional components within a system.

**Developmental Approach to Political System**

Developmental approach to political system is studied from two major perspectives. One aspect deals with the theoretical formulation and other aspect deals with the study of the "emerging", "new" and "Non-western" nations. The theoretical formulation is largely concerned with the application of the systems theory (evolved by the sociologists) to the study of politics, whereas the study of the emerging non-Western systems reveal new ideas. The study represents a move in the latter direction and it is an effort to define "what political development consists of and to take into account the variables which affect it."\(^1\) In order to have a clear cut understanding of the theories of development, the study would begin with brief discussions of the separate formulations by several Western theorists like David Easton and Gabriel Almond.

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David Easton's View

David Easton deals with politics in explicit systemic terms. He defines political system as a system concerned with the "authoritative allocation of values in the society". He says that all political systems are closely connected with other social systems. In his analysis, there is regular flow of influences from the environment to the system and system to the environment. Flow of influences from the environment to the system is called input, whereas flow of influences from the system to environment is called output.

The input output analysis of David Easton is based on three variables, viz. demand, support and feedback.

Input

Input consists of demands and supports. Easton defines demand as an expression of the opinion that "an authoritative allocation with regard to particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so". People make demand upon the political decision-makers and it is the function of the system to convert the demands into decisions. Demands may be classified as follows.

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3 Ibid.
i) Demands for the allocation of goods and services such as demands for wages and hour laws, educational opportunities, recreational facilities, roads and transportation.

ii) Demands for the regulation of behavior such as provisions for public safety, controls over markets and rules pertaining to marriage, health and sanitation.

iii) Demands for participation in the political system as right to vote, hold office, petition government bodies and officials and to organize political associations.

(iv) Demands for communication and information such as demands for the affirmation of norms, communication of policy intent from policy elites, or the display of majesty and power of the political system in periods of threat or on ceremonial occasions.

Supports constitute another variable of input. "Supports refer to the remaining input transactions between a system and its environment after demands have been subtracted". Support can be both covert and overt. The support is covert when it refers to supportive attitudes. The support is overt when the action is clear and manifest.

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Supports can be classified as indicated,\textsuperscript{6}

i) Material supports such as payment of taxes or other levies and the provisions of services such as labour on public works or military service;

ii) Obedience to rules and regulations;

iii) Participatory supports, such as voting, political discussion and other forms of political activity;

iv) Attention paid to governmental communication, and manifestation of deference or respect to public authority symbols, and ceremonials.

The political support may lack due to the failure of the government to deliver the goods and services to the people. But if the government does not rectify it properly within a stipulated period of time, then the people withdraw support from the government, which may threaten the very existence of the system itself. But it can adapt to the support stress, bringing change in the structural elements, representation and the party system. So it strives to counter balance the support stress, creating diffused support through a sense of legitimacy.

The function of the political system depends partly on the structural mechanism and partly, on the support, diffused or specific, which operates in the society. But its main function depends on its performance. Here comes the

\textsuperscript{6} Almond and Powell, n.4, p. 26.
Output. Output is nothing but the results or decisions taken by the government. In this regard, four processes are involved.\(^7\)

i) Extractions which may take the form of tribute, booty, taxes or personal services;

ii) Regulations of behavior which may take a variety of forms and affect the whole gamut of human behavior and relations;

iii) Allocation or distribution of goods and services, opportunities, honours, statuses and the like;

iv) Symbolic outputs, including affirmation of values, displays of political symbols, statement of policy and intents.

In nutshell, outputs generate support for a political system and they maintain a minimum level of support for the various political objects.\(^8\)

**Feedback**

Feedback is an essential element of Easton's systems. It functions in between the inputs and outputs. Outputs not only influence the events, but in doing so, they determine each succeeding round of inputs.\(^9\) This feedback loop completes the cycle of political system and makes it a dynamic and

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\(^7\) Almond and Powell, n.4, p. 27.

\(^8\) David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, (New York: Prentice Hall,
regenerative operation. The feedback has two aspects viz. positive and negative. The negative aspect deals with the regulations of error and the positive aspect deals with the problems of purposive direction. Feedback belongs to the domain of control engineering. But its use in comparative politics, as mooted by Karl Deutsch, has the following main features.

i) The system must revoke information concerning the position of the goal and concerning its own distance from it, and it must revoke information concerning the changes in its distance from the goal brought about by its own performance.

ii) The systems must be able to respond to this information by further changes into its own position or behaviour.

iii) The system should tend to move towards a state in which internal disequilibrium is reduced so that it can be reduced by bringing the whole system into some particular situation or relation vis-a-vis the outside world.

iv) If these changes are effective and the system reaches the goal, some of the drive or inner tension will be lowered.

David Easton’s views on systems analysis from developmental perspective provides certain theoretical inputs regarding the functions of the

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10}}\text{Young, n. 5, p. 43.}\]

political systems. The operational mechanism of any political system could be judged through the input-output analysis. Besides this, the feedback also acts as an effective channel of communication between the system and the people and vice-versa. However, Easton's views cannot be accepted as totally correct. His views are too abstract and devoid of empirical examination. The Afro-Asian nations which are undergoing changes in various spheres would hardly accept the conservative nature of Easton's systems analysis in their process of political development.

**Gabriel Almond's View**

Gabriel Almond defines political system through input-output functions. He says that input functions consist of political socialization, political recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and output functions consist of rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. He also talks of capability functions to make the system dynamic and ongoing.

**Input Function**

Political socialization is the process through which individuals are inducted into political culture. Its end product is a set of values and cognitions, oriented towards the political system, its role and role incumbents. The role of family, church, school, work group and voluntary association is important among the primary structures. The secondary influences namely political socialization spread from primary to secondary structures via family, church and school. The relative importance of the primary and secondary inputs varies from one nation to another due to the different cultural backgrounds.

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parties, governmental institutions, media of communications have a lot of impact at the adulthood stage. The socialization may be manifest or latent. It is manifest when it entails explicit transmission of information values or feelings towards the political object. It is latent when it involves the transmission of non-political attitudes towards similar roles in the system.\textsuperscript{13}

Interest articulation is the process by which individuals and groups make demands upon the political decision-makers.\textsuperscript{14} It differentiates between the society and the political system. Sometimes groups within a society do not find proper channels to express their demands and their interests remain unsatisfied. Consequently, disaffection may occur which could lead to violence. This may require suppression by the authority. It is through interest articulation that conflicts inherent in the society become open. The manner of expression may either intensify the conflict or reconcile and reduce it. Almond views that there are various structures involved in the interest articulation process.\textsuperscript{15} There are institutional interest groups, such as legislators, political executives and bureaucrats. There are associational interest groups of the workers, trade and commerce. There are anomic interest groups which express demands through riots and demonstrations.

\textsuperscript{13} Almond and Powell, n.4, p.66.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 73.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp.74-78...
The function of converting demand into general policy alternatives is called interest aggregation.\textsuperscript{16} While analyzing the comprehensive nature of aggregative function, Almond contemplates the governmental bureaucracy and the political party as two specialised structures which mediate between a great range of articulated interests and the final making of authoritative rules.\textsuperscript{17} He distinguishes four types of party systems, namely

(i) authoritarian in which there is most upward flow as compared to totalitarian party;

(ii) the dominant non-authoritarian in which a nationalist movement unites or attempts to unite all interest;

(iii) competitive two party systems like those in United States of America (U.S.A.) and United Kingdom (U.K.); and

(iv) competitive multi-party systems such as Scandinavia and France.

The styles of aggregation vary in accordance with the aggregative structures which are based largely on the nature of party system. Almond further points out three outstanding styles of interest aggregation. These are: pragmatic bargaining, absolute value oriented and traditionalistic bargaining. In the pragmatic bargaining style a large number of interests are combined into a limited number of alternative policies. This style of aggregation occurs

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 98.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 101.
in the advanced political systems like U.S.A., U.K., and Philippines. The absolute value oriented style may appear as a rigid rationalism. Interests are aggregated strictly on the basis of ideology for accommodating various diverse interests. Communist and fascist systems fall in category. Traditionalistic styles of interest aggregation depend on past traditions, history and established precedents of the society. Limited resources mark such societies available to the political system and limited autonomy in political goals on the part of the elite.\textsuperscript{18}

All forms of human interaction connote communication. Without communication no form of social and political interaction is possible. Blondel has stated that political system can not operate unless the parts of the system can communicate with each other.\textsuperscript{19} Similarly Almond also says, "all of the functions performed in the political system are performed by means of communication".\textsuperscript{20} Legislative, executive and judicial branches of government perform their functions by communicating with different parts of the systems.

Almond classifies the communicative structure into five types.\textsuperscript{21} Firstly, there are informal face-to-face contacts which result more or less independently of other social structure. Secondly, there are traditional social

\textsuperscript{20} Almond and Coleman, n.12, p.4.
\textsuperscript{21} Almond and Powell, n.4, p. 167.
structures, i.e. family or religious organisations. Thirdly, there are political input structures such as legislature and bureaucracy. Fourthly, there are input structures like trade unions and corresponding interest groups. Fifthly, there is mass media, which includes newspapers, televisions, radios, magazines and books. The effectiveness of the communicative structure depends upon the political system in which it exists. Almond differentiates between the western and non-western political systems regarding the nature of communication. In western systems, there is free flow of information from polity to society and vice-versa, whereas in non-western systems there is little autonomy in the passage of information.

**Output Function**

Rule-making is the business of the legislative wing of the government. But the term rule making has been preferred over legislation because it implies a diffuse process as compared with the latter. The rule-making structure may vary in different political systems depending upon tradition and legal set up of the society. Schapera has argued that in the tribal systems, the chief of the tribes holds monopoly over the legislation. But this is a rarely exercised prerogative and he finds only a few examples of rule making in the Bantu tribes. In patrimonial kingdoms, the rule-making structures consist of kings or council of officials. There may be prophets or lawgivers in these systems also.

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systems who announce traditional rule ascribed to external forces. The nature of rule-making in modern democratic systems varies from both the tribal and patrimonial systems. It is the result of demands articulated and aggregated by political parties and interest groups. It presupposes a system, which is ingrained in secular institutions in opposition to the concept of tradition.

Rule-application means the enforcement of rules. The most important structure of rule-application is bureaucracy. Almond argues that in traditional society like Ouagadougou, a nineteenth century African Kingdom in Upper Volta region, an elaborate rule-application structure emerged. The Ouagadougou kingdom could not have managed as a political system without this elaborate and differential structure.

Almond and Powell quote Merle Fainsod's five old classifications of bureaucratic patterns. The five patterns are (i) representatives bureaucracy (ii) party-state bureaucracy (iii) rule dominated bureaucracy (iv) military bureaucracy (v) ruling bureaucracy.

Representative bureaucracy is marked by a competitive political pattern and the elected representatives of the people exercise real authority. The functioning of this system largely depends upon the party systems. Party-

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23 Almond and Powell, n.4, p. 135.
state bureaucracy is the by-product of totalitarian regimes and one party dominated political systems. Ruler dominated bureaucracy is one in which an autonomous ruler imposes his authority through a bureaucracy of officialdom. The examples of these forms of bureaucratic systems are certain cases of colonial rule in which the colonial administrators in the field function with "minimum direction from a metropolitan centre and with more or less absolute authority over the local inhabitants." Military dominated bureaucracy is one in which the members of the officer corps take control over the civilian bureaucracy. This pattern is common historically. This is also present in the current world. Ruling bureaucracy is one where civilian bureaucrats control the political system.

Rule adjudication

The rule adjudication process is deeply connected with judiciary. It seeks to resolve the conflicting situations without exerting any pressure on the lawmakers to make new laws. As David Easton points out "The adjudication process accepts a certain set of settled or presumed rules and applies these to conflict situations in the society." In Western societies, judiciary upholds the principles of rule of law and maintains strict impartiality. In totalitarian systems, judiciary may not be able to adopt strict procedure on account of

25 Ibid., pp.236-37.
their control by other structures. However, they constitute an important check upon the performances of rule-application. Once autonomous adjudicatory structure becomes established, the political system rises to a higher level of complexity.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{Capability Function}

Almond, later on, elaborates his own scheme of systems analysis through capability functions to fit it into the emergent conditions. These are considered as the key functions. The ability of the system to overcome a stress is known as capability of the system. According to Almond, these are five kinds of capability functions. These are discussed below.

Extractive capability refers to the capability of the system to extract resources from the people, which includes material and human resources to discharge its functions. The structure and procedure of taxation varies, depending upon the nature of system. Generally, it depends upon an efficient bureaucracy which is capable of performing equitable and effective activities over a continuous period of time. But, sometimes, extractive resources of a society may not be adequate to meet the demands of the system. For example, systems like Venezuela and Kuwait largely rely on oil. Other nations may be dependent on agricultural product. The failure of the system to have adequate

\textsuperscript{27} La Palombara, n. 24, p 162
agricultural crops or a drop in oil price may give a serious jolt to the extractive capability of the system.

Regulative capability indicates the capacity of the system to exercise control over the behavior of individuals and groups. In the liberal political systems, such capability seeks to regulate the economic activities within the state without encroaching upon the basic economic freedom of the people. Not only economic activities, but also interpersonal relationships like marriage, parental responsibility are also conducted by the systems. In case of totalitarian systems, the extractive capability of the system touches every aspect of individual life. It is directly involved with procreation, child care and religious activity. Even freedom of expression, speech and movement are regulated by the system. Hannah Arendt and George Orwell called this regulation as arbitrary as well as penetrative. 28

Distributive Capability involves allocation of goods, services, honours, statutes and opportunities of various kinds by the polity. Expenditure on social welfare, farm subsidies, health, public safety and community development projects come under this capability.

Symbolic capability refers to the flow of effective symbol from the political system into the society. Celebration of National days, Republic Day parades, conferring awards on distinguished persons are of great symbolic

28 The views of Hannah Arendt and George Orwell are cited in Almond and Powell. n.4. p.197.
value. In times of grave national crisis and concern, this capability assumes enormous importance. It inculcates national values and symbols in the minds of the people, so that they do not indulge in any sort of subversive or divisive activities.

All the four capabilities discussed above are input functions whereas responsive capability establishes a relationship between the input and output. It informs the government about the reaction of the people to the policy decision of the government and also their expectations from the system. In monarchical or totalitarian system, the responsiveness of the government depends upon the king or the party or their immediate official staff. But the democratic system ingrained with political parties and pressure groups witness a highly responsive capability.

Extractive, regulative, distributive, symbolic and responsive capabilities are domestic in nature. But in the modern times, with the shrinking of time and space, the world is perceived as a single entity. It is more or less affected by interaction capabilities of other systems. The extractive, regulative, distributive and symbolic capabilities of the political system may take the form of inputs into external political system. Flow of action from the Saudi Arabian system into international environment and from the international environment into the Saudi Arabian system would make us understand this contention. Apart from capabilities, Almond also discussed
pattern maintenance and adaptation functions to make the system ongoing and dynamic.

An impartial analysis of Almond's theory would reveal that the conceptual categories evolved by Almond are broad and the subjective bias ingrained in them makes them particularly fit for operation in advanced political systems of the West. Moreover, any attempt to understand the third-world reality through the conceptual tools may not be too rewarding for in a move to develop an universally applicable theoretical framework. Almond has made his scheme so general and broad that even if they have room for typical non-Western realities, the particular nuances of systemic operation may escape the conceptual nets. The move to see the process of development in non-Western societies through the over-generalized conceptual categories of the Western scholars, may be quite misleading because even if such study may throw up parallel patterns. The exact process of development would largely occur outside the ambit of the theoretical straitjackets of the Western thinkers.

Political Modernization

The term political development remains debatable when compared with political modernization. Both the theories of modernization and development converge on a point when they deal with the capacity and capability of political system to solve the problems arising out of renovation and change. The study of political modernization has assumed lot of
significance in the developing countries where in order to come out of their traditional patterns, these societies are confronted with the dilemma of adopting the western (supposedly modern) models of development. The critics of political development and modernization theories in these countries often speculate that the adoption of liberal model would bring inequality and economic disparity that are inherent in the model. On the other hand, they believe that adoption of Marxist model is no better in the sense that even if it promises equal distribution of social resources, it would give rise to an authoritarian system which would restrict individual liberty. Before explaining the theories of political development, an attempt is made to discuss the stages of political modernizations starting from the traditional to modern systems. The works of David Apter, Edward Shils and Karl Kautsky provide theoretical insight to it.

David Apter’s Views

David Apter is the first scholar to define political modernization in precise term. According to Apter, the process of political modernization passes through four stages, viz., (i) contact and control, (ii) reaction and counter-reaction, (iii) contradiction and reaction, and (iv) search for a new generative solution. 29

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29 David E. Apter, Introduction to Political Analysis. (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India 1978) p 461
i) *Stage of Contact and Control*

This stage started in the seventeenth century with a strong zeal for adventure among the European countries and continued up to the nineteenth century. The British, French, German, Dutch, Portuguese and Italian colonialists by their wealth and technologies not only brought a change in trade relationship by opening up new trade centres but also acquired new territory as well. Simultaneously, they also believed that the conditions of the backward countries (dependent people), which Kipling called "White Man's burden", could not be improved without the help of the developed countries. These European powers first set up a stable government and gradually initiated the process of modernization.

ii) *Stage of Reaction and Counter-action*

The Western colonialism has had tremendous impact upon the backward countries. Bureaucrats, missionaries and traders created new ideas replacing the old ones. They justified it more or less on the ground of racial superiority and in the process traditional societies became the beneficiaries of trade, commerce and civilisation. But the exploitation of the dependent people by the coloniser including the slave trade of African people sparked off resistance in the colonies and in response to this unjust order, nationalism grew in different parts of the backward countries. The nationalist leaders demanded participation in the decision making process of the government to
stave off the injustice meted out to their fellow brethren. But the colonial masters won their leaders in a true Machiavellian manner by seeking recourse to fox and lion game.\textsuperscript{31}

\textit{iii) Stage of Contradiction and Emancipation}

The nationalist movement gained a new momentum with the growth of elite in rural and semi-urban areas. Imbued with the spirit of American war of independence (1776) and French Revolution (1789), the nationalists attacked their colonial masters. Left with no other means, colonial rulers introduced democratic methods of participation to counter the burgeoning menace of nationalism. Witnessing such moves of the colonisers, political organisations, mass movements and intellectual groups emerged in different parts of the backward countries to fight against the oppression of the colonisers.\textsuperscript{32}

\textit{iv) Stage of search for a New Generative solution}

This stage is generally marked after the attainment of independence in the backward colonised countries. These countries are confronted with the problem of adopting a viable model to solve their problems. Even some of the political leaders preferred to adopt socialist models to solve the crisis of modernization. However, every political system had its unique weaknesses necessitated unique approaches. Some preferred liberty whereas others

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid, pp.469-473.
preferred force. Consequently, nationalist leaders lost their hold and the military junta mostly succeeded the imported democratic systems.\(^\text{33}\)

Edward Shills' Views

In the light of above discussions, Edward Shills classifies the political systems into five types, viz., political democracy, tutelary democracy, modernising oligarchy, totalitarian oligarchy and traditional oligarchy.\(^\text{34}\) Shill's classification falls in the category of ample academic interest and an attempt is made in our subsequent analysis to justify its significance.

*i) Political Democracy*

Shills describes the form of government which is witnessed in British and American political systems as the most representative. In this system, legislature remains the centre of all political activities. The members of the legislature are selected on the basis of universal adult franchise and they are entrusted with the duty of law-making function. It exercises control over the functions of the executive through censure motion and similar other motions. Political parties operate with their policies and programmes. They contest the elections and form the government for a well-defined period under the organic law of the land.\(^\text{35}\)


\(^{35}\) Ibid., p.95.
**ii) Tutelary Democracy**

Shills calls it as the second best form of government. This form of political system observes the norms and values democracy and marches towards the model of political democracy. It is thus the result of pragmatic response by committed democracies to situations, which seem to be inherently capable of effectively operating democratic institutions. Executive remains the focal point of political actions. Unlike legislature that remains an important organ in political democracy, it functions under the strict supervision of executive and its role is largely marginalised in the law-making department.\(^{36}\)

**iii) Modernising Oligarchy**

Shills describes it as the third best form of political system. In such a political system, power is entrusted either upon the civilians who control the political activities through the armed forces or in the hands of army who co-operates with top civilian figures to accord legitimacy to their authoritarian regime. Parliament functions as a mere ratifying body without any legislative authority. Political parties are declared unlawful and means of communication are censured.\(^{37}\)

iv) Totalitarian Oligarchy

Shills describes it as the fourth best of political system that remains committed to a particular ideology. Both rightist brand of fascism and nazism and leftist brand of communism represent the qualities of totalitarian oligarchy which were found in Italy, Germany and former Soviet Union. In this type of system, authority is fully concentrated in the hands of ruling clique based on class, race or some other characteristic. A highly disciplined and well-organised party operates with commitment to a particular ideology. All the means of democratic mechanism like bicameral legislature, periodic election, universal adult franchise are used for mere exhibitionism or propaganda purposes.

v) Traditional Oligarchy

The last but not the least in Shills classification is the traditional oligarchy where the ecclesiastical power occupies a unique place. The king's position is determined purely on the religious ground. The king selects his confidant and counsellors on the basis of kinship functions or personal motivations. There is no place for legislature in such a system and the opposition is virtually non-existent. The ruler gains legitimacy from the people on the pretext of safeguarding the traditional culture of the society. ③⁸

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③⁷ Ibid., p.104.
③⁸ Ibid., pp.109-110.
However, taxonomic study of Edward Shills does not provide a clear picture of modern political systems. The current political systems could not be categorized in Shills five-fold classification of political systems. The role of elite is an important factor in the political systems of all types. The case of transition from traditionality to modernity, in all spheres of life depends to a great extent initially on the ability of the elite to establish a working compromise with the claims of traditional beliefs, and through time, on this ability to reinterpret traditional beliefs, adapt them to modern needs and translate them into modern idiom".39

With the lapse of time, the taxonomic study of political systems made by Edward Shills has been modified by Karl Kautsky and David Apter. While giving a new dimension, Kautsky says that political modernization takes place in five stages, viz., traditional aristocratic authoritarianism, a transitional stage of domination by nationalist intellectuals, totalitarianism of aristocracy, totalitarianism of intellectuals and democracy.40 He also simultaneously suggests that this classification "should not be misused for an adequate description of any or all existing political systems".41 He further says "there are an infinite number of variations, subtypes, and mixed and transitional

39 Shills, n. 34, p.89.
forms that make it impossible to find any of the five types in pure form. What he has in mind is his emphasis formulating these five types in 'pure form', it is possible to facilitate comparisons and thereby formulate generalizations and advance our understanding of political processes". 42

David Apter propounded alternative means of political development in the larger framework of political modernization. 43 He studied the feature of traditional societies as the starting points of change and made a two dimensional classification based on three authority types (hierarchical, pyramidal and segmental) and two value types (instrumental and consummatory). Apter finds two main development consequences: a secular-libertarian model approaching democracy through mobilisation systems and a sacred collectivity model approaching totalitarianism through mobilization systems relying upon nature of traditional base and subject to the arbitrary influences of western social and political systems. Apter says, "Alternative sequences arise from processes of 'ritualization' and 're-traditionalisation' leading towards non-mercantilism. There is room in Apter's scheme also for

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42 Kautsky, n.40, p.4.
the analysis of modernizing autocracies, military oligarchies, and other
compact patterns of political modernization".44

Theories of Political Development

Lucian W. Pye, Almond and Powell, Samuel Huntington, Edward
Shills and Fred W. Riggs are the main proponents of the Western theory of
development. Lucian W. Pye is the first political scientist who defines the
concept of political development in clear and precise manner. He defines it as
the cultural diffusion and adaptation, fusion and adjustment of old patterns of
life to new demands.45 He further says that the evolution of the nation state
system is the first step towards political development and he views it as a
'basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion throughout societies of what
we might call a world culture".46 He marks that political development could
be stressed at three levels viz., (i) with reference to the population as a whole,
(ii) with reference to the level of governmental and general systemic
performance and with reference to the organization of the policy.47 In his
work on 'Aspects of Political Development', he highlights some of the
important characteristics of political development. These are: (i) political
development as the political prerequisite of economic development; (ii)
political development as the politics typical of industrial societies; (iii)

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44 Riggs, n.41, pp.333-334.
45 Lucian W.Pye, Aspects of Political Development. (Boston: Little Brown, 1966),
pp.33-35.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
political development as political modernization; (iv) political development as the operation of nation state; (v) political development as administrative and level development; (vi) political development as mobilization and participation; (vii) political development as the building of democracy; (viii) political development as stability or orderly change; (ix) political development as mobilization and power; (x) political development as one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change; and (xi) political development as a sense of national respect in international affairs.

The above mentioned points described by Pye generally offer us three important aspects of political development, viz., equality, capacity and differentiation.

**Equality**

Political development means participation of the mass or people as a whole in the political activities of the nation which may be either democratic or totalitarian in nature. The subjects of the system should be active citizens. Equality also denotes that "laws should be of a universalistic nature, applicable to all and more or less in their operation". All people are equal before law and there should not be any distinction on the basis of rich or poor, strong or weak regarding submission to the rule of law. Finally, recruitment involves that it is based on achievement consideration rather than ascriptive

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48 Ibid
factors of traditional systems. In modern political systems, people are inducted into political decision-making through merit or 'competitive test of competence'.

**Capacity**

Capacity deals with the outputs of the political system. It is generally related with the performance of the government and the conditions, which affect such performance. It also connotes the sheer magnitude, scope and the scale of political and governmental performance, which ultimately lead to effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy. The efficiency and effectiveness of the governmental performance gives rise to universally recognized standards of performance.

**Differentiation**

Differentiation indicates diffusion and specialization of structures. There is equal division of labour within the governmental apparatus with distinct and limited functions for offices and agencies. It also involves the integration of complex structures and processes. Pye says, "differentiation is not fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration."
After analyzing three elements of political development, Pye says that those elements do not necessarily go together. There may be tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity, and the processes of greater differentiation. Demand for equality can pose challenge to the capacity of the system and differentiation cannot ensure equality when the system needs people on the basis of specialized knowledge. Besides, the development is neither unilinear nor determined by sharp and distinct stages, but marked by a set of problems, which occur separately or concurrently. Here, the study of political development indicates that the problem of equality is related to 'the political culture and sentiments about legitimacy and commitment at the system'; the problems of capacity are related to the 'performance of the authoritative structures of government; and the problems of differentiation are related with "the performance of the non-authoritative structures and the general political process in the society at large."

Pye's views also suffer from the very same Western prejudices that a well-differentiated structure can guarantee better development. It tries to transpose the bias of the evolutionary theorists who hold that the stages of evolution of organisms reveal a definite progressive development towards differentiated structures from a single celled amoeba to human beings. But in actual operation, it is too difficult to generalize the processes of development

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52 Ibid., p.48.
of socio-political system. A well-differentiated system is no guarantee to social equality and better governance. In the third world democracy, the strategy of adopting the Western models of governance has largely failed in practice. No such model has managed to secure equality, justice and liberty in the true sense of the term. They have largely been super-imposed models, divorced from the norms and conventional values of particular societies. Thus, they have not been too helpful in explaining non-Western social realities.

Almond’s and Powell’s Views

Almond and Powell put forward their views regarding the problems of political development, viz., state building, nation building participation and distribution. 53

State Building

The Problem of State building occurs if the stress is perceived at the intra-societal and extra societal level that may pose serious threat to the system. The change of political goals by the powerful elite at the internal level or a war or an aggression at the external level may also pose serious challenge to the existence of the Political System. Almond says state building occurs when the political elite creates new structures and organisations designed to penetrate the society in order to regulate behaviour in it and draws

a larger volume of resources from it. State building is commonly associated with significant increases in the regulative and extractive capabilities of the political system, with the development of a centralized and penetrative bureaucracy related to the increase in the these capabilities, and with the development of attitudes of obedience and compliance in the population which are associated with the emergence of such a bureaucracy.  

The nation building refers to the process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty form smaller tribes, villages or petty principalities to the large political system. Various instances indicate that the state-building problem has been solved in certain political systems, whereas the national building problems remain the core issue in the leading Afro-Asian political systems that pose a strong challenge to the stability of the political system.

Participation

Different groups in the form of political parties, groups, cliques and factions operate in the society and strive to participate in the decision-making process. They put forward their demands through various types of supports. Some of the leading members of those groups participating in the decision-making process convert those 'inputs' into 'outputs' in their own favour.

Distribution

This problem arises when the wealth or national income is distributed or opportunities are given. Talent is recognized and merit remains the sole

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54 Ibid.
factor in the distribution of national income and opportunities. It is otherwise known as politics of welfare or general good.\textsuperscript{55}

This analysis by Almond and Powell seems logical and cogent but again like Pye’s analysis, it is too broad and general.

\textbf{Samuel P. Huntington’s Views}

Huntington’s concept of ‘Political Development and Political Decay’ is an important contribution to the theories of political development. Huntington defines political development as “the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures”. He is of the view that “this concept liberates development from modernization” and that it can be applied to the analysis of political systems of any sort, not just modern ones. It can be defined in reasonably precise ways, which are at least theoretically capable of measurement. As a concept, it does not suggest that movement is likely to be in only one direction. Institutions, we know, decay and dissolve as they grow and mature. Most significantly, it focuses attention on the reciprocal interaction between the on-going social processes of modernization on the one hand and the strength, stability or weakness of political structures – traditional, transitional or modern – on the other. The strength of political organizations and procedures vary with their scope of support and their level of institutionalization. Scope refers simply to the

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
extent to which the political organizations and procedures encompass activity in the society. If only a small upper class group belongs to the political organization and behaves in terms of a set of procedures, the scope is limited. If, on the other hand, a large segment of the population is politically organized and it follows the political procedures, the scope is broad. Institutions display stable, valued and recurring patterns of behaviour. Organizations and procedures vary in their degree of institutionalization. Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability. The level of institutionalization of any political system can be defined by adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures. So also, the level of institutionalization of any particular organization of procedure can be measured by its adaptability, complexity and coherence. If these criteria can be identified and measured, political systems can be compared in terms of their levels of institutionalization. Furthermore, it will be possible to measure increases and decreases in the institutionalization of particular organizations and procedures within a political system".56

The Huntington’s attempt seeks to accommodate all existing political systems. The compass here is too broad and universal. But the stress on

institutionalization makes it typically Western. Huntington’s paradigm suggests that the more the level of institutionalization in a society, the more developed it is. Thus, while Huntington has enough scope in his theorization to fit in the non-Western political systems, and while he accepts that political systems do not have a uniform line of development, yet, he seems to be laying too much emphasis on the qualitative superiority of the well-institutionalized politics of the Western world.

Fred W. Riggs’s Views

Fred W. Riggs in his essay contributes to James C. Charlesworth’s edited volume on ‘Contemporary Political Analysis’, incorporates his entire thinking starting from Lucian W. Pye to Huntington. However, his main work is based on the interpretation of Lucian W. Pye’s concept of political development. Looking at Pye’s concept of political development, Riggs analyses equality in terms of members participating in the formulation of policies and capacity in terms of the ability of political and administrative system to deal with the goals. He says that both equality and capacity will suffer unless the polity is properly differentiated. A developed polity is likely to have all these aspects in perfect coordination. So, Riggs prefers to maintain a balance between equality and capacity. He entails that the equality is the symbol of the leftists and capacity is the symbol of the rightists. Riggs maintains that there should be a balance between the two attributes of development, otherwise there would be a "developmental
"...trap". He says, "so long as politics takes the form of struggle between the rightists and the leftists, each will view its specific demands – for increased capacity or more equality - as the epitome of political development. Both will be likely to miss the point that only by establishing a balance between the two principles, will it be possible to heighten the level of structural differentiation, and thereby to enable both of the goals of equality and capacity to be realized to a greater degree".

When Riggs theory is applied to the third world, the political systems seem to be externally languishing in ‘developmental traps’. Basing his theory on the traditional Western bias that the ideal balance between equality and capacity can only be achievable in the well-differentiated political systems of the western world, Riggs, like his co-theorists seems to have evolved a theory that remains elusive in practice to much of the third world political systems.

**Marxist Theory of Political Development**

Marxists tend to theorize ‘Political Development’ within the ideological matrix created by Marxian socialism. It emerges as an alternative to the capitalistic model of development. Marx, Lenin and Stalin are the main theorists of this form of political development.

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57 Riggs. n. 41, pp. 340-341.
56 Ibid.
Karl Marx’s Views

Marx says that all historical changes are determined by the mode of production. A change in the mode of production brings about change in the relations of production. Production is a process that creates relation between man and man. Marx says: “In the social production of their means of existence men enter into definite, necessary relations which are independent of their will; production relations correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The aggregate of these productive relationships constitute the economic structure of society, the real basis on which a juridical and superstructure arises. The mode of production of the material means of existence condition the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary it is their social existence, that determines their consciousness”.\textsuperscript{59} So, the economic system is the foundation on which the political legal, ethical and intellectual superstructure exists.

Each society is marked by its known mode of production. Marxism analyses historical development of western society in five modes of production and five kinds of societies. There are five types of societies one following the other which are, primitive communist society, slave owning

\textsuperscript{59} Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of the Political Economy (1859). \textit{Selected Works}. p. 181.
society, feudalistic society, capitalistic society and socialistic society. The mode of production leads to the formation of classes. The struggle among the classes is the most fundamental concept. Marx says, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." ⁶⁰

Class struggle is an unavoidable concept that results from the contradiction between the productive forces and productive relation. It is the motive force of social and historical change. This class struggle continues till the achievement of stateless and classless society. However, this stage is succeeded by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a prelude to the withering away of the state. Marx says: "Between the capitalist and communist society lies the period of change of one into other. This corresponds to a political transition period in which the state can be nothing else than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat". ⁶¹ When the tasks of the revolutions are fulfilled, the dictatorship of the proletariat will lead to classless society and state will gradually wither away.

Marxist theory of Political Development is mainly the product of industrialized West and it lacks universal applicability. The society and cultural set up of the third world systems are completely different from that of the Western societies. So it would be an unnecessary attempt to apply ⁶⁰

the parameters of Marxian theory of development in the context of third world countries.

Vladimir Lenin’s Views

Lenin, in his work on the development of capitalism in Russia, was confronted with the problem of bringing quick socio-economic transformation in Russia. It was not clear whether he accepted Marxism as a remedy to the then socio-economic conditions of society, but it was certain that he was highly impressed by the revolutionary zeal of Marxian philosophy. He thought that in the absence of a bourgeois class in Russia, his goal could be realized through a highly organized and deeply committed political party. He stressed upon the intellectuals and the Communist party to lead the proletarian revolution. Lenin knew that Russia in 1917, in terms of its socio-civilization level of progress, was somewhere on the margin “between civilized countries and...all the oriental, non-European countries”. It was closer, in terms of socio-economic conditions, to the underdeveloped East than to the developed West. While the objective, of course, was the same as the general line of world development, in which, Russia was required to proceed to overtake the other nations, the methods had to be different. They had to be novel and revolutionary. Marxian theory was abstract in nature and Lenin interpreted it to suit the changing

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conditions. He made it a dynamic creed with a revolutionary fervour. However, Lenin’s theory of development could not provide a universal model for the study of Afro-Asian countries, as he did not clearly spell out the dynamics of development among those countries.

**Joseph Stalin’s View**

Joseph Stalin made up his mind to concentrate socialism in one country, i.e. Russia. He thought that socialism could be possible in Russia due to its untapped resources, which, if properly utilized, could make Russia strong and withstand the capitalist onslaught. His doctrine of revolution in one country had strong repercussions. “If the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a sign of development, then it is clear that revolutions, made by oppressed classes, are a quite natural and meritable phenomenon”.63 Stalin did not provide any help to the underdeveloped nations with a view to strengthening of the defence and economic independence of Russia. His theory of communism was limited to Russia. Russian leaders chose rather to stay safely away from the Communist movements launched in Asian countries such as China, India, Indonesia and Japan. During this period, Communism spread to China, Yugoslavia and Vietnam. The revolutions of these countries were led by the intellectuals and supported by the proletariat and peasantry like

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the Russian Revolution. Although, Marxist theories were framed in those Afro-Asian countries with an indigenous outlook, still they could not provide solutions to the rising socio-economic problems of the political set-ups.

**Dependency Model of Development**

Any discussion on the theories shall remain incomplete without the mention of the dependency theories of development that seek to weave together a conceptual counterpoint to the liberal theories of development. Many scholars, especially from the Third World, have laid emphasis on the dependency theories of development, within which political development in the Third World could be studied. They sought to build upon the essential Leninist proposition of colonial expansion during the late stage of capitalist development. They argue that the sense of dependency induced in the colonies persists in the post-colonial political context, where the development or underdevelopment of the erstwhile colony tends to have an independent external variable rooted in colonial tradition of exploitation. The dependency theories are analysed below.

Lenin explains the dependency theory in his theory of imperialism. He views that the Capitalist imperialism is the result of the competition among the colonial powers for the economic and political division of the world. “Not only are there two main groups of countries, those owning
colonies, and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency”\(^6\)

**Gunder Frank’s View**

Andre Gunder Frank defines capitalist development in the centre and underdevelopment in the periphery through metropolis and satellite relationship. Frank gives four reasons for his proposition. Firstly, the underdevelopment is not original in nature. The presently developed countries were never underdeveloped in the process of development, rather they might have been undeveloped. So, the current underdevelopment found among the third world countries is nothing but the consequence of capitalistic domination over the world. Secondly, the distinction between the capitalist and the feudal or pre-capitalist is also false as all the capitalistic countries have passed through the same stages. Thirdly, metropolis-satellite relationship is not only found at the external level but it is also found in the internal lives of the colonies and neo-colonial nations. Fourthly, war and depression forced some of the third countries to go for capitalistic development but such capitalistic developments led to underdevelopment. Fifthly, acute underdevelopment was found in those countries where they had become very close to the metropolis. Frank’s

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work on underdevelopment also influenced other scholars to study on underdevelopment in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Frank in ‘Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America’ (1967) also took Brazil and Chile as case studies to examine this theory.65

**Dos Santos’ View**

Dos Santos views that dependency occurs due to the expansion of capitalistic economy. The underdevelopment is caused by the exploitation of the dominant nations over third world countries. Dos Santos explains this duality thus:

> By dependence, we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of inter-dependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or negative effect on their immediate development”.66

Dos Santos develops several types of dependency models to explain the theory of underdevelopment. The relationship between the European and colonies wherein the former holds monopoly over land, mines and manpower resources of the later marks colonial dependency. Financial-Industrial dependency is marked by the domination of hegemonic centres

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66 Thetonio Dos Santos, “The Structure of Dependency”. *American Economic*
over the investment of capital in peripheries by acquiring raw materials and agricultural products. The new-dependency theory is marked by the entry of multi-national corporations through investments in the peripheries.

**Views of Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy**

Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy also explain the dependency theory through monopoly capitalism. Of course, the views of Baran and Sweezy are closer to Marxian line of thought. Lenin views imperialism as the combination of bank capital with that of finance capital. However, these two Latin American scholars believe that presently the corporate capital is replaced by the capital investment of multi-national corporations. They make the Marxian philosophy more up-to-date. However, they give credit to Lenin for providing the theory that ‘imperialism constitutes a monopoly stage of capitalism composed of large-scale enterprises’. Baran and Sweezy studied the United States of America through this approach. The works of Baran and Sweezy that entails the external impact of monopoly capitalism of the centre over the peripheries remain the major foundation of dependency theory in the twentieth century.  

The dependency theorists from Gunder Frank to Paul Baran, seek to study the phenomenon of chronic underdevelopment of the third world societies from the Marxist angle. Their conceptual frameworks deal with

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Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a*
the basic issue of capitalist domination, and they seem to understand the economy of the world through the Marxian worldview. Marx's theme of capitalist exploitation is projected on to the international economy at large. While these theorisations do explain, to a substantial degree, the causes of the underdevelopment of the third world societies, they do not provide any plausible models of economic and political development. They have also not shed sufficient light on the impact of western political models, advocated by many countries in the third world, on the socio-economic development of those countries. It may very well seem to a follower of dependency theory that western models of political development also signify a sense of dependency for many countries in third world are seeking to redress their socio-economic grievances by adopting the western modes of governance. This also provokes a student of political development to invest his intellectual capital in structuring a model that can really deliver in non-western societies.

Islam and Modernization

The relationship between Islam and modernization has been studied by the western scholars. They view that Islam is undergoing transformation with the impact of modernization. Donald E. Smith, justifying the stand in case of Islam, says that it is moving from a 'traditional character through modernist Islam, Islamic socialism, socialism to the secular humanism-

pragmatism'. Manfred Halpern's study on 'the politics of social change in the Middle East and North-Africa' shows that religion as a traditional concept may not disappear completely but it would first disintegrate under the impact of modernization. Halpern is of the view that due to the liberal reformist movement, the Islamic actors, viz. the Ulama, have been relegated to the background. The scholars on 'Islam and modernization generally emphasize on (a) the presence of secular and rationalistic ideas in Islamic countries replacing religious values; (b) the rise of military technocrats, businessmen and intellectuals as against the religious and legal elites; (c) the failure of liberal Islamic reformers to deal with modernization and (d) the atavist nature of popular fundamentalist Islamic political movements. 68

With the impact of modernization, the political influence of the religious – legal establishment was reduced to a significant extent. The termination of the caliphate, the creation of territorial states and the encroachment of European positive law also further curtailed their influence on the political sphere. Political parties, Western-pattern constitutions, bourgeois lobbies, technocrats, bureaucrats and military juntas have pushed the Muslim actors to the background. But this does not mean that the Islamic political systems have been completely de-Islamicised. Middle Eastern political systems are neither purely anti-Islamic nor avowedly

secular. Except the rare example of Ataturk's experiment in Turkey, the Middle Eastern regimes have accepted Islam as the main source of legitimacy. Notwithstanding this, Islam is not monopolised by the traditionalists and *ijtihad* is applied with the changing conditions of the society.\(^{69}\)

At the present moment, after the fall of communism in the Soviet Union many scholars held that the liberal political philosophy would be the sole model in the post-Second World War era. Francis Fukuyama anticipates "an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism".\(^{70}\) Fukuyama said:

> What we may be witnessing is just not the end of the cold war, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.\(^{71}\)

Fukuyama's thesis sparked off a debate among the scholars regarding the future of the Islamic world. A number of propositions arise in this context viz. (i) whether the Islamic world is turning towards liberal-capitalist democracy; (ii) whether Islam provides an alternative theoretical parameter to human history; (iii) whether Marxism is dead. However, the Muslims do not believe in the end of history. Islam continues to be an

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\(^{69}\) Ibid.
\(^{71}\) Ibid.
important reference point in the Islamic world, and the stress on the virtues of the Abrahamic tradition has ensured the perpetuation of the Islamic cultural values in society. The Quran says:

> He has made pain to you of the religion that He enjoined upon Noah and that which we have revealed unto you, and that which we enjoined upon Ibrahim and Musa and Isa, that keep you to obedience and be not divided therein.\(^{72}\)

History proves that Muhammad is the last founder of a great religion. Islam remains the youngest and the most influential religion, as we approach the 21\(^{st}\) century. The Quran says that Muhammad is the last of the prophets. “Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the apostle of Allah and the last of the Prophets”. But the question here arises whether the Islam, which is fourteen centuries old, has become dynamic in the present century. Of course, there is a wide divergence of opinion among the conservative and liberal thinkers and liberal Muslim scholars. The liberals talk of liberalization and reformation in Islam, whereas traditionalists stress on going back to the days of the prophet. But Islam guided by the traditional scholars would not find a place in the current ideological debate. The Shariah allows innovation and application of reasoning in every sphere of life. In order to compete with the Western

\(^{72}\) *The Holy Quran*, Ch. 42. p.1476.
liberal-economic order, it should be adapted to the changing conditions of society.73

Islam and Development

The western political scientists have viewed the relationship between Islam and development from a negative point of view. Influenced by the liberal-secular tradition, they tend to underplay normative or ethical values of the society which shape an individual’s social behaviour and thus it is quite likely that they have great bearing on an individual’s political behaviour, politics cannot be divorced from society. The Islamic view on politics does not relegate the normal and ethical values of the society in the political process. Both Marxist and non-Marxist theory of development contemplate “good society” in terms of their respective ideological positions.74 In the Marxian theory, the forces of production and their relations develop into classes and this stage continues till the achievement of the classless society. The western theory, in contrast, primarily deals with the concepts of structural differentiation and cultural secularization. The concept of theocracy is not accepted in the developed political systems. Western development theorists consider the presence of religion in politics as ‘negative development’ which happens when there is “a decline in the magnitude of a significant change in the flow of inputs” into the political system.75

73 Majrui, n. 70, pp. 2-10.
74 Hudson, n. 68, p. 2.
75 Almond and Powell, n. 4, p. 308.
However, the theorists like Huntington and Myron Weiner differ from the general line of development. They say that the political scientists should better aim at developing culture-specific models, which would effectively explain the process of political development in those societies. Huntington says:

May be the time has come to stop trying to change these societies and to change the model, to develop models of a modern Islamic, Confucian or Hindu society that would be more relevant to countries where those cultures prevail.  

Huntington observes that de-westernization has become an important phenomenon in the non-Western world instead of westernization. So, the culture becomes a central independent variable for explaining the different models of development. Of course, the importance was given to the culture due to the rise of Islamic resurgence in the Islamic societies.

Myron Weiner says:

The expectation that religion would wither away under the pressures of secularism, or that at least it would cease to play a role as a salient political force has been shattered not only by the events in Iran but by the resurgence of religion in much of the third world in the past decade...But what was unique about the Islamic fundamentalism in Iran was its political success, for nowhere else in modern times has the clergy emerged as a political ruling class.  

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77 Ibid., p. 47.
The Islamic concept of development generally expresses a normative statement in comparison to the Western development which is based on empirical viewpoint. The Islamicists hold that the ideal Islamic polity consists of a community of believers. According to them, the membership of an Islamic society is based on the concept of Islamic Ummah, with due understanding of responsibilities to the God and the community. The Quran says:

God commands justice, the doing of good, and liberty to kith and kin, and He forbids all shameful deeds, and injustice and rebellion. He instructs you that you may receive admonition.⁷⁸

The state as the organizer of the community renders justice to the people in line with the principles enshrined in the Quran. An ideal Islamic polity is governed by Shari`ah based on the interpretations of the learned scholars of Islam (the Ulama) and the legalists (the fuqaha). The political leader of the community acts as the spiritual leader (Caliph) or Imam and his authority is legitimized through baya (confirmation oath) of the leading members of the community. Consultation is the means of reaching a decision.

The Islamic scholars like Al-Farabi, Al-Ghazzali, Averroes, Al-Mawardi, Ibn Khaldun and other great philosophers interpret the Quranic principles. The relationship between divine law and practical law, reason and rationality, the virtuous society and the moral of the state, the nature of

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⁷⁸ *The Holy Quran*, Ch. 16:90, p. 760.
sovereignty and the right rule, justice and responsibility, the possibility of social and political evolution are elucidated positively by the Islamic political philosophers. According to Iqbal, Ijtihad, "is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam." It helps the political system in adapting to the changing conditions of society. Ijtihad is also mentioned in the Quran, which says "and those who exert we show our path." The concept of Ijtihad (individual interpretation of Islamic law) is also analyzed by the Islamic thinkers. Albert Hourani says:

Islam exalts reason and freedom, encourages progress, and rejects all intermediaries between man and God. It should be the basis of a truly national education, and of a modern legal system...Islam could also be the basis of economic life, for there is a specifically Islamic teaching about the use of property and if accepted it will ensure social justice and liberate men from economic servitude.81

This view is also shared by Abdul Rashid Moten, who says, "There is also the well known hadith, the tradition of Mu‘adh Ibn Jabal, wherein the Prophet clearly approved of Mu‘adh’s resolve to the exercise of Ijtihad in cases where Quran and Sunnah are silent."82

The relationship between Islam and development shows that he indices of the theories of political development are very much present in the

80 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
Islam recognizes democratic functioning of a political system and it does not accept any type of authoritarianism. However, it wants to achieve those principles while keeping in view the normative values of the society. It believes in the creation of Allah’s sovereignty and the Vice-regency of man on the earth is the first goal of political development. Shariah is based on Quranic wisdom and prophetic traditions (Sunnah). Besides these sources, man is also given the right to exercise intellectual effort (Ijtihad) to bring dynamism in the legal system.

The western, the Marxist and the dependency theories of political development are discussed in this Chapter. The western theory of political development advocates modernization along with the process of institutionalization. It focuses on the process of state building and national building with due emphasis on political participation, welfare and distribution. Broadly, it entails differentiation of structures, democratization of the political set up, universalisation of laws, equality in the recruitment process, weakening of traditional elite and their replacement by the modernizing elite, recognition of merits in the distribution of roles and capability of political system to deal with the challenges. This theory largely prescribes modernization of socio-economic milieu and
institutionalization of the political set up without taking into account the hard realities of the third world nations.

The Marxist theory of political development advocates classless and stateless society wherein the principles of equality reigns supreme. It believes in the creation of a people’s democracy controlled by peasants and the industrial proletariats. The theory of development is based on the materialistic interpretation of history, wherein the forces of production (tools of production and technology) determine the relations of production. The creation of the classes is also resulted in the class struggle, which is due to the forces of production. The class struggle leads to the dictatorship of the Proletariat, which ultimately leads to the establishment of classless society. However, the Marxian philosophy was mainly governed by the then industrial society of Europe. So, Lenin applied Marxism in Russia and brought about certain changes in it. The Communist movements were also witnessed in China, Yugoslavia and Vietnam in a different context as the socio-economic environment of these Asiatic societies remained different from the socio-economic milieu of European society. History also proves that most of the Afro-Asian nations have not adopted the Communist path of political development, although a few of them have accepted the theory with a different version. It is also marked that the religion has no place in the Communist theory of political development. Super-structure determines
the sub-structure in an Islamic society, whereas in Communist society, sub-
structure determines the super-structure.

The dependency theory was a reaction against the Western model of
development. The scholars of dependency theory focus upon under-
development in the third world nations. They entail that capitalist countries
of Europe and America exploit the Afro-Asian nations through an unequal
economic relationship that continued from nineteenth century to the early
part of the twentieth century. They even argue that at present the
capitalistic nations exploit the third world nations investing through Multi
National Corporations (MNCs). However, the views of dependency
scholars are partly correct. They only cite external factors for the process of
underdevelopment among the third world nations, but they do not take into
account the internal factors viz. internal social structure and national forces
for the process of underdevelopment. Besides this, the dependency theory
largely focuses on the economic aspects of development and
underdevelopment.

So far as the relationship between Islamic and development is
concerned, the scholars like Huntington and Myron Weiner have not
propounded any specific theoretical framework to it. They have only
prescribed the culture-specific models. However, the study on Islam shows
that it is highly flexible in nature. The Islamicists believe that the ideal
polity is governed by the principles of Shariah. Consultation is the means
of reaching a decision. The Shariah allows application of reasoning in every sphere of life. The study of all the theories of political development shows that the presence of certain parameters is necessary for the structural and operational mechanism of the political systems. However, the theorists differ largely regarding the patterns of political development. Inspite of this, there is a basic consensus regarding the major indices of political development, viz., institutionalization, structural differentiation, effective political processes, rationalization of norms and equal distribution of resources. All the indices would be discussed subsequently while analysing the nature of political development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.