

WEEK 3: Theories of Political Development (Continue)

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".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 ^{based system}

⁵⁹ Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of the Political Economy (1859). 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 Ibid.
⁶¹ Karl Marx, Critique of Gotha programme (1875). (Peking 1972). pp. 29-30.

significant amount of money & cannot shake that pesky suffer from a reliance on importing finished goods and exporting natural resources.

the Russian Revolution. Although, Marxist theories were framed in those Afro-Asian countries with an ^{initial/first} 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 ^{twist} 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".⁶⁴

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, ^{severe} acute underdevelopment was found in those countries where they had become very close to the metropolis. Frank's

⁶⁴ V. I. Lenin, Selected works, vol. I., (Moscow: Progress publishers 1967). pp. 742-43.

Periphery
Not original
distinction is not real

... that the natural resources of less-developed nations were used to fuel the colonial nation's factories. The methods used by imperial powers often involved direct military and political control.

A policy of extending a country's power & influence

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 ^{not yet used} untapped resources, which, if properly utilized, could make Russia strong and withstand the capitalist onslaught. His doctrine of revolution in one country had strong ^{result} repercussions. "If the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and ^{sudden} 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."⁶¹ 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

⁶¹ J. Stalin, "The Tasks of Business Executives" in *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1945), p. 356.

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Stalin focus was on Russia and

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".⁶² 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

⁶² V.I. Lenin, "Our Revolution", *Selected Works*, vol. VI. (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1970, pp. 509-512.

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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

⁶⁵ Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical studies of Chile and Brazil*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), p. 184.

⁶⁶ Thetonia 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.⁶⁷

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

Review, May 1960, pp. 231-236.

⁶⁷ 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-

Paradigm Reconsidered, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp.261-262.

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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 ^{assign an inferior rank} 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 atavistic 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 ^{trips on} 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

⁶⁸ Michael C. Hudson, "Islam and Political Development", in John L. Esposito, ed., *Islam and Development*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1982), p. 9.

Division
Edu and Ero

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 ^{lessen} 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 ^{despise/put down} 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:

Maybe 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.⁷⁶

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 ^{renew} 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.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Myron Weiner and Samuel P. Huntington, *Understanding Political Development*, (Harper Collins Publishers, 1987), p. 25.
⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

sovereignty and the right rule, justice and responsibility, the possibility of social and political evolution are ^{elaborated} elucidated positively by the Islamic political philosophers. According to Iqbal, *Ijtihad*, "is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam."⁷⁹ 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."⁸⁰ 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 the indices of the theories of political development are very much present in the

⁷⁹ Cited in Abdul Rashid Moten, *Political Science: An Islamic Perspective* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), p. 55.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, (1798-1939)*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 372.

⁸² *Ibid.*

Quran. 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

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 underdevelopment 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

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

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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. In spite 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.

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