Political Science

Standard Eleven

The Constitution of India

Chapter IV A

Fundamental Duties

ARTICLE 51A

Fundamental Duties- It shall be the duty of every citizen of India—

(a)   to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;

(b)   to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;

(c)   to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;

(d)   to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

(e)   to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities, to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

(f)   to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;

(g)   to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life and to have compassion for living creatures;

(h)   to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;

(i)   to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;

(j)   to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;

(k)   who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

Political Science

Standard Eleven

**Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and
Curriculum Research, Pune.**

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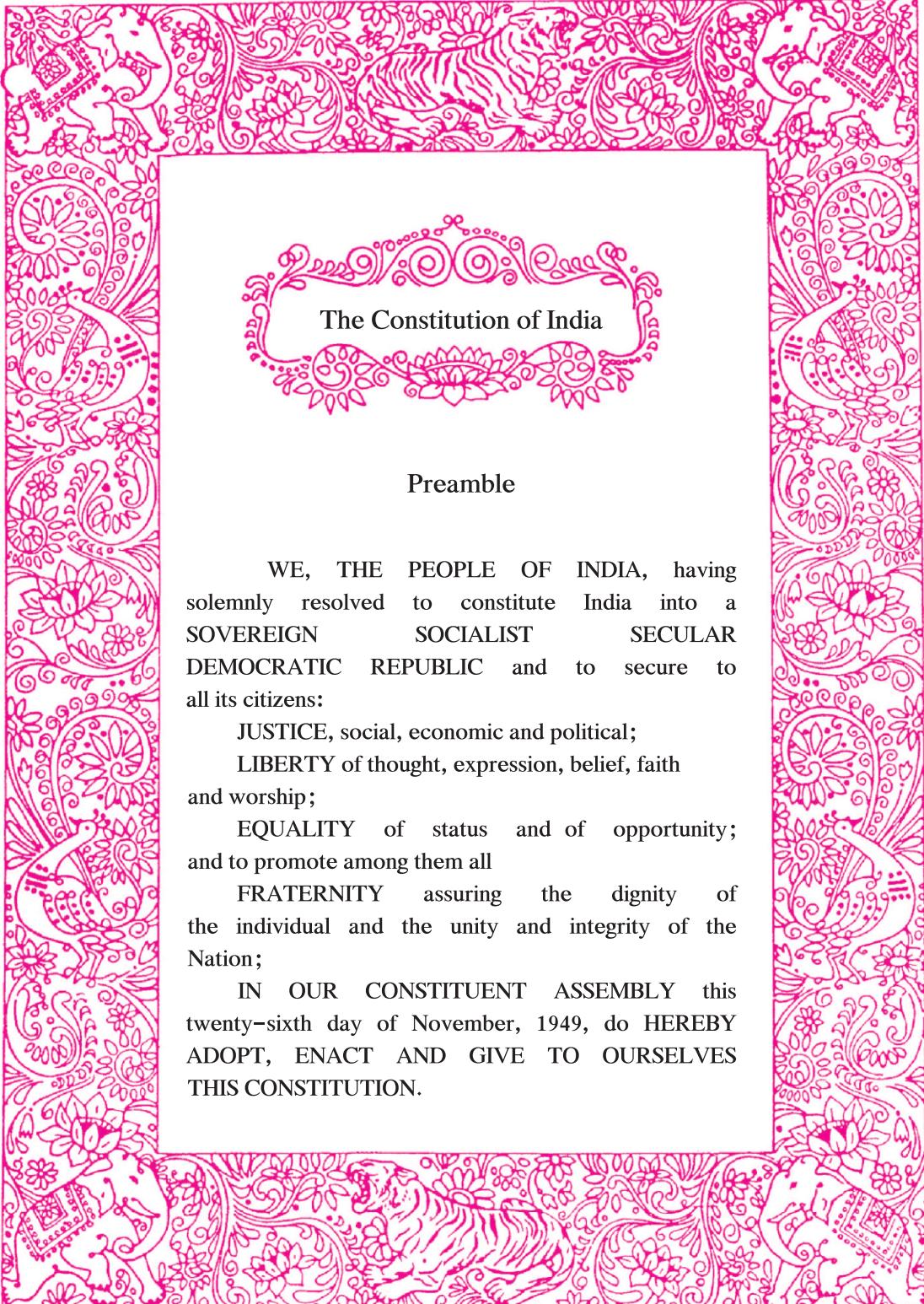
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(B)

The Constitution of India

Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

(C)

NATIONAL ANTHEM

Jana-gana-mana-adhināyaka jaya hē
    Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā,

Panjāba-Sindhu-Gujarāta-Marāthā
    Drāvida-Utkala-Banga

Vindhya-Himāchala-Yamunā-Gangā
    uchchala-jaladhi-taranga

Tava subha nāmē jāgē, tava subha āsisa māgē,
    gāhē tava jaya-gāthā,

Jana-gana-mangala-dāyaka jaya hē
    Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā,

Jaya hē, Jaya hē, Jaya hē,
    Jaya jaya jaya, jaya hē.

PLEDGE

India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters.

I love my country, and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it.

I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect, and treat everyone with courtesy.

To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

(D)

Introduction

Dear Students,

You have been already introduced to 'Political Science' in Standard IX and X. The textbook for Standard XI has been written with the objectives of the modified syllabus (2012) in view. We are glad to hand over the textbook for Standard XI to you.

The content of this textbook is organised into four sections - Political Concepts, Comparative Government, Public Administration and International Relations. Each of these sections begins with an introduction. The main purpose in doing so to introduce the students to the principal concepts in these fields. All these concepts are to be viewed and studied in the context of the Indian system.

The boxes providing additional information, various activities provided in the textbook and the informative articles in the Q.R.Code will certainly make the process of self-study easier, interesting and encourage active participation.

Why do we study 'Political Science'? This book will provide you with some answers. It helps you to understand not only your own country but introduces you to the world out there. It will explain to you how the Indian Government works, your role as a citizen in the working of the government, various events that take place in the world and the tools to see, experience and analyse these events around you. It would make you a more empowered citizen who can aspire to do something good for the country.

The subject committee, study group, authors, the illustrator have taken great pains to prepare this book. The Bureau is grateful for their efforts.

Your suggestions and recommendations are most welcome. We will definitely consider relevant suggestions for incorporation.

We hope that the students, teachers and parents will welcome this book.

Pune
Date : 20 June 2019
Bhartiya Saur Dinank : 30 Jyestha 1941

(Dr. Sunil Magar)
Director
Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production
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(E)

An Approach to Teaching of Political Science at Std XI

The approach of the syllabus for Std. XI and XII is holistic and integrated. Std. XI introduces the students to the different sub-fields of political science. The XIIth standard book follows through with some of the contemporary concerns in political science.

The different sub-fields of political science include Political Concepts, Comparative Government and Politics, Public Administration and International Relations. While each is an independent sub-field, they are all interlinked. Thus, when we approach the teaching of the subject it is necessary to draw the correlations between each of them. For example, concepts like Equality and Justice that are dealt with in the first section are relevant in the study of Comparative Government. They are also relevant to Development Administration. Similarly, when we study international events in the last section the information about the various governments given in the section on Comparative Government would be useful.

Some activities that go beyond traditional classroom teaching:

- Activity: The concept of the State is abstract. But the concept of government is concrete. It is necessary to understand the difference between them. Identify the various 'nations' in India. Find out why they are not 'states'.

- Classroom Discussion: Initiate a discussion on diversity in India. Explain this diversity in terms of religion, region, language, etc.

- Presentations: Take any of the concepts like Liberty, Rights, Equality and Justice. Prepare charts on the meaning of the concept and its application in India.

- Map work: Maps are a useful tool for both, the Section on Comparative Government and International Relations.

- Comparative Charts: It would be useful to ask the students to make comparative charts of the three countries.

- Field Visit: Visits to any Government office would be of use to understand the working of the government administration.

- Group Activity: A group can act as a Council of Ministers and prepare some policy document on any relevant issue.

- Mock United Nations: Take up any international issue. Get students to represent countries and argue their position on the issue.

- Some useful websites:
  - Indian Government   : https://www.india.gov.in/
  - United States Government : https://www.usa.gov/
  - United Kingdom   : https://www.gov.uk/
  - United Nations   : http://www.un.org/en/index.html

Competency Statement

No.	UNIT	COMPETENCY
1	Political Concepts	• Explain the concept of the State and evolution of Modern State. • Understand the political concepts of Liberty, Equality, Justice and Rights. • Understand the development of Indian society in the context of these political concepts.
2	Comparative Government and Politics	• Explain the points of similarity and difference in the political system of USA, UK and India. • Understand the role of political parties and pressure groups in bringing about socio-political change and economic development. • Explain the changing role of Indian Judiciary.
3.	Public Administration	• Explain the basic framework of the Indian Administrative System. • Explain the role of Public Administration in the process of development. • Explain the correlation between the concerns of the people and changing role of administration. • Explain the importance of e-governance in India.
4.	International Relations	• Explain the importance of internationalism and international cooperation. • Explain the reasons behind the emergence of regional organisations in contemporary times. • Know the rationale of India's Non-Alignment Policy.

Contents

As you approach this book….

This year, for the first time, we will be studying 'Political Science' as an independent subject. In school you have studied this subject as part of 'History and Civics' or 'History and Political Science'. In Civics you had studied rights and duties of citizens and in Political Science the political system and the Constitution.

Now when we study Political Science as an independent subject, we need to understand all its dimensions. In the Eleventh and the Twelfth standards, we are proceeding in that direction. The different dimensions of political science will be introduced in the Eleventh Standard. These include: (i) an introduction to some of the key concepts (ii) Comparative government and politics (iii) Public Administration and (iv) International Relations. This book will create a base for the understanding of the subject as a whole.
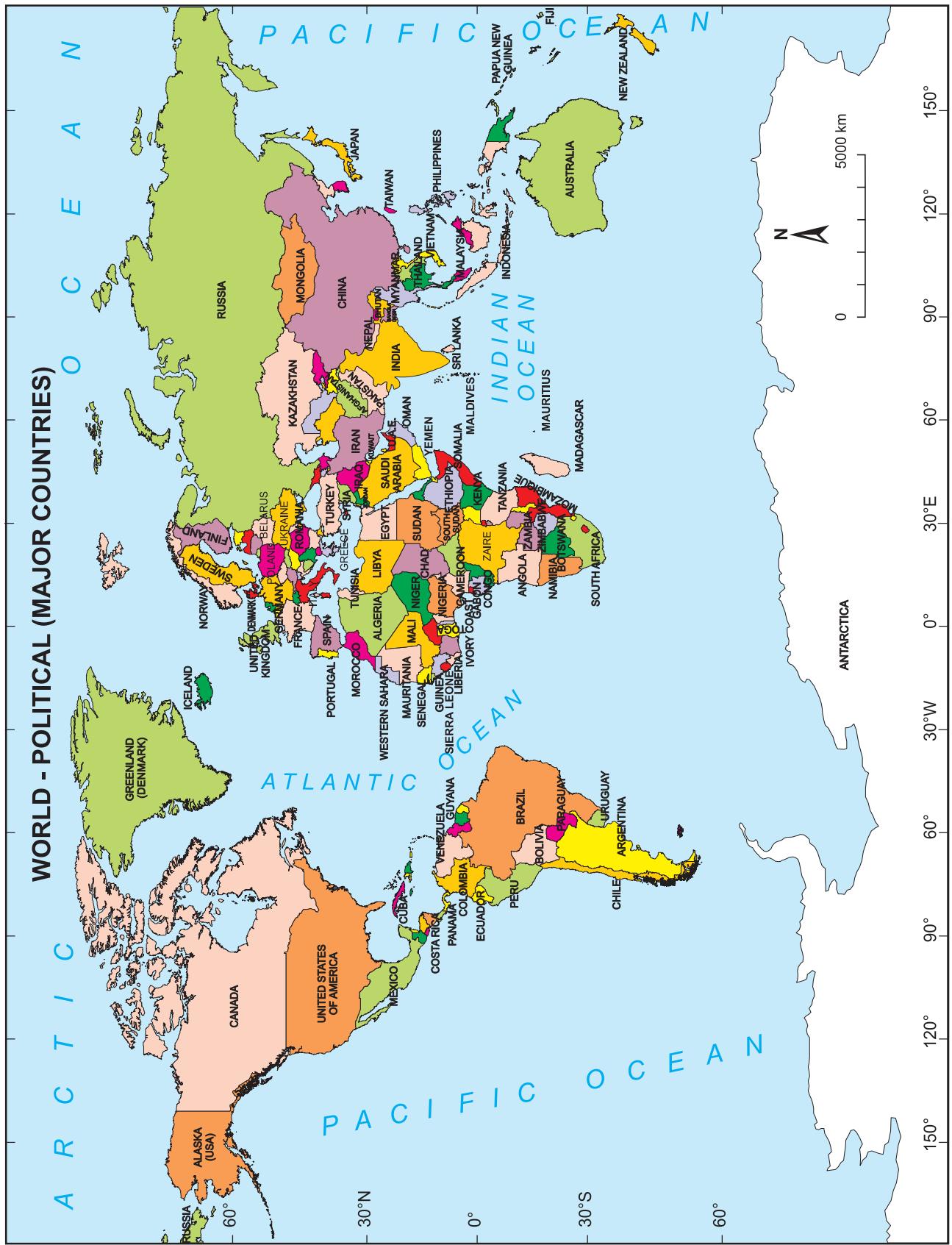
This book is in four sections. These deal with the four traditional areas of Political Science. Every section has an introduction that introduces you to that area, please make it a point to read it. It will help you to understand the subject better. Each chapter has some activity that asks you to search something. Make it a point to search it and understand it.

In the Twelfth, we would study the new developments that have taken place in these areas. For example, we would look at some of the issues relating to globalisation and humanitarian issues like environment, poverty, etc. In the subject area of government and public administration we would study aspects dealing with good governance and national integration. In international relations we would focus on the world after 1991.

It is expected that in these two years, we go beyond just the introduction and understanding of the various dimensions of the subject. It is expected that you would be able to apply some of these concepts and implement some of your ideas in your life. It will help you to decide the areas in which you may want to do further studies. In case you decide to go in for voluntary work or social activity or appear for various competitive examinations the knowledge of political science would definitely be of help to you. Actually, you may be able to plan what you want to do in your life.

Look at this as a step that helps you to step in the world of tomorrow. Best wishes !

WORLD - POLITICAL (MAJOR COUNTRIES)

ARCTIC OCEAN

PACIFIC OCEAN

PACIFIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

INDIAN OCEAN

RUSSIA

GREENLAND (DENMARK)

ICELAND

CANADA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ALASKA (USA)

MEXICO

CUBA

COSTA RICA
PANAMA
VENEZUELA
GUYANA
COLOMBIA
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
CHILE
ARGENTINA
URUGUAY

NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
UNITED KINGDOM
DENMARK
BELARUS
UKRAINE
POLAND
GERMANY
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SERBIA
ROMANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
SYRIA

PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
WESTERN SAHARA
MAURITANIA
SENEGAL
GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
MALI
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
NIGER
NIGERIA
LIBYA
CHAD
EGYPT
SUDAN
CAMEROON
GABON
CONGO
ZAIRE
ANGOLA
NAMIBIA
BOTSWANA
ZAMBIA
ZIMBABWE
SOUTH AFRICA
MOZAMBIQUE
TANZANIA
KENYA
SOMALIA
ETHIOPIA
SOUTH SUDAN
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS

SAUDI ARABIA
IRAQ
IRAN
KUWAIT
U.A.E.
OMAN
YEMEN

KAZAKHSTAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
SRI LANKA
MALDIVES

MONGOLIA
CHINA
MYANMAR
THAILAND
VIETNAM
MALAYSIA
TAIWAN
JAPAN
PHILIPPINES
INDONESIA

PAPUA NEW GUINEA
FIJI
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND

ANTARCTICA

N

5000 km

60°
30°N
0°
30°S
60°

150° 120° 90° 60° 30°W 0° 30°E 60° 90° 120° 150°

Introduction

We talk of our family, society, region, country etc. All of these are institutions, some are social institutions others are political institutions. Political science deals mainly with political institutions. The political institutions are associated with the government. They would include the Parliament, the Ministry, Judiciary, etc. As a citizen of a country we have certain rights and duties towards the country. These are specified by the constitutions and the various laws that are made by the government. We are expected to follow these rules. Even foreigners have to follow rules of the country in which they live.

Some questions like: 'Why should I obey the state?', or, 'What should be the limits of individual liberty?', or, 'where can I seek justice?', are questions that we face as citizens of any country. Various thinkers have tried to answer these and other questions. They have tried to understand the role of the individual and the State (government). These political thinkers have come out with various ideas that have helped us to understand the role of the individual in the society and the State better. For example, when we study

Indian political thinkers, we study the views of Kautilya on State, Mahatma Gandhi's idea of Swaraj or Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's views on Social Justice. We can also study the western thinkers to understand the views of Aristotle on Citizenship, or Locke's theories on Rights, Mill on Liberty, Marx's views about Communism, or John Rawls contribution to the theory of Justice. It is on the basis of the writings of such thinkers and others who have made significant contribution that we can understand such concepts like liberty, equality, justice, democracy, etc. Political concepts involves analytical study of ideas that have been central to political thought.

In this section, we plan to study some important political concepts. These are concepts of liberty, rights, equality and justice. There are also other concepts like nation, nationalism, etc.

The three chapters of this section are as follows:

Chapter I : The State: This chapter discusses the concepts of nation, nationalism, state and government. It tries to understand the linkages between them.

Chapter II : Liberty and Rights: This chapter looks at the two concepts of Liberty and Rights. These deal with the status of the individual in the society.

Chapter III : Equality and Justice: This chapter focuses on Equality and Justice. These concepts are concerned with the social order.

All of these concepts are also discussed in the context of India.

1. The State

You have studied Civics and Political Science in School. The focus of Civics was on the citizen. The focus of Political Science was on the State, the Government, the Administration etc. In this chapter, we will introduce you to some of the basic concepts of Political Science: Nation, Nationalism, State and Government.

Read the statements given below:

(i) One of my friend is a Punjabi and the other a Manipuri.

(ii) Two of my classmates are Iranians.

(iii) We sing India's National Anthem every day. I am proud of our National Anthem.

(iv) I have to collect my Birth Certificate from the Government Office today.

Each of this sentence deals with something. The first sentence tells about the identity of the person. The identity can be a Punjabi, Tamil, Maharashtrian, Telegu, etc. This is a regional identity. The second sentence talks about the country that you belong to. You can be an Iranian, Sri Lankan, American, etc. This is the 'nationality' that you have. The sentence about the national anthem relates to the concept of the State. When we say I am proud of our National Anthem it is a feeling of 'Nationalism'. Finally, the Birth Certificate deals with the role of the 'Government'. All these are concepts that we will study in this chapter.

Do you know?

We use the term 'country' to describe states like India, Pakistan, China, etc. Sometimes we use the term 'nation' or 'state' to describe these countries. While all the terms appear to convey the same meaning, technically there is a difference in each of these terms. The term 'nation' has a sense of oneness that is psychological and born out of commonness of culture, ethnicity, race, religion, language, history, etc. A 'nation' becomes a 'state' when it has the following characteristics: sovereignty; independent government, specific territory and population. But in routine discussions we usually use the term 'nation' instead of the term State to describe an independent country with a sovereign government. However, in Political Science we use the term 'State' to describe an independent sovereign country.

Nation

What is a nation? A nation is a people who identify socially, culturally, politically and want to establish a separate identity for themselves. There is a sense of oneness that is psychological and born out of commonness of culture, ethnicity, religion, language, history, etc. They may or may not be located in a specific geographic territory.

Ernest Barker defines a nation as 'A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of common history…a common religious belief… use a common language….'

What are the features of a nation?

(i) **Population:** A Nation must have a population. The population has some similarities. These similarities may be language, race and religion or there may be common cultural or historical experiences. There is a sense of ethnic, historical and cultural oneness that goes in the perception of identifying oneself as a nation.

(ii) **Feeling of community:** The similarities of demography and culture must translate into a psychological feeling of a community. This is the emotional dimension. This is a matter of perception held by the people of that community.

(iii) **Desire to be politically separate:** People living in a particular geographic area having common socio-cultural, religious or linguistic commonality can lead to a feeling of being a nation. Such a feeling is a product of the urge for self-determination. This can lead to a demand for self-governance at a political level.

Nationalism

India wanted to be independent from the British colonial rule. It was a fight for the right of self-determination. India's fight for its independence was an expression of India's nationalism.

Nationalism is a sense of political identity. It is a love for one's nation. The people become sentimentally attached to the homeland. They gain a sense of identity and self-esteem by this identification and are motivated to help their homeland. The expression of such sentiments can be seen at different times: Cheering for a national cricket team, standing up during the National Anthem or support to the armed forces during a war. Nationalism is a force which holds the people to a sense of political loyalty to the country.

Nationalism

There are some features of Nationalism:

(i) Nationalism has been a force that has been both, a builder and a destroyer. It has been described as progressive and aggressive nationalism. Progressive nationalism can help a society to come together and promote development. Aggressive nationalism can create differences amongst people.

(ii) Nationalism discourages imperialism or colonialism. The resistance to any form of occupation of a region is one of the features of nationalism. National liberation struggles or freedom struggles across the world are a product of nationalism. It thus encourages self-determination.

(iii) Nationalism can promote diversity. You see a large amount of diversity in India based on religion, ethnicity, language, regions, etc. But we still talk of Indian nationalism. The idea of 'unity in diversity' is the core of Indian nationalism.

Discuss in the Classroom

Read the sections titled: 'Bharat Mata' and 'The Variety and Unity of India', in Jawaharlal Nehru, *'The Discovery of India'*.

Discuss the concept of Indian nationalism on the basis of Nehru's writings on India in these two sections.

When we look at nationalism from a political perspective, we can see different forms of nationalism:

(i) Liberal nationalism: The origins of liberal nationalism are in the French Revolution. It is also seen in President Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points'. It links the idea of a nation to sovereignty. It accepts that every nation has the right to freedom and self-determination.

Do you know?

The Fourteen Points speech of President Woodrow Wilson was an outline of his vision for a stable, long-lasting peace in Europe, the America and the rest of the world following the First World War.

(ii) Conservative nationalism: This form of nationalism is inward looking. It looks at the nation as a closely linked society. It gives a lot of importance to patriotism.

(iii) Expansionist nationalism: This is an aggressive form of nationalism. In this form, countries start to become aggressive and create empires for 'national glory'. Colonialism is a product of this aggressive nationalism.

(iv) Anticolonial nationalism: This refers to national liberation struggles or freedom struggles. Countries like India experienced this form of nationalism during the days of the freedom struggle.

State

The Preamble of the Indian Constitution uses the words, 'Sovereign Democratic Republic'. Here the word sovereignty means the independent authority of the country. It signifies that the country is not dependent on any other country for taking decisions. It is independent to take its own decisions, formulate laws and govern. When people of a nation want to become a sovereign country, it means they are demanding the right to self-determination. Freedom struggle is an expression of the right to self-determination.

It is this urge for political self-determination that leads a nation in the direction of statehood. When does a nation become a state? A State must have the following characteristics to qualify for statehood: sovereignty; independent government, territory and population.

A State is a political community. Its presence is felt in almost all human activity. Activities like education, social

welfare, defence, law and order, all are done by the State. Even personal matters like registration of birth, getting a PAN card or an Aadhaar card, registration of marriage, etc. the State has a role to play. The State grants rights, provides justice, ensures equality and guarantees liberty.

The State has the following elements:

(i) **Sovereignty:** Sometimes this term is used interchangeably with the term independence. But sovereignty is a legal term while independence is a political term. It means that the country is legally sovereign with its own independent constitution. For example, India became politically independent in 1947 but it became a sovereign State in 1950 after the constitution came into effect.

(ii) **Government:** Every sovereign state must have a government. The government must be sovereign and independent. For example, when India was a British colony, there was a Government of India. But it was not a sovereign independent government. Therefore prior to independence India was not a State.

Institutions of the State are 'Public' institutions. These Public institutions include various organs of the government like the Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, Bureaucracy, etc. Public institutions are responsible for making policies, laws, taking decisions and implementing them. We have to make a distinction between these Public institutions and Private institutions. Private institutions belong to the civil society. These include private businesses, clubs, etc. It is the public institutions that have legitimacy to act on behalf of the State.

(iii) **Territory:** It refers to the geographic boundaries of a state. A state must have a specific territory. The areas of the State within which the State has the authority to govern is called jurisdiction. Jurisdiction is the legal power that the State has to take decisions.

(iv) **Population:** A State cannot exist without people. This population can have any amount of diversity in terms of language, religion, culture, ethnicity, etc. Thus, a 'State' can comprise of many 'nations'. For example, the Soviet Union had people of many nationalities like Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, etc. Similarly, the United Kingdom consists of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

State and Government

We normally use the terms State and Government without understanding the difference between them. They are different concepts. State as we have seen above, is a political organisation created for the satisfaction of the common needs of the people. A government is an agent of the State through which the will of the State is formulated, expressed and realised.

Government is the main wing of state. Its main nature is administrative. Law and order, welfare, etc. are some of the main functions of the State. These functions are preformed through the government. A government has three parts: The Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. You will learn about the concept of Government in Section II of this book.

Some differences between State and Government

State	Government
State is an abstract concept.	Government is a concrete reality.
State is more extensive than a government. It includes all public institutions and all members of the society as citizens.	Government is a part of the State
A State is permanent in nature.	A Government exists for a specific time period. Systems of government can be changed. Governments come and go.
The State is an impersonal authority. It is politically neutral.	The government has an ideological agenda. It wants to implement policies to achieve that agenda.
The State is a sovereign entity.	The source of the authority of the Government is the State. Government is the means through which the authority of the State is exercised.

We studied the concepts of nation, nationalism, state and government in this chapter. In the next two chapters we will study some other concepts like Liberty, Rights, Equality and Justice. These are concepts that deal directly with the role of the State.

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. The term Nation is derived from the Latin word ....
   (Nasci, Natio, Natalis, Nauto)

2. The origin of Liberal Nationalism is in the .... Revolution.
   (American, Russian, French, British)

(B) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.

(a) Aristotle   - German Thinker
(b) Jean Bodin   - French Thinker
(c) Woodrow Wilson - American Thinker
(d) Harold Laski   - British Thinker

(C) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.

1. Force which holds the people to a sense of political loyalty to the country -

2. The area of the State within which it has the authority to govern -

2. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.

1. Progressive Nationalism can create differences amongst people.

2. Sovereignty means State has the freedom to take its own decision.

3. Palestine is a State.

4. Expansionist Nationalism is a type of Aggressive Nationalism.

3. Express your opinion of the following.
India is a State.

4. Answer the following questions.

1. What are the features of Nation?

2. What is Nationalism? Explain its types.

5. Answer the following question in detail with reference to the given points.
Explain the following elements of the State.
(a) Sovereignty   (b) Government
(c) Population   (d) Territory

Activity :
Identify the States with smallest territory and largest territory on the world map.

2. Liberty and Rights

In a democracy, citizens have certain rights and duties. When those rights and duties are secured by the State then we can say the people have liberty. Right as a common privilege is given to its citizens by government. Liberty is an essential feature of democracy.

Liberty

In this chapter we will study Liberty as absence of restraints, freedom of choice, and availability of favorable conditions and attainment of happiness. We will also study the negative and positive aspects of liberty and the concept of liberty and rights as given in the Constitution of India.
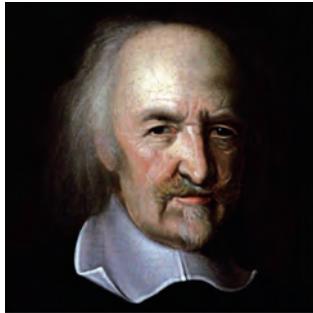
Liberty is also understood as freedom or self-rule. Liberty means freedom. Emancipation from slavery, freedom from autocratic rule, and freedom from foreign rule is liberty. Liberty deals with personal, social and national freedom. Social, economic and political rights which an individual needs for all-round development is also called liberty.

Do you know ?

Freedom from foreign rule is national liberty. Freedom given to an individual for development of one's personality is personal liberty. This is the difference between national and personal liberty.

Nature of Liberty : To understand the nature of Liberty we will have to study the views of the following thinkers.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) an English philosopher

Thomas Hobbes : Hobbes considers liberty as a natural right of an individual. According to Hobbes, liberty is freedom that an individual has to act without restraint. Fear and necessity inspires an individual to achieve liberty. Therefore, according to him absence of restraint is liberty.

John Locke : Locke considers liberty as natural right of an individual. He has explained the concept of liberty within the context of morality. It is morally wrong to hurt the right of life and liberty of any individual. One should enjoy liberty without affecting the principle of equality. Liberty is an integral part of an individual. He has given great importance to

John Locke (1632- 1704) an English philosopher

liberty. He maintains that all human beings are rational; therefore liberty should be enjoyed rationally. He does not advocate unrestrained freedom. In short, Locke's concept of liberty focuses on absence of restraint and freedom of choice.

Jean Jacques Rousseau : Rousseau looked at liberty from a collective

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) a Genevan philosopher

perspective. According to him an individual should keep personal interests aside for social interests. His concept of liberty frees the individual from a class based system and inequality. According to him inequality is an obstacle in the attainment of liberty. He maintains that liberty frees an individual from the hurdles created by the rise of civil and political society. He describes two hurdles on liberty: (i) One which prohibits an individual to think about public interest. (ii) One which is created due to inequality in society.

Rousseau

'Man is born free but everywhere in chains.' Rousseau was born in Geneva. He was considered the father of the French Revolution.
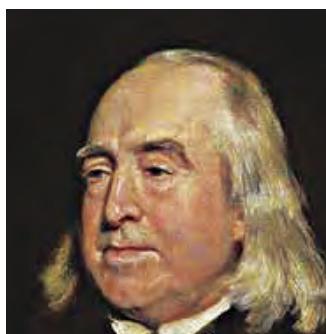
Rousseau did not consider liberty as a natural right as advocated by Hobbes and Locke. He believed that the society comes together to protect the life and interest of the individual. Therefore he gave more importance to emancipation from social inequality. He also stressed the freedom of choice and availability of favorable conditions in the concept of liberty.

Jeremy Bentham : Bentham looked at liberty from the

Jeremy Bentham (1748 -1832) an English philosopher

perspective of attainment of happiness. He considered liberty and happiness as interconnected concepts. To achieve liberty one must gain happiness and eliminate sorrow.

Jeremy Bentham's principle of liberty : 'The greatest happiness of greatest numbers'. This is called negative liberty.

John Stuart Mill : Mill has supported individual liberty and opposed unrestrained controls by the State. His ideas are based on the concept, that 'man has full control over his body and mind'. These ideas of Mill are relevent even today. His ideas regarding liberty are found in his work '*On Liberty*'.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) a British philosopher

Two Concepts of Liberty

In his famous essay, '*Two Concepts of Liberty*', first published in 1958, Isaiah Berlin has discussed about Negative and Positive liberty. Positive liberty emerged from modern liberalism, whereas, negative liberty emerged from classical and neoclassical liberalism. Isaiah Berlin believed that liberty is unrestrained.

Isaiah Berlin (1909- 1997) Russian-British, philosopher and historian of ideas.

Negative Liberty : Negative liberty emerged from classical and neoclassical liberalism. Thoughts of J.S. Mill, Isaiah Berlin, Fredrick Hayek and Robert Nozick have explained negative liberty. Negative liberty opposes all restraints on liberty. It believes that the State should not interfere in the life of an individual. Non interference of the State in the social and economic life of an individual is a characteristic of negative liberty. Any restriction on the freedom of an individual endangers liberty. Therefore, Negative liberty opposes force, terror, coercion and the interference of the State.

Freedom of thought is the base of negative liberty. Jeremy Bentham strongly advocated negative liberty. He argued that an individual knows how to protect his own interest; therefore the State should not bring any obstructions. In his book '*Manual of Political Economy*', he advocated free economy. Similarly, J.S.Mill also spoke of negative liberty in his book '*On Liberty*'. He supported non-interference of socio-political system for the protection of liberty. Mill also pointed out the correlation between the freedom of thought and the freedom of action. He promoted freedom of thought for the development of an individual as negative liberty. But he also calculated the impact of any action on society. He argued that if any action can qualitatively impact on the society rather than an individual; then in such a situation Mill rejects the idea of negative liberty. Therefore Mill's concept of negative liberty is different from Isaiah Berlin.

According to Isaiah Berlin, freedom of action is negative liberty. As per this principle, opportunity to act is important while the action itself is secondary. According to him, the impact of action is not considered important and hence it is not measured. Therefore, this principle does not give importance to quality. For example, this concept does not make a qualitative difference between choosing one's education, profession, or suffer deprivation. He would rather give importance to give opportunity to do these actions than the outcome of the action itself.

Isaiah Berlin has mentioned the following features of negative liberty.

(i) Individual should have complete freedom of choice. He should not
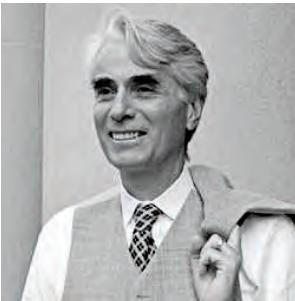
have restraints on choice of alternatives. Opposition to such restraints is a feature of negative liberty.

(ii) Negative Liberty is based on Neo-liberalism

Fredrick Hayek and Robert Nozick have also explained the concept of Negative Liberty. Fredrick Hayek was a neo-liberal thinker and an individualist. He described liberty as a hurdle-less situation. He opposed state interference in an individual's life. He advocated economic freedom. According to him economic freedom is true liberty. There should not be any control or restriction on true liberty.

Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992) an Anglo-Austrian philosopher

Robert Nozick (1938- 2002) an American philosopher.

Robert Nozick is also a neo-liberal thinker. He believed that whenever any restriction is put on an individual without his consent, his liberty is at risk. He advised that liberty should be protected from such restrictions. Hence, he suggested that individual should be free from social, economic and State restrictions.

I*saiah Berlin's statement on Negative liberty :* 'I am slave to no man'.

Isaiah Berlin's statement on Positive liberty : 'I am my own master'.

Positive Liberty : Positive liberty is advocated by Rousseau and Herbert Marcuse. The concept of positive liberty has emerged from modern liberalism. The concept of negative liberty cannot appropriately explain the idea of liberty. Modern liberals have advocated that there is a correlation between liberty, equality, justice, fraternity and collective interest. They also state that liberty affects equality and justice.

Positive liberty believes that law guides an individual. It helps an individual to enrich his personality. Rousseau has put forth the concept of Positive liberty because he believed that the obedience to moral laws will enhance liberty. He accepted rational collective interest of the society. State is a sovereign power which represents the 'General Will' hence he supports the idea of state control over individual.

Herbert Marcuse was a neo-Marxist thinker. He advocated positive liberty. According to him workers are unaware of their objectives and needs, hence for achieving liberty they need guidance from senior revolutionaries. Marcuse has explained his thoughts about positive liberty in his books, '*One Dimensional Man' and 'Eros and Civilisation*'. He said, "Scientific and technological development, has increased standard of living but has not reduced inequality in society". This has obstructed cultural development of the society.

Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979) a German-American philosopher.

According to him, American society has lost individual liberty and self-esteem. He argues about positive liberty that an individual is like a bird in a golden cage; who has lost the ability to fly high in the sky. He does not even think of rebelling as he has not experienced the joy of freedom. He advocates collective control as essential in community life, as a principle of positive liberty and hence supports State interference. For example, in order to maintain a pollution free environment, collective action for community good is required. Therefore, use of force is justified for community well-being.

Indian Concept of Liberty

In India, Liberty is understood as emancipation. Traditionally, this is a spiritual idea, salvation or emancipation from the cycle of birth and rebirth is considered as liberty. However, in modern times, liberty is understood as liberation from social constraints.

During British India, the concept of liberty was accepted in three ways,

(i) The British made some laws for protection of individual's rights and liberties. For example, law of abolition of Sati system. The British propagated and promoted western education which introduced western idea of liberty in India. This influenced the social reformation and Indian freedom struggle in India.

(ii) Mahatma Phule and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar spelt out various dimensions of liberty in India in the context of Indian society. Firstly, liberty means freedom from caste inequality. Secondly, freedom from social constraints was also an important dimension of liberty. Similarly, some individuals faced a sense of subordination in social life. An end to this subordination is another dimension of liberty. For example, ending of humiliation and insult, gender inequality, superiority-inferiority complex. They also suggested liberation of lower castes from the domination of the upper castes as an essence of liberty.

Mahatma Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890) an Indian social activist and a thinker

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891-1956) an Indian jurist, economist and social reformer

(iii) Mahatma Gandhi accepted the concept of Swaraj as liberty. He spelt this out in his work, '*Hind Swaraj*'. The term Swaraj implies a combination of two ideas: Self (Swa) and Rule (Raj). Swaraj means Self-Rule. His concept of Swaraj was comprehensive. Mahatma Gandhi did not accept Swaraj

Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) Leader of the Indian Independence movement

only as freedom from British rule but also as freedom from western cultural domination. Swaraj would mean a freedom from the trampling of humanitarian values. This concept gives more importance to self-governance, self-discipline and human values.

Rights

In order to live, a person must have some rights. Similarly, in order to develop his personality to the best possible extent, he must have some particular rights. Harold Laski defines rights as 'those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best'.

Rights can be classified as follows:

(i) **Natural rights:** Natural rights are parts of human nature and reason. These are universal in character. The right to life and liberty are some examples of natural rights.

(ii) **Moral rights:** These rights are based on the conscience of the individual and the community. For example, respect for a teacher or an elderly person is a moral right of that person.

(iii) **Legal rights:** These are granted by the State to the people. They are usually enumerated or codified in law. These rights are not universal, different countries with different governments would specify what rights the people of that country have been granted. Legal rights are enforced by law.

Legal rights are of two types:

(a) *Civil Rights:* These rights relate to the person and property of the individuals. Right to life, liberty, equality and property are civil rights. Civil rights are protected by the state.

(b) *Political Rights:* These allow people to take an active part in the political process. These rights include right to vote, right to contest elections, right to hold public office and right to criticise and oppose the government. Political rights are normally available to citizens in a democratic state.

> ### *Preamble to the American Declaration of Independence*
>
> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

Human Rights

Every human being by virtue of being a human being enjoys certain fundamental rights. These are called Human Rights. We are born with these rights, no one can take away these rights from us. These rights are not conferred by a ruler or by the society, these rights are inalienable. Human rights are natural rights. They are related to the concept of Justice. These rights are universal in nature and are given to all humans without any social discrimination. Human beings need these rights for development of their abilities, intellect and skills. Similarly, these rights are necessary to uphold human dignity and values.

Human rights include right to life, right to livelihood and freedom of expression along with the right to establish an organisation. These rights are dynamic, they develop with changing times, hence today we not only speak about civil and political rights but also discuss about right to information and right to pollution free environment.

United Nations created the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on 10th December 1948. This declaration tries to combine natural and civil rights and also includes the principles which are essential for mankind like liberty, equality, justice and fraternity.

Do this !

Make a list of the human rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The implementation of human rights requires favourable social, political and economic conditions. Since it is difficult to implement these rights, we find that human rights are violated in the world. African Americans are struggling to get an equal social status in the United States. India continues to experience caste-based discrimination. Women and children are in a vulnerable condition and they appear to be deprived of the rights granted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Activity : Discuss and make a note of examples of human rights violations.

Concept of Liberty and Rights in the Constitution of India

Part III of the Indian Constitution spells out the Fundamental Rights of Indian citizens. The constitution guarantees the following fundamental rights:

- Right to Equality
- Right to Freedom
- Right Against Exploitation
- Right to Freedom of Religion
- Cultural and Educational Rights
- Right to Constitutional Remedies

Do you know ?

Right to Education was introduced as a Fundamental Right by the Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002. This was implemented from 2010.

Do you know ?

The Right to Property was a Fundamental Right in the Indian Constitution. The Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1978 removed this right as a Fundamental Right and introduced the Right to Property as a Statutory Right in Article 300A.

The Constitution of India combines both, the concept of Positive and Negative Liberty. Article 19 of the constitution of India deals with different types of liberty while Article 21 spells out the limitations on liberty. According to Article 21, no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to a procedure established by law. This article does not make any exception or pre-condition for attainment of liberty and thus gives individual freedom the status of human rights. Consequently, both Indian citizens and foreigners may enjoy the Right to Life.

Indian judiciary has interpreted the meaning of rights and liberty in its various judgements. These interpretations become important in the actual implementation in the concept of liberty. For example:

- In the 1963 'Kharak Singh vs The

State of Uttar Pradesh' case, the Supreme Court upheld the Right to Movement throughout the territory of India.

- In the 1981 'Francis Coralie Mullin vs Union Territory of Delhi' case, the Supreme Court spelt out a more comprehensive meaning of liberty. It interpreted the Right to Life as the Right to live with dignity. This included nutritious food, clothing, and shelter, freedom of expression and freedom of movement as fundamental rights.

- In the 1984 'Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs Union of India' case, the Supreme Court interpreted Article 21 in the context of Directive Principles of State Policy. The Court included health care for workers, protection to children from physical abuse, opportunity and facilities for development, good education facility, maternal care and healthy working conditions as dimensions of the concept of liberty.

- In the 1989 'Ramsharan vs Union of India' case, the Supreme Court again interpreted article 21 in a wider context. The court included the protection of tradition, culture and legacy which give meaning to life as concepts of liberty.

- In the 2017 'K. S. Puttaswamy vs. Union of India' case the Supreme Court has declared that the right to privacy is a fundamental right under the Constitution of India.

- Recently, the Supreme Court has included clean and pollution free water and air as aspects of liberty.

In this chapter we have seen the meanings of Liberty and Rights and also tried to understand them in the context of India. In the next chapter we would be looking at two other concepts, Equality and Justice.

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. The book, '*On Liberty*' was written by _____ .
   (Robert Nozick, Thomas Hobbes, J.S.Mill, Isiah Berlin)

2. The concept of Swaraj was spelt out by _____ .
   (Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Phule, Dr.Ambedkar, Dr.Rajendra Prasad)

(B) Complete the following sentence by using appropriate reason.
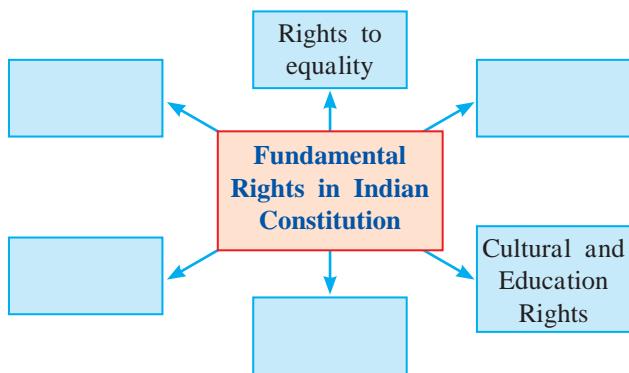
According to Jeremy Bentham, the State should not bring any obstructions in liberty because -
(a) State does not give liberty.
(b) individual knows how to protect his own interests.
(c) liberty is a hurdle-less situation.

(C) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.

1. Fundamental right introduced in Constitution of India by 86th Amendment -

2. Rights based on the conscience of the individual and the community -

2. Complete the concept map.

3. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.

Legal rights are not universal.

4. Explain co-relation between the following.

1. Concept of Liberty by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke
2. Natural rights and Human rights

5. Answer the following.

1. Explain Mahatma Gandhi's idea of liberty.
2. Discuss the concept of Human Rights.
3. Explain Isiah Berlin's concept of Liberty.

6. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.

Eleborate the concept of Rights -
(a) Meaning and classification of rights
(b) Legal rights
(c) Human Rights

Activity :

Make a list of Civil Rights in India.

3. Equality and Justice

In this chapter, we will study the concepts of Equality and Justice. We will study the meaning of equality in the context of equality before law, political equality and principle of equality of opportunity. We will also study the types of equality. Similarly, we will try to understand concepts of legal justice, natural justice and social justice.

Equality

Equality is an important value in human society. Equality does not mean uniformity. When we say all are equal what we mean, is that all have to be treated equally. Aristotle's approach to equality, had a narrow scope. In modern times, the meaning of equality has broadened. Empathy, tolerance, self-respect are aspects that are included in the understanding of equality. Hence, equality has a moral and collective dimension. In addition, today, equality is also looked at as a political goal.

There are various types of inequalities in the world. There exist natural and manmade inequalities. Natural inequalities include differences in colour, height, talent, physical strength, genetics, etc. Manmade inequalities are created on the basis of caste, money, religion, etc. It is accepted that individuals have different abilities, capabilities and attitudes. However, individuals should be given equal opportunities to develop their skills and talents. There should be equality in social, political and economic system of the society. The concepts of Liberty and Justice are judged on the basis of Equality.

Therefore, equality is a rational concept.

History of Equality : In political philosophy, the idea of equality has been studied since Greek times. The idea of equality developed in the context of the struggle against torture, absolute monarchy, and unequal social conditions. Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau, Karl Marx and Tocqueville have contributed to the development of the idea of equality.

Aristotle had propounded the idea of equality in the ancient Greek city state system. His idea of equality was confined to the citizens of the city state. His idea of equality developed with reference to the ruler and the ruled. He considered them naturally unequal on the basis of their inequalities in intellectual and administrative abilities. In Athens, the term citizens excluded foreigners, slaves and women. Aristotle tried to reduce inequality through the idea of a constitution. He sought to remove the concept of special status and advocated equality before law. In his book '*The Politics*' he explained the co-relation between equality and justice.

Thomas Hobbes propounded the idea of natural equality in his book '*Leviathan*'. Hobbes argued that despite having physical and intellectual inequality, all individuals must be treated as equals. It is important that every individual has certain rights as a human being. The government cannot take away these rights. This was his idea of natural equality.

Rousseau has analysed natural and manmade inequalities. The idea of

pleasure grew in society. This led to man dominating others. It is the feeling of greed that gave rise to the concept of property and the concept of division of labour. It is the concept of private property and division of labour that led to the exploitation of the people, leading to the creation of artificial inequality by the rich class. Rousseau further argued, that inequality is also created due to differences in physical strength and abilities of individuals. He suggested that equality can be brought in through natural law.

Karl Marx rejected the liberal idea of equality and propounded the socialist idea of equality. According to him, equality can be achieved through the creation of a classless society. Marx gave importance to emancipation of workers from exploitation and equal distribution of means of production. According to him, equality achieved through this would be different from the liberal ideas of equality.

Tocqueville put forward the idea of equality on the basis of the study of the American war of independence. The idea of equality developed in the process of the abolition of the feudal system and the establishment of democracy. According to Tocqueville, equality is necessary for ending dependency and slavery of people. He argued that people give more importance to equality rather than Liberty in democracy. However, this does not mean that equality is achieved through the denial of freedom.

Importance of Equality : Equality aims to reduce inequalities. We need equality for:

(i) Equality is necessary to create just conditions. The acceptance of the principle of equal distribution of resources is necessary for the fulfilment of basic needs of the society.

(ii) Human dignity is not possible when a society has social and material inequalities. Hence, equality is necessary to uphold the dignity of the individual.

(iii) Equality is necessary for mutual respect amongst members of a society. The equal opportunity for development of individuals is possible only, when there is respect for each other.

(iv) Social equality brings in fraternity. Liberty and equality are possible only when there is fraternity.

Facets of Equality : The facets of equality are:

(i) **Equality before law and equal protection of law:** Law treats all citizens equally and it is equally applicable to everyone. Rich and poor, strong and weak may not necessarily have the ability to implement this principle. In the courts, rich and poor should be judged on an equal criterion. Judiciary should not discriminate between black and white or rich and poor. Therefore, it is necessary to accept the principle of equality before law and equal protection of law.

(ii) **Equality of Opportunity:** Everyone should get equal opportunity for the development of their personality and enhance their qualities. Deprived sections of population can compete with privileged sections only when there is provision for education and social wellbeing. Hence, equality of opportunity is considered as a base of equality.

The concept of equality is a central idea of political philosophy. There are three indicators of this concept-

- Welfare equality: Fulfilment of needs of an individual is more important than what is readily available for him

- Equality of resources: It means equitable distribution of resources

- Equality of capabilities: The usage of resources by people is more important than the availability of those resources.

Do this.

Read and discuss about Amartya Sen's Capabilities Approach to Equality.

Types of Equality : There are five types of Equality.

(i) **Natural Equality:** Natural equality considers all human beings equal. Natural equality does not mean nature has created all men equal in their abilities and qualities. But, it means that, individual should not be discriminated on the basis of their natural abilities and each one should get an opportunity for development of their individual personality.

Plato and Aristotle did not believe in natural equality. However, Western Christian thinkers believed that all human beings are children of the same God. In modern times, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau talked about natural equality in the State of Nature.

(ii) **Civil Equality:** Civil Rights are equally available to all people. There will be equality before law. People will not be discriminated on the basis of race, colour, caste, religion, gender, etc. It also means equal punishment for the same crime and equal protection of law. Law should not give privileges to any specific section of society. Special laws made for the protection of the weaker sections of the society like women, children, physically challanged, backward classes, etc. do not violate the concept of civil equality.

(iii) **Political Equality:** Every citizen has an equal right to participate in the affairs of the State. This type of equality is possible only in a democracy. However, it is necessary to make deliberate efforts to inculcate this concept in the society. Political inequality may lead to unrest in society. Political equality is based on Laws of Representation and Universal Adult Franchise.

(iv) **Economic Equality:** Economic equality is the foundation of political equality. Economic inequality results into division of society. Economic equality means providing equal opportunity to all for one's development; absence of economic exploitation; prevention of concentration of wealth and availability of essential goods and services to everyone. According to Harold Laski, equality should be at least regarding essential commodities of life. Ernest Barker believes that the State should give equal right of property to all; but this does not mean that wealth should be distributed

equally. He maintains, that everyone has a right to accumulate property according to their ability.

(v) Social Equality: Social equality means there would be no distinction between people on the basis on caste, religion, race, occupation, gender, etc. It is expected that every section of the society contributes to the wellbeing of the society. We have to accept the dignity of labour in society. However, we still find discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, race, gender, etc. in India. Similarly, we find racial discrimination in South Africa and United States.

Mahatma Phule and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar stressed on the concept of social equality in India. They tried to awaken sense of identity and worked for the upliftment of backward and weaker sections of the society so as to give them a life of dignity.

It is the responsibility of the State to ensure equal social status and equal rights to all. This is ensured by the State through legislation. For example, in India, laws were made regarding abolition of untouchability.

Equality in the context of India

In a diverse society like India, it is necessary to make efforts to achieve social equality. The caste system is a major obstacle to social equality. There is a need to make a simultaneous effort to achieve social and economic equality. Similarly, equality is necessary to achieve individual liberty.

In Indian society, there is a hierarchy of castes. Similarly, there also exists gender inequality in India. The patriarchal system in India creates social, economic, political inequality amongst males and females. Along with this there is also an unequal distribution of resources amongst the genders. Therefore, Mahatma Phule, Tarabai Shinde, Justice Ranade and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar argued in favour of just and equitable distribution of resources.

Some aspects of equality on which Indian thinkers focused-

Mahatma Jyotirao Phule
(1827-1890)
an Indian social activist and a thinker. Focused on elimination of gender and caste discrimination.

Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade
(1842-1901)
Scholar and Social Reformer. Founding member of the Indian National Congress and a social reformer. Worked in the area of child marriage, widow remarriage and women's rights.

Tarabai Shinde
(1850-1910)
a feminist activist.
Focused on
emancipation from
rigid caste system.

Mahatma Gandhi
(1869-1948)
leader of the Indian
independence movement.
Focused on social,
economic and political
dimensions and stressed on gender
equality

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
(1891-1956)
an Indian jurist,
economist and social
reformer. Focused on
social, economic, political and cultural
discrimination and elimination of caste
system.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-1967)
a socialist political
leader. Focused on
elimination of
dominance of English
language, caste and men.

Dr. Amartya Sen
(1933 - -)
an economist and
philosopher.
Focused on
development of
capabilities of
individuals.

Justice

Justice is an important concept in the social and political life of a human being. Justice is an ancient concept. Socrates considered justice as a political virtue. For him, a good society is a just society. Plato has put forward the concept of Justice in his work '*The Republic*'. He considered Justice as one of the characteristics of a human being. Aristotle argued that a society can achieve justice if it is able to create equality, balance and proportion in a society. These definitions of Justice are of the Greek era. In modern times, the concept of Justice has emerged in different ways. They include natural justice, legal justice, social justice and gender justice.

According to John Rawls, 'Justice' should be the first feature of any social institution. The concept of justice emerges from the actions and the needs of human beings because there is a limitation of available resources. The distribution of resources, in terms of who gets what and when, is a key aspect of justice.

Types of Justice :

(i) **Natural Justice:** The concept of natural justice is linked to the very existence of a human being. A human being is part of nature therefore he can intrinsically understand concept of right and wrong, justice and injustice. Justice based on the concept of natural justice is universally accepted by all. Ancient Greek and Roman philosophers advocated the

concept of natural justice. Since man naturally understands what is right and what is wrong, there is no need to create manmade laws. This is the meaning of natural justice.

(ii) **Legal Justice:** Legal Justice is the application of the abstract concept of justice through the implementation of law. John Austin considered law as a means to establish justice as well as a means to suppress injustice. Justice is a precondition to law as without it, law will only be a means to suppress people.

Do you know ?

Legal Justice includes the following:
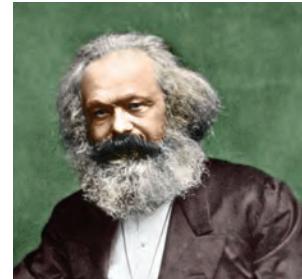
(i) Judiciary should be independent and impartial.

(ii) The judicial proceedings should be conducted in a tension free atmosphere.

(iii) There should be specific rules for judicial proceedings.

(iv) The accused should be informed about the charges against him.

(v) The accused should have the freedom to plead his case.

(iii) **Social Justice:** Social Justice means the equitable distribution of goods and services on the principle of equality. It is necessary to ensure that the weaker sections get adequate share in this distribution. Hence, social justice is also known as distributive justice.

Procedural Justice and Social Justice are two approaches to Justice. Procedural Justice involves legal procedures. It means that cases should follow proper legal procedure, correctly interpret the law and treat everyone as equal before law. Justice is related not just to an individual but to the society. Robert Nozick advocated the concept of Procedural Justice while Karl Marx, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and John Rawls argued in favour of Social Justice.

Karl Marx considers the State as an instrument of exploitation of workers. This

Karl Marx (1818-1883) A German Philosopher

instrument is in the hands of the capitalist class. Since the laws are made by the State, it is natural that they protect the interest of the capitalists. Marx maintained that the transformation of the capitalist system into a socialist system will ensure an equitable distribution of resources. The socialist system gives a priority to the right of equality of the 'have-nots' rather than the right of property of the 'haves'. Thus, according to Marx, implementing socialist agenda is considered to be justice and that the Judiciary should be committed to socialism.

Do you know ?

Haves: Refers to that section of the population who own the means of production.

Have nots: Refers to that section of population who are predominantly the labour.

John Rawls was an advocate of Social Justice, who advocated the concept of Distributive Justice. Rawls theory of social justice focuses on the just desires of individuals in society. In his book, *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls argues

John Rawls (1921-2002)
An American Philosopher

that the concepts of freedom and equality are not mutually exclusive. He concludes that for justice to be truly just, everyone must be accorded with the same rights under the law.

Rawls has put forth two principles of social justice: a) Fundamental rights and duties must be uniformly applicable. A system can be just only when, those at the bottom of the system are able to benefit from it. b) There must be equality of opportunity for all the public offices that are available. This is Rawls concept of fairness.

Indian concept of Justice

There exist different kinds of inequalities in India, such as those created through the caste system, patriarchal system, etc. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar argued that justice would be achieved when the structure and values associated with these systems will change. Similarly, he related the concept of justice to the concept of distribution of resources. The Constitution of India ensures justice through both, procedural justice and social justice. This is achieved through educational and economic development of economically backward classes. This is implemented through the following policies:

(a) Policy of reservation.
(b) Granting of scholarships, grants, loans, health services, etc. for weaker sections of the society.

(c) Eradication of unjust social and economic practices which exploit backward classes.

It would be worthwhile to note what Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said in his reply to the debate on the adoption of the Indian Constitution. He said: '*If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives*'. He further said: '*We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it, social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as principles of life*'.

In short, Justice and Equality are the basic values of the State.

Discuss

Explain which of the following incidents violate the principle of equality and justice?
(i) Reserved seats for women in Buses and Trains.
(ii) Reserved seats for physically challenged persons in Buses and Trains.
(iii) Payment of Income Tax.
(iv) Concessions in Fair Price Shops.
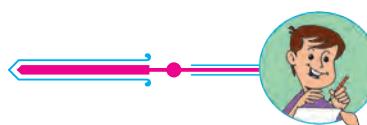
Discuss

Discuss the problems of children who have run away from their homes.

Exercise

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. The base of political equality is ....
   (democracy, dictatorship, military rule, monarchy)

2. John Rawls was an advocate of .... justice.
   (distributive, political, economic, gender based)

(B) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.
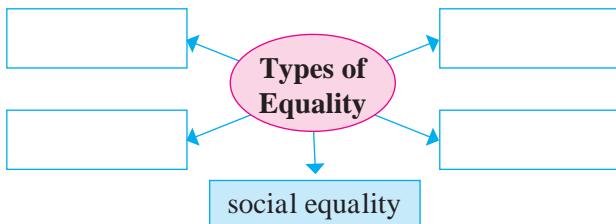
1. Principle of equality which states that each one should get an opportunity for development of their individual personality –

2. Type of equality which says that every citizen has an equal right to participate in affairs of the State –

3. Absence of economic exploitation –

(C) Complete the following sentence using appropriate reason.

In India, laws were made regarding abolition of untouchability. Because

(a) untouchability is a political concept
(b) untouchability is legal concept
(c) social inequality is controlled by State legislation

2. Complete the concept map/maps.

Types of Equality

social equality

3. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.

1. Democracy denies equality.
2. Equality is a political goal.
3. Social democracy is a foundation of political democracy.

4. Explain co-relation between the following.

1. Equality and Justice
2. Legal Justice and Social Justice

5. Express your opinion of the following.

Casteism is a barrier to social equality.

6. Answer the following.

Explain Indian concept of justice.

Activity :

Suggest ways by which women can travel safely to work.

Section II : Comparative Government and Politics

Introduction

Three Branches of Government

COUNTRY	LEGISLATURE Makes Laws	EXECUTIVE Administers Laws (Political Executive and Bureaucracy)	JUDICIARY Interprets Laws and provides justice
INDIA	**Parliament** Lok Sabha Rajya Sabha	**Political Executive** President (Head of State) Prime Minister (Head of Government) and Council of Ministers **Bureaucracy** The Administration Machinery	Supreme Court High Court District and other courts
UNITED KINGDOM	**Parliament** House of Commons House of Lords	**Political Executive** Monarch (Head of State) Prime Minister (Head of Government) and the Cabinet **Bureaucracy** The Administration machinery	Supreme Court and other courts
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	**Congress** House of Representatives Senate	**Political Executive** President (Head of State and Government) and Secretaries **Bureaucracy** The Administration Machinery	Supreme Court State Supreme Courts Other Courts

Comparative government is concerned with the study of formal political institutions like legislature, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy. It is mainly a study of these political institutions. Comparative politics looks at some other factors that influence the working of the political institutions. It seeks to analyse how these and other institutions work.

Thus the comparative study of politics and government examines political institutions –like Constitution, Executive,

Legislature and Judiciary, the system of representation, political parties and pressure groups. This section will help the students to do the following:

(i) Identify the important governmental institutions and understand their structure and functions. They can also understand how these institutions were created. They would also be introduced to different political systems in the world. For example the governmental system of India is different from that of the United States or United Kingdom. What would be the similarities or differences between them?

(ii) They can understand how a government is created, how leaders are either elected or selected. What role do the political parties and pressure and interest groups play in the formation of governments?

The three chapters of this section are as follows:

Chapter IV: Constitutional Government: What is a constitution? The Constitution is a set of political principles, according to which a country is governed. It gives the rights and duties of the people and the government. It sets out the structure of the state, the major state institutions, and the principles governing their relations with each other and with the state's citizens. It also talks about the division of power between the centre and the states (Federalism).

Chapter V: The Concept of Representation: You have seen how the people in India elect members of the Parliament or the State Assembly or the Municipal Councillors in the cities or Panchayat Members in rural area. We call them our representatives. We give them the authority to speak on our behalf in the Assembly or the Parliament. It is expected that they protect our interests. They may be part of the ruling party or the opposition, they are still expected to protect and promote our interests. Since the government is formed by political parties, it is the parties that become important in channeling the representation. Sometimes, it is necessary to bring to the attention of the government, problems faced by some specific groups. Such groups may form pressure groups or interest groups to articulate their problems and then put pressure on the government. All these are means of representation that we would study in this chapter.

Chapter VI: Role of the Judiciary: Judiciary is the branch of the government that has the power to interpret the constitution. It has the power to decide legal disputes. One of the important characteristics of the Judiciary in democratic societies is that it is an independent and non-political organ of the state. One of the important powers of the Judiciary is that of judicial review. Judicial review is the power that the Supreme Court has to examine the actions of the legislature, executive and the administrative arms of the government to ensure that they do not violate the constitution. You would study this role of the Judiciary in the chapter along with the concept of Judicial Review.

Do you know?

The United Kingdom comprises four geographic parts - England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Geographically, England, Scotland, Wales are parts of the island of Great Britain. Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland are part of a separate island. While Northern Ireland is part of United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland is a separate country.

The name Britain or England is sometimes used to refer to the United Kingdom as a whole.

In the first section on Political Concepts you studied the concept of the nation and state. You also studied the concepts of rights, liberty, justice, etc. These are rights that all citizens of a country get. Who provides these rights? It is the constitution of that country that gives them the rights and protects the rights of the citizens.

What is a Constitution?

A Constitution is a living document. It is a document that indicates the way in which a country is governed. A Constitution has three distinct but inter-related components to it.

(i) **Set of Rules:** It is a set of rules that sets out the structure, functions, powers, rights and duties of the three branches of the Government- the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. It tries to ensure that each branch acts within the jurisdiction laid down for it by the Constitution. This is done by providing the other two branches adequate powers to check the third branch if it exceeds its jurisdiction. For instance, the American Constitution provides for the impeachment of the President and other high officials of the country's government for exceeding the authority of their offices. At the same time, this component also lays down the limitations on what the Government can do and cannot do.

(ii) **Set of Rights:** It lists the rights of the citizens, the means for the protection of these rights, and the duties of the citizens. It ensures that all individuals and groups are given certain rights which will enable them to live freely and with dignity and self-respect. These rights are not unlimited. They are subject to certain limitations. For instance, the Constitution of India guarantees certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India, but also sets out the limitations on them. Furthermore, mere possession of such rights is not enough. There should also be some means of protecting them.

The Constitution of India also provides ways by which individuals and groups can protect their rights. Generally, the responsibility of protecting the rights of groups and individuals is entrusted with the Judiciary. Thus, these two components form the framework which governs the mutual relationship between the Government, the Society and the Individual.

(iii) **Set of Objectives and Values:** The Constitution states the objectives and values that a given Constitution seeks to follow and fulfil. The third component tells us why a given Constitution has come into existence in the first place. For instance the Constitution of the United States of America, the

oldest existing one in the world, proclaims that it has been brought into existence to "establish Justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity". A similar set of objectives constitute the foundations of the Indian Constitution.

Most Constitutions in the world are written. This means that there is a single written document which contains all the three components listed above. Such Constitutions have generally come into existence after long and detailed debates, and have been prepared by specially convened gatherings. For instance the American Constitution was made by the Constitutional Convention, while the Indian Constitution was framed by the Constituent Assembly.

Some countries have Constitutions which are unwritten, the best example being the United Kingdom. This does not mean that nothing is laid down in writing. It means firstly, some aspects are written while others are governed by constitutional precedents or conventions. Further, the written component does not exist as a single document. For example, look at the power of the Monarch of the United Kingdom to appoint the country's Prime Minister. There are no written rules governing this, but it is assumed that the person, who commands a majority in the House of Commons, will be appointed.

Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism is the idea that there should be limitations on the powers of the Government. Such limitations might be laid down in the Constitution, or might have come about due to certain historical developments. The origins of Constitutionalism can be traced back to Social Contract Theory formulated by the 17th century British thinker, John Locke. He argued that the Government could not do certain wrong things and if it did, then the people had the right to change it.

However, there had been many attempts even before Locke to ensure that there were restrictions on the powers of the rulers. They include the Magna Charta in 1215 in England and the Bill of Rights passed by the Parliament in England in 1689. These attempts were primarily the efforts to restrict the powers of the Monarchs, and not the Government as such. This was because during those times, power was largely concentrated in the hands of the Monarchs. It was only when the three branches of Government, mentioned above, emerged as distinct entities that the idea of restricting the powers of the Government as a whole emerged. This can be described as the modern version of Constitutionalism.

Modern Constitutionalism found its concrete expression for the first time in the American Constitution. The first ten amendments to the American Constitution are collectively referred to as the Bill of Rights. These explicitly imposed restrictions on the Government as a whole. For instance, the First Amendment prohibits the making of any law which restricts freedom of speech or of the press. Similarly, the Indian Constitution also prohibits the Government from doing anything that violates the Fundamental Rights of the individuals. These are instances of explicit restrictions on the powers of the Government.

What happens in the case of countries

Constituent Assembly of India.

Signing of the United States Constitution

with unwritten Constitutions? Till recently, the doctrine of Parliamentary Sovereignty prevailed in the United Kingdom. This meant that the United Kingdom's Parliament had the power to make any law of any kind. It meant that there were no restrictions on the powers of the Government. However, the scenario where the Parliament made unjust or arbitrary law was avoided by a vigilant public opinion. Today the doctrine of Parliamentary Sovereignty no longer exists in its absolute form. This is because the United Kingdom is now a member of various international organisations and a signatory to numerous international agreements which guarantee rights to individuals. The existence of these rights ensures that there are restrictions on the powers of the Government.

A Constitution which restricts the powers of the Government also can be amended thus opening up the possibility of the removal of these restrictions. Most Constitutions do provide for making changes to themselves. What is the guarantee that a Government will not use powers to amend a Constitution so as to remove all restrictions on its actions? Such a situation did arise in India in the 1970s. Then, the Government believed that the restrictions on its powers imposed by the Constitution were blocking the way to the balanced development of the country. Hence, it sought to amend the Constitution.

However, the Supreme Court of India in the celebrated Keshavananda Bharati case (1973) laid down the restrictions on the power of the Government to amend the Constitution. It ruled that the Constitution of India possessed a basic structure which could not be altered in any manner, and that other than this there were no restrictions on amending the Constitution. This is known as the Basic Structure Doctrine.

But, in a democracy, Constitutionalism means something more than mere restrictions on the power of the Government. It also means adherence to the spirit of the Constitution. It refers to the values which form its foundations and

the manner in which those who hold power are expected to behave. This can also be described by the term 'Constitutional Morality'.

> ### *Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar's speech in the Constituent Assembly*
>
> Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realise that our people have yet to learn it.

Major Types of Democratic Governments

Democracy is a system of government wherein the people elect their rulers. But there is no single type of a democratic system of government. The two major types are Parliamentary and Presidential. India and the United Kingdom follow the Parliamentary system, while the United States of America follows a Presidential system. The nature of the relationship between the Executive and the Legislature is the principal distinguishing feature between the two.

Parliamentary Systems

The Parliamentary system makes a distinction between the Head of the State and the Head of the Government. The Head of the State is the President or in the case of the United Kingdom, the Monarch. The Head of the Government is the Prime Minister. The President or the Monarch, the Prime Minster and the Council of Ministers are the Executive. But the real executive power is vested in the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. The President or the Monarch is a nominal executive head.

Thus, in Parliamentary systems, the Executive consist of two components, the nominal and the actual or the real. Though the administration of a given country is conducted in the name and by the orders of the nominal Executive, it is the real Executive who takes the actual decisions. The powers of the nominal Executive as the term suggests are nominal. All Parliamentary systems are classified into either (1) Constitutional Monarchies (2) Republics depending upon the nature of the nominal Executive. Systems where the office of the nominal Executive is filled on the basis of heredity are Constitutional Monarchies and the office holder is known as the Monarch. Republics are those where the nominal Executive is elected and the office holder is termed as the President. The nominal Executive is also termed as the Head of State that is the head of the country's political system.

The real Executive comprises of the Council of Ministers whose head is known as the Prime Minister. It is the President or the Monarch who appoints the Prime Minister. The ministers are also appointed by the President or the Monarch, but as per the Prime Minister's wishes. Whosoever commands a majority in the Legislature is appointed by the President or the Monarch as the Prime Minister. It is the Prime Minister who actually runs the Government with the assistance of the ministers, and hence is known as the Head of Government. In Presidential systems, the President actually runs the Government and hence, is both the Head of State and the Head of Government.

In a Parliamentary System the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers stay in power so long as they have a majority in the Parliament. In most Parliamentary Systems there are two houses of Parliment.

The Indian System of Government (Parliamentary System)
President (Head of the State)

| **Executive** | **Legislature** | **Judiciary** |
| (South Block) | (Parliament Building) | (Supreme Court) |

Prime Minister
(Head of the Government)
And Council of Ministers

Parliament
Lok Sabha and
Rajya Sabha

Supreme Court

System of Government: United Kingdom (Parliamentary System)
Monarch (Head of the State)

| **Executive** | **Legislature** | **Judiciary** |
| | (Parliament Building) | |

Prime Minister
(Head of the Government)
and Council of Ministers

Parliament
House of Commons and
House of Lords

Supreme Court

For example in the United Kingdom the Parliament consists of the House of Lords and House of Commons. In India, there is the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The members of House of Commons and Lok Sabha are directly elected by the people. Therefore the Executive can stay in power only if they have a majority in their houses.

Find out!
Make a list of all the Prime Ministers of India since independence with their tenure.

The American System of Government (Presidential System)

(The three Branches of Government under Separation of Powers)

Legislature	Executive	Judiciary
Congress	**President**	**Supreme Court**
House of Representatives	Vice President	Other Federal
Senate	Secretaries	Courts

Presidential system

In a Presidential system, the head of Executive branch is directly elected by the people for a fixed period. This head of the Executive branch in most such systems is termed as the 'President' and hence the term 'Presidential system'. The President is both, the Head of the State and the Head of the Government. The President enjoys powers granted to his office by the Constitution. The most significant of these powers is that of conducting the administration of the country in accordance with the law passed by the Legislature. The President also can appoint his subordinate officials like ministers and ambassadors. Generally, in such systems, members of the executive are prohibited from being members of the Legislature. For example, the Ministers (called Secretaries in the United States) are not members of the Congress.

The Legislature, in the Presidential systems, is also elected by the people. The Constitution entrusts it with the power of making laws. However, this power is not absolute since the laws come into effect only when the President approves them. The President has the right to reject a law passed by the Legislature. This is known as the 'Veto Power'. The President can also request the Legislature to pass laws proposed by the Executive which are deemed necessary to solve the problems of the day. The Legislature can also impeach or remove from office the President if it is proved that the Constitution has been violated. However, this is a rare occurrence in established democratic systems.

The President continues in office irrespective of the fact whether he or she enjoys the support of the majority of the members of the Legislature. The loss of the support of a majority does not automatically mean the resignation of the President. However, the lack of support might lead to a breakdown in the functioning of the Government since such a scenario might lead to a situation where

the Executive and the Legislature might constantly prevent each other from doing anything.

Do you know?

Countries with Presidential systems- the United States of America, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, South Africa etc.

Countries with Parliamentary systems- India, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada, Australia etc..

Federalism

Some countries are large in size and have several regions. In such a case it is difficult to have only one government that can take care of the entire country. In such cases countries have two levels of government- the first one being the national or the country-wide government, the second working at the regional level. These regional units are referred to as 'states' or 'provinces'. Political power is also divided between the two governments. In such cases, the central government is called National Government, Central Government, Union Government or Federal Government while the regional governments are called State Governments. Countries where such an arrangement exists are known as Federal systems or Federations.

Some countries that are geographically small in size usually have a single government at the centre. Such systems of government are called Unitary Systems.

This distribution of power amongst the central (national) government and the state governments in a Federation is a formal arrangement. It is explicitly referred to in the Constitution of that country. For instance, the American Constitution explicitly states the powers possessed by the Federal Government. Similarly, the Constitution of India, in its Seventh Schedule, lists the powers of the Central or Union Government as well as that of the State Governments. In most Federations, changes to these constitutional provisions require the approval of both the national and the state governments.

The history of Federations can be traced back to the medieval period in Europe where political units came together in order to face powerful common enemies or to solve common problems. A few of these arrangements evolved over a few centuries to form a single political unit. The best instance of this process is Switzerland. In some cases, the transition to a full-fledged Federal system occurred in a relatively shorter period of time. The best instance of this is the United States of America. Thirteen British colonies, all separate political units, rebelled against the authority of the United Kingdom and won their independence in the 18th century. When they realised that they needed to establish a single political unit in order to safeguard their independence, they came together and established the country which is today know as the United States of America. Such Federal systems are known as 'Coming Together' Federations. Canada and Australia are other instances where previously separate political units

came together to form a single political system.

In case of India, at the time of independence, there were Princely States and areas under British administration. The states that we see today were created after independence on the basis of language. Thus, in case of the United States of America, the States came together to create the United States of America; while in case of India, the Union Government created the States.

In contrast, there are also countries where hitherto Unitary systems change to Federal one through the establishment of 'states' and 'provinces'. These are known as 'Holding Together' Federations. This is so because political power is distributed away from the national government in order to keep the country united. The United Kingdom has a unitary system of government. Today its regions, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have been given some degree of autonomy. These regions now have their own assemblies.

In India, the division of powers favours the national government. Hence, India is described as a 'quasi-federation' or as a federation with a unitary bias. The journey of Indian federalism has been mixed. After independence, the states have been granted additional powers, however, later economic and technological changes have led to the enhancement of the powers of the Central government.

In this chapter, we have studied the basic aspects of government. We have

seen the importance of the constitution and how the government works within the framework of the constitution. We have also seen various forms and types of government. Now in the next chapter we shall focus on how governments are formed in democratic systems.

Exercise

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. Unwritten Constitution exists in _____ .
   (United Kingdom, India, South Africa, United States)

2. In a parliamentary system there is a _____ of legislative and executive powers.
   (seperation, coordination, merger, centralisation)

3. The first ten amendments to the American Constitution are collectively referred to as _____ .
   (Bill of Rights, Magna Carta, Basic Structure Doctrine, Fundamental Rights)

(B) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.

(a) Magna Carta - England
(b) Veto - United Kingdom
(c) Keshvanand Bharati Case - Basic structure doctrine

(C) Find the odd word in the given set.

1. England, Scotland, Wales, Republic of Ireland

2. India, Australia, Canada, Argentina

2. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.

1. Indian Federation can be described as a 'quasi-federation'.

2. Parliamentary system exists in the United States.

3. Explain co-relation between the following.

1. Legislature and Executive in parliamentary system.

2. President and Legislature in presidential system.

4. Answer the following.

1. Explain Constitutionalism and constitutional morality.

2. Explain the nature of Indian Federation.

5. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.

Explain Constitution and its three distinct inter related components.
(a) what is a Constitution?
(b) set of rules
(c) set of rights
(d) set of objectives and values

Activity:

What are the rights mentioned in the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution.

5. Concept of Representation

We use the term 'representatives' to describe our Members of Parliament or the Members of the State Assembly. We also use the term to describe our Municipal Corporators or Panchayat Members. The concept of representation is important in a democracy. What do we mean by 'representatives'? Who are they? How do they become representatives? In this chapter, we will study the concept of representation in democratic countries.

What is Representation?

Today in democracies, people elect individuals from amongst themselves to govern themselves. They are called representatives. Political systems where this happens are known by the term 'indirect democracies'. This is so because people do not conduct their own affairs but rather entrust this task to some others who are known as 'representatives'. But there was a time when people governed themselves. Political systems where such an arrangement prevailed are described today as 'direct democracies'. City states in ancient Greece, Athens, for instance, were direct democracies. There is evidence of similar arrangements prevailing in ancient India, but not many details are available as yet. It must be noted that such systems did not give the right to govern to all individuals. Women and the poor were generally excluded.

Direct democracy prevailed in political units which had a limited geographical area and a small population. This made it feasible for all those individuals who had the right to conduct the affairs of such units to do so. But in modern times, the area and the population of political units has increased. It is not possible for the people to govern themselves. This led to the birth of 'indirect democracies'. They are also known as 'representative democracies' because people govern themselves through their representatives. Their form of government is referred to as 'Responsible Government' since the representatives are ultimately responsible and accountable to the people.

Divine Right of Kings

Representative democracies have their origins in medieval Europe. Scholars have noted that similar systems did exist in ancient India. Till the medieval period, Monarchies existed almost everywhere in the world. Monarchs had absolute power over whom they ruled. In some cases, they were regarded as representatives of God on the Earth. These Monarchs claimed they or their ancestors had been given the right to rule by God, a doctrine known as the Divine Right of Kings.

However, as time went by, these Monarchs realised that ruling their respective countries was becoming more expensive, and hence desired to raise more money from their subjects in the form of taxes. The payment of taxes would have become easier if the people agreed to do so. It was of course, not possible to gather all the people together to seek their approval as well as the holding of separate meetings in different parts of the country. Hence, many monarchs decided to convene meetings or gatherings at their capital cities of individuals who were to be separately elected by the people from various parts of their respective countries. The proposals

for taxation were to be approved in such meetings. Such gatherings came to be known as 'Representative Assemblies'. One of the oldest such representative assembly is the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.

Representative Assemblies

Soon these representative assemblies started asking for a share in the decision making process. This was opposed by the Monarchs. This struggle between the two in many cases, led to internal conflicts. The best instances of such a conflict are the English Civil War of the 1640s, and the French Revolution of 1789. The first marks the journey of the United Kingdom towards becoming a Constitutional Monarchy, while the second led to France finally becoming a Republic in the 19th century. Most such conflicts ended with the defeat of the monarchies. The representative assemblies soon entirely took over the affairs of the country. The members of such assemblies came to be described as 'Political Representatives' since they collectively dealt with the activities of the government and what they did came to be referred to as 'Political Representation'.

But what exactly is meant by political representation? It means that those who have been elected, the 'representatives', should articulate and advocate the demands and concerns of and safeguard the interests of those who have elected them, the 'represented'. The task of political representation is performed in the elected 'Representative Assemblies' mentioned above.

In modern times, the idea of 'Political Representation' started to spread from Europe to other parts of the world from the 19th century onwards. Many European countries had by then established colonies in Asia and Africa. This was also the period when many European countries also started becoming democratic. These developments influenced the people of Asia and Africa who now started demanding a greater share in the decision making process of their respective countries. India was one of the first countries where such demands were made.

India

In the background of the events of 1857, the British decided that Indians should be associated with the decision making process in India. Hence, in 1861, a few Indians were appointed to both the legislative councils at the all-India level and at the provincial level. These Indians were not elected but nominated. They were selected by the British and the people of the country had no choice in this matter. But yet they were regarded as 'Representatives'. Soon demands were made that the people of India should have a say in electing those who were to represent them.

These demands were slowly but surely fulfilled. An important stage in this process was the Government of India Act, 1935. According to the Act, representative assemblies, predominantly consisting of elected members, were established at the provincial level. A Parliamentary form of government was also established in the provinces. The process in a sense came to an end in the period between 1950 and 1952. In 1950, India became a democratic republic with a parliamentary system, and in 1951- 1952, the first general elections were held throughout the country to the Indian Parliament and the state legislatures.

Methods of Representation

In every democratic country, some method is required by which individuals shall govern the people of that country. These methods are known as the 'methods of representation'. These methods are as follows :

(i) *Electoral:* The people have the right to decide who shall govern them. This method primarily is used to decide who shall become the representatives or the members of the representative assemblies. This is so because these assemblies are where the ultimate decision making powers are located. But there is no single electoral method, and indeed there is a variety of them.

(ii) *Non-electoral:* The individuals occupy various positions through appointment or selection. This second method is used in deciding which individuals shall be appointed as government officials or as members of other government bodies.

(iii) *Non-Official:* This refers to the role that the civil society plays in trying to represent the people. This is done through interest and pressure groups.

In most countries, elections to the representative assemblies take place on a geographical basis, that is to say, the country is divided into distinct areas or constituencies. The people living in these constituencies have the right to elect individuals from their respective constituencies to be their representatives. They, thus, have the right to vote or possess the franchise. Those individuals contesting the elections are known as candidates. The number of individuals to be elected from each constituency varies from country to country.

Electoral systems are classified in two ways:

(i) Number of members that are elected from one constituency: In this system there are two types of election methods: (a) Single-Member: Only one member is elected from one constituency. (b) Multi-Member: Several members can be elected from one constituency.

(ii) How many votes are required to get elected from any one constituency: In this system there are three types of election methods: (a) Plurality, (b) Majority and (c) Proportional.

Generally, the Plural and Majority methods are used for Single-Member constituencies.

In the Plurality system, the candidate who receives the maximum number of votes is elected. In this system, it is not necessary for a candidate to secure a majority of the votes to be elected. This system can be compared to a running race. The runner who reaches the finish line first is the winner. How much time the winner takes to reach the finish line is irrelevant. This is why this system is also known as the First Past the Post (FPTP) system. This system is used for elections to the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies in India.

In the Majority system, it is necessary to secure a majority of the votes, i.e. more than 50%, to get elected. This system is used for the election of the President of India as well as the Vice-President of India.

Proportional systems are generally used in Multi-Member constituencies. In this system, the number of candidates of a given political party to be elected depends upon the proportion of votes that it receives. For instance, if a political party receives 40 % of the votes in a five member constituency, then two of its candidates will be elected from that constituency. This system is not used in India. There is a sub-type of the Proportional system which is known as the Single-Transferable Vote (STV) system. Here the voters have to rank the candidates in the order of preference. This system is used in the elections to the Rajya Sabha and to the State Legislative Councils in India.

Right to vote

A mention has been made of the right to vote. Today, adult franchise exists in all democracies. This means that all adult citizens of the country, irrespective of gender, race, economic and social status, have the right to vote in elections and thus have a say in deciding in who their representatives would be. However, the age at which an individual becomes entitled to vote varies from country to country. In India, a citizen can become a voter on becoming 18 years of age.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, initially the women and the poor did not have the right to vote. But with the spread of the idea of democracy, it became difficult to justify the exclusion of a majority of the population from the right to vote. Soon all men received the right to vote. However, the struggle to secure the right to vote to women was even more difficult. By the mid-20th century, most democratic countries granted women the right to vote. It must be noted that India granted all its adult citizens, both male and female, the right to vote in 1950 itself when the Constitution was adopted.

Women Voters in India

Postage Stamp of the Election Commission of India

Find out !

Names of Member of Parliament and Member of Legislative Assembly from your constituency. Which political party do they belong to?

Channels and Levels of Representation

Political parties are the most important channels for political representation. They serve as the primary channels of political representation. But what are political parties? They can be defined as organised groups formed by individuals holding similar views on a wide variety of issues. They seek to obtain political power in order to implement policies based on these views.

In democracies, parties seek to obtain power through elections. Individuals who are members of various parties contest elections as candidates of their respective parties. Moreover, the views of a party taken together are described as that party's ideology. During elections, the parties present before the voters a programme based on their ideology and promise them that this programme would be implemented if elected to power. The voters who approve of a given party's programme because they feel that it will benefit them vote for that party's candidates. Thus, the aspirations and wishes of the voters are represented in the decision-making process through the channel or the medium of a given political party.

However, it must be noted that decision-making occurs at different levels. In a federal system like India, it occurs at both the national as well as at the state level. India also has granted constitutional status to the local self-government institutions like the Gram Panchayats and the Municipal Councils and Corporations. They have been entrusted with certain powers and responsibilities which have been enumerated in the Constitution of India. This means that decision-making also takes place at the local level. Elections are held for representative assemblies at all these three levels, and political parties contest them. Thus, parties serve as channels of representation at all these three levels.

Classification of Political Parties

In India, political parties are classified as 'National' or 'State' parties. The Election Commission of India has certain criterion to classify a party as 'National' or 'State'.

The Election Commission has decided that a political party shall be eligible to be recognised as a **National** party if :-

(i) it secures at least **six percent** (6%) of the valid votes polled in any **four** or more states, at a general election to the House of the People or, to the State Legislative Assembly; and

(ii) in addition, it wins at least four seats in the House of the People from any State or States.

OR

List of National Parties in India

- Indian National Congress
- Communist Party of India
- Bharatiya Janata Party
- Communist Party of India (Marxist)
- Bahujan Samaj Party
- Nationalist Congress Party
- All India Trinamool Congress

(Election Commission Of India, No.56/2018/PPS-III Dated : 13th April, 2018)

Find out!

Give names of four State parties from Maharashtra and six from other States.

Origin of Political Parties

It would be interesting to find out the process by which parties came into existence. They emerged a little later than the representative assemblies mentioned in the earlier sections. As these assemblies came to have more of a say in a country's decision-making process, members of these assemblies who held similar views began gathering together to influence the policies of the government in a direction that they desired. Such groups soon came to be described as political parties.

Once power passed into the hands of these assemblies and it became established that whosoever commanded a majority in these assemblies would head the Executive. The need for organised groups became increasingly felt since such groups would ensure that the majority would last for a reasonable amount of time and thus ensure political stability. This process can be seen in the 18th century in the United Kingdom. A similar process occurred in many other countries as well. As more and more people secured the right to vote, these parties expanded their membership among the voters and became well-knit organisations.

In India, political parties arose as a result of the fight against British rule. The Indian National Congress was the first organisation to be formed in India which can be described as a political party. This happened in 1885. As the freedom movement picked pace, various other parties like the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, Unionist Party, the Communist Party of India, the Independent Labour Party, among others were formed. After independence, many more parties like the Peasants and Workers Party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Jana Sangh, Socialist Party, Republican Party of India, Shiv Sena, among others were established. Generally speaking, newer parties are formed when some sections of society believe that the existing political parties are not or cannot fulfil their aspirations. This has happened all over the world and this has also been a major reason for the formation of new parties in India.

Interest and Pressure Groups

Interest and Pressure groups are informal channels that seek to represent the people. A Pressure Group is an interest group that is organised to influence public and especially government policy. This

group does not participate in elections to become a part of government or the opposition. It seeks to influence policy from outside by putting pressure on the government. Sometimes the word 'Lobby groups' is used to describe these interest groups. Trade Unions, Agricultural interest groups, student organisations are some examples of pressure groups.

Pressure groups are different from political parties.

(i) The political parties are part of the governmental system. They seek to

influence government policy from the inside. A pressure group tries to influence the government from the outside. They do not stand for elections and become members of the legislature.

(ii) Political parties have a broad agenda. They seek to represent the people for political, social, economic, cultural, and other concerns. Pressure groups usually have a narrow focus. They focus on specific issues or fight for a specific cause.

Pressure groups are also different from social movements. The pressure groups usually have a more formalised structure. Social movements usually do not have a formal structure or organisation. They take up a cause and pursue it. (Example: Chipko Movement) This is why sometimes interest groups are described as representing 'organised interests'.

Non governmental Organisations

Non governmental Organisations (NGOs) are another mechanism for representation. This is usually a private, non-commercial group that wants to achieve its aims through a nonviolent struggle. They usually promote or defend a cause. They have people with specialised knowledge associated with them.

All of the above are channels of representation. They seek to represent the people's aspirations and concerns.

In this chapter, we have seen how people seek to represent themselves through various channels. Representative government is an important aspect of a successful democracy. Let us now turn to another aspect of government that is equally important. We will see the role of the Judiciary in the next chapter.

In India we can identify some interest/pressure groups like:

(i) In the area of business: Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), etc.

(ii) Trade Unions: The Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), The Hind Mazdoor Sangh (HMS), etc.

(iii) Agricultural Unions: All India Kisan Sabha, Bharatiya Kisan Union, Shetkari Sanghatana, etc.

(iv) Student Unions: National Students Union of India (NSUI), Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), All India Students Federation (AISF), Student Federation of India (SFI), etc..

Some Pressure Groups in United States

- U.S. Chamber of Commerce
- American Civil Liberties Union
- The National Organisation for Women
- American Medical Association
- American Federation of Labour and Congress of International Organisations AFL-CIO
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
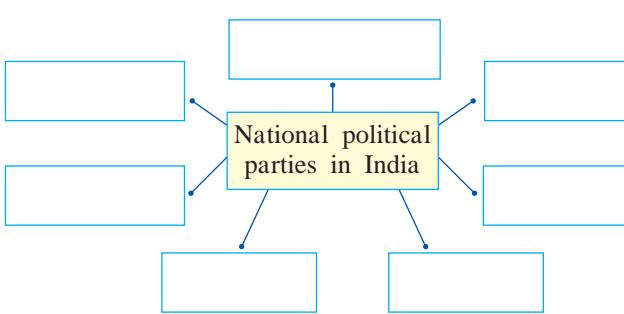
Exercise

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. Ancient Greece had _____ . (dictatorship, direct democracy, indirect democracy, monarchy)

2. The oldest representative assembly in the world is _____ . (House of Commons, House of Lords, Senate, House of Representatives)

(B) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.

The political system where people elect representatives to govern themselves.

(C) Find the odd word in the given set.

The Indian National Trade Union Congress, All India Kisan Sabha, National Students Union of India, Indian National Congress

2. Complete the concept map.

3. Explain the co-relation between the following.

Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations.

4. Express your opinion of the following.

Pressure groups are different from political parties.

5. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.

What is meant by representation? Explain the various methods of the representation?

(a) meaning   (b) electoral

(c) non-electoral   (d) non-official

6. Suggest ways by which you can encourage people to vote in election.

Activity :

Write the history of any one national political party in India.

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6. Role of the Judiciary

In this chapter, we will discuss the structure and function of the Judiciary. In almost all democracies today, whether Parliamentary or Presidential, whether Republic or Constitutional Monarchies, the Judiciary is independent of the other two branches of government. There are constitutional and legal provisions to ensure that it stays independent. The members of the Judiciary, known as judges, are also very vigilant about maintaining independence of the judiciary. This of course does not mean that the Judiciary functions in an unchecked manner. Constitutional and legal provisions do exist to restrain it if it exceeds the powers granted to it.

Judicial Independence

What are the powers granted to the Judiciary? Why is judicial independence so important? The primary function of the Judiciary is that of adjudication. This means that the judiciary takes decisions about disputes or cases according to the law, and then issues orders to ensure that these decisions are carried out. There are many instances where the Executive is a party to the dispute either as the plaintiff or as the defendant. Given the power of the Government, any legal dispute between it and one or more citizens is usually unequal. There is a possibility that the Government would use its powers to secure a favourable decision. This is where the independence of the Judiciary becomes important. An independent judiciary would ensure that all those who appear before it are treated on an equal plane, and thus make sure that decisions are in accordance with the law.

It must be noted that the concept of judicial independence or an independent Judiciary is a modern one. Monarchies desired a Judiciary which did as it was ordered. As countries became more and more democratic, the idea that the Judiciary should be independent of both the Executive and the Legislature emerged.

The first country to explicitly make provisions in its Constitution for an independent Judiciary was the United States of America. The Judges of the Supreme Court of America and the courts subordinate to it were to be appointed by the President of the United States of America. The appointments were confirmed only after the Senate gave its approval. Judges served for life, but could retire if they so wished. Judges could be removed from office for violating the Constitution or exceeding the powers allotted to the judiciary. This process was known as 'Impeachment'. Any proposal for removing a judge would be implemented only after it had been approved by the Congress.

The Constitution of India also provides for judicial independence. Judges cannot be removed from office unless any violations of law have been enquired into and proved. Any proposal for such a removal from office has to be approved by the Parliament before it can be implemented.

Judicial System in India

The structure of the judicial system is also broadly laid down by the Constitution. The Supreme Court of India headed by the Chief Justice of India is the highest court of the land. The next level consists of the High Courts, whose head is also known as the Chief Justice. Generally, there is one High Court for each State, but in exceptional circumstances, one or more States may have single High Court to them. These courts and their judges enjoy constitutional protection. Below the High Courts are the District Courts for each district. At the lowest level are courts which deal with petty offences. Those who are not satisfied with the decisions of a court can appeal to a higher court to ask for a reconsideration of the decision. The High Court controls and supervises the functioning of the District Courts and the other courts. In larger cities, there are Family Courts which deal with family matters.

Supreme Court
(One for all)

High Court
(One for every State)

District Court
(One for every District)

The Constitution lays down the procedure for the appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts. They are formally appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice of India, and in the case of High Court judges also with the Governor of the concerned State. Till the 1990s, the President appointed the judges on the recommendation of the Government of the day, after having consulted the Chief Justice of India. However, in the 1990s, the Supreme Court of India interpreted the relevant Constitutional provisions and ruled that the Judiciary must have the leading role in the appointment process. The Supreme Court set up a Collegium consisting of the Chief Justice of India and the four most senior judges of the court which would recommend names to the President for appointment to the Supreme Court and the High Courts. The Government role in this process has now been minimised.

In addition to the courts mentioned above, there are tribunals established by both the Central Government as well as the State Governments to deal with disputes of a specialised nature. The examples of the first type are the Armed Forces Tribunal, the Income Tax Appellate Tribunal, and the National Green Tribunal. The examples of the tribunals established by the state Government in Maharashtra are the Maharashtra Administrative Tribunal and the Maharashtra Revenue Tribunal. These bodies are known as quasi-judicial bodies, and their functioning is governed by separate laws. They consist of retired judges, as well as individuals who are experts in the fields which fall within the jurisdiction of the relevant tribunal. For instance, the Armed Forces Tribunal also has retired officers from the armed forces as the expert members.All the tribunals in India, like all the courts, are ultimately subordinate to the Supreme Court of India.

The Judiciary and its functions

As mentioned in the previous section, the primary duty of the Judiciary is the adjudication of the cases. But can the courts hear any kind of cases? What do the courts do? What are their functions?

(i) Each court can adjudicate or hear cases pertaining only to a specified range of areas. This range is known as the jurisdiction of that court. Jurisdiction is of two types:

(a) *Original Jurisdiction* : Cases regarding certain matters can be heard for the first time only in certain courts. These matters constitute the Original Jurisdiction of that court. For instance, the Supreme Court of India has Original Jurisdiction in any case between two State Governments, and between the Government of India and any State Government, as well as any disputes about the election of the President and the Vice-President of India. Only the Supreme Court of India in the country can hear the above mentioned cases. Thus, here its Original Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is also its Exclusive Jurisdiction.

(b) *Appellate Jurisdiction* : Appeals against the decisions regarding certain cases can be heard in a certain court. These matters constitute the Appellate Jurisdiction of that court. The Supreme Court also hears appeals regarding decisions of the High Courts over a wide range of issues. The High Courts in turn hear appeals regarding decisions of the District Courts.

(ii) The Supreme Court also has an Advisory Jurisdiction. This includes only those matters which have been specifically referred to it by the President for advice.

(iii) The Supreme Court of India and the High Courts also perform other functions. One of them is the interpretation of the Constitution and the laws made under it. In all cases, the question that the courts have to decide is whether a certain action is in accordance with either the Constitution or any given law. In doing so the Courts have to interpret the constitution and the laws. For instance, the Supreme Court has ruled that the 'Right to Life' guaranteed by the Constitution does not merely mean the right to exist but also the right to live in a pollution-free environment.

(iv) The Supreme Court and the High Courts also perform another important function that is the protection of the Fundamental Rights, guaranteed by the Constitution. These rights are regarded as being essential for any individual to lead a dignified life and hence are described as being 'Fundamental'. The people of India also possess another set of rights known as legal rights, which are specified in the laws passed by the legislature.

The Constitution empowers the Supreme Court and the High Courts to issue writs or a special kind of orders for the protection of the Fundamental as well as the legal rights of individuals, if someone complains that they have been violated. There are five types of Writs specified in the Constitution of India: Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition, Quo Warranto and Certiorari.

Judicial Activism

Generally speaking, a matter goes to the court on the basis of a formal complaint, or a petition filed before the court by an individual who is directly connected with it. However, this situation has changed in the recent decades because the Judiciary in India has started taking a wider view of its functions. For instance, the courts have allowed individuals to file petitions on matters of important public concern. The individual may or may not be directly connected with the matter.

Such cases are known as Public Interest Litigation (PILs). There have been instances where the courts of their own accord, without anyone complaining or filing a petition, have taken note of matters of public concern.

This wider view taken by the Judiciary of its function has been termed as 'Judicial Activism'. Earlier, the Judiciary generally did not look, beyond a certain point, into how the Executive exercised its authority. For instance, into matters like the imposition of President's Rule in the states or a Governor's decision to appoint a certain individual as the Chief Minister were matters that the Judiciary did not interfere. But in recent years, Judicial Activism has led to the courts examining the legality of the decision of the Executive over a wide variety of issues including the ones referred to above. Moreover, in many instances, they have also either issued orders on what should be done over many issues or have directed the Executive to take action about the same in a specified time period.

There has been much debate over Judicial Activism. Some feel that the Judiciary was compelled to intervene because the Executive was not discharging its functions properly, while others believe that the courts are overstepping their mark and are exceeding their powers by looking into matters which fall within the jurisdiction of the Executive.

Judicial Review

A written Constitution in any democratic country is the highest law of the land. The laws made by the Legislature have a status lower than that of the Constitution. Moreover, these laws are expected to be consistent with the Constitution. But what would happen if they are not? The Constitution would say one thing, while the laws would say something else. The provisions and the values of the Constitution, that is to say the Constitution itself would be rendered meaningless. Hence it becomes necessary to have an institution which would examine whether the laws are consistent with the Constitution or not. But this is not enough. That institution should also have the power to declare any law found inconsistent with the Constitution to be invalid and therefore not to be implemented. This would prevent the Legislature from making laws which violate the Constitution. In democracies with written Constitutions, this power is vested in the Judiciary. Thus, Judicial Review means the power of the Judiciary to examine if any law approved by the Legislature is consistent with the Constitution or not, and if it is not then to declare it unconstitutional.

But why does the Judiciary have this power? Both the Executive and the Legislature are involved in the process of law-making. It would be highly inappropriate to give them the power to examine whether the laws that they have made are consistent with the Constitution or not. It is likely that they would be biased while doing so. The Judiciary is not involved in any way in the law-making process. It is an independent body. Hence it has been assigned this power.

Supreme Court of the United States of America

The origins of the power of Judicial Review can be traced to a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States of America given in 1803 in a case known as Marbury vs Madison. This was for the first time that the American Supreme Court declared a law passed by the United States Congress to be invalid on the grounds that it was inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. However, it must be noted that the

American Constitution does not have any explicit provision that gives the Judiciary the power of Judicial Review. It is an implied power. Till date, the American Supreme Court's power of Judicial Review has been unchallenged. This is so because it is accepted that such a power is necessary to retain the supremacy of the Constitution.

Marbury vs. Madison

William Marbury, an American businessman, was appointed to a position in the judicial system by President John Adams of the United State. However, Adams lost the election immediately afterwards, and the new President, Thomas Jefferson, instructed James Madison, who was the new Secretary of State or the minister in charge of issuing the appointment orders, not to do so in the case of Marbury. At this, Marbury filed a petition against Madison in the Supreme Court. This is how the case came to be known as Marbury vs Madison.

Marbury asked the Court to issue a writ of mandamus so as to force the new government to give him the appointment order. In its judgment, the Court led by the then Chief Justice, John Marshall, upheld Marbury's claim that he was legally appointed and therefore must receive the order. At the same time it declared the relevant law which allowed Marbury to directly approach the Supreme Court instead of approaching a lower court first to be invalid on the grounds that it was inconsistent with the Constitution and therefore unconstitutional.

However, the power of Judicial Review does not exist in countries which have unwritten Constitutions (for instance in the United Kingdom). This is so because there is no specific highest law of the land and thus the laws passed by the Legislature cannot be examined with reference to anything.

The Constitution of India also does not explicitly provide the Judiciary with the power of Judicial Review. However, like in the United States, these powers are implied. The Supreme Court of India has on many occasions declared laws passed by the Legislature as being inconsistent with the Constitution and therefore unconstitutional.

But in the Indian context the real issue has been whether the amendments to the Constitution can be held unconstitutional. The issue was settled by the Supreme Court in the Kesavananda Bharati case. In its judgment, the Court stated that the Constitution of India had a 'Basic Structure'. The Constitutional Amendments passed by the Parliament have to be consistent with this 'Basic Structure', and if they are found to be not, then the Supreme Court would declare them unconstitutional. It is widely agreed that that the power to declare Constitutional Amendments unconstitutional rests only with the Supreme Court.

Kesavananda Bharati Case (1973)

The validity of the Constitution (24th Amendment) Act 1971 was challenged in the case of Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala (also known as the Fundamental Rights Case). This Amendment gave the power to the

Parliament to amend Fundamental Rights of the Constitution. The Supreme Court had to decide whether Parliament had power to abrogate the basic elements and fundamental provisions of the Constitution of India. The Supreme Court held that the Constitution (24th Amendment) Act 1971 is valid and that Parliament has power to amend all the provisions of the Constitution, including fundamental rights, but could not amend the basic structure of the Constitution.

From the citizen's point of view, Judiciary is the most important organ of the government. It is the guardian-protector of the constitution and the fundamental rights of the people. The common man depends upon judiciary for getting justice. The feeling in an average citizen that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice makes him feel secure. The welfare of citizens greatly depends upon speedy and impartial justice.

Exercise

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. _____ is the first country to create Independent Judiciary.
   (India, United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union)
2. The primary function of the judiciary is _____ .
   (making laws, executing laws, adjudication, make appointments)

(B) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.
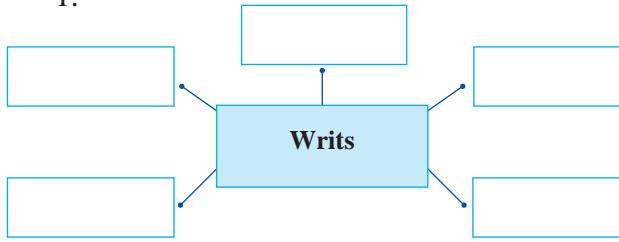
(a) Written Constitution -   India
(b) Judicial Review - United Kingdom
(c) Independent Judiciary - United States

(C) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.

1. Petition regarding important public concern -
2. The process of removal of judges -
3. Cases can be heard for the first time only in certain courts -

2. Complete the concept map.

1.

3. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.

1. There is no need to approve appointment of judges by the Senate in the United States.
2. In India judiciary is independent.

4. Explain the co-relation between the following.

1. Judiciary and Executive
2. Supreme Court and High Court

5. Express your opinion of the following.

1. Judiciary must have a leading role in the appointment of judges.
2. Judicial activism is significant today.

6. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.

Explain the process of judicial review?
(a) meaning (b) need (c) when and where it started (d) Indian context

Activity :

Make a list of examples of Judicial Activism in India.

Section III : Public Administration

Political Science and Public Administration share the same goal. Both seek to learn the political, social and economic dynamics of the society and apply that knowledge to benefit the good of all. Political science creates a policy, public administration implements it. The administration of national, state and local government institutions is called public administration.

What then is public administration? There are two aspects to public administration.

(i) One is a general aspect. It focuses on the following:

- Planning the outline of things to be done.

- Creating a structure of organisation to implement the decisions.

- Appointing people to do the work.

- Coordinating the work to ensure that it is done properly.

- Provide the finance to do the activity.

(ii)   The second is a specialised aspect.

There are many specialised functions like maintaining law and order; providing education; ensuring public health; promoting agriculture; providing social security; etc. Each of these is a specialised activity requiring special skills. For example, public health requires doctors, law and order requires police. This is also the task of public administration.

When the administration of these activities is carried out by the government, we use the word public administration. In case of private companies or any non-governmental organisations, the word used would be private administration or business administration. Thus, a District Collector, Tehisldar, Block Development Officer, Police Officer, Anganwadi Worker, etc. would be examples of those who are part of public administration in India.

Public Administration as a discipline was born in the United States. Woodrow Wilson was the first to emphasise the need for the study of public administration as a subject. In India references to how the government should function and how to administer the countries have been in existence since ancient times. Some examples are Kautilya's Arthashastra, Chatrapati Shivaj Maharaj's Adnyapatra or in the system of administration introduced by the Mughals. The British introduced the Indian Civil Service and brought in an All India system of administration. Independent India has the Indian Administrative Service and also the State Administrative Service.

Today the government has become more complex. It undertakes various activities that go beyond the simple perspective of administration. The new approach to understand government activities is now called Public Policy. In developing countries like India, approach to Public Administration and Public Policy has undergone some changes. The focus is on issues of development. The framework used for this is called Development Administration. Development administration focuses on the socio-political and socio-economic development of the country. Its stress is on the projects, programmes and policies that are aimed at securing the objective of development.

The two chapters in this section are as follows :

Chapter VII : Public Administration : This introduces the subject of public administration. It explains the relationship between political science and public administration. The chapter also goes into the scope of the subject of public administration and introduces the concept of public policy.

Chapter VIII : Development Administration : The traditional approach of public administration has been bound by rules, law and hierarchy. While this approach is not wrong, sometimes it creates delays and obstacles that are called 'red tape'. It is necessary to have innovation in planning and try to create a better society. This approach is called Development Administration. This chapter also focuses on the manner in which development administration is implemented in India.

In this chapter we will try to understand the meaning of public administration, the evolution of Public Administration, and its role, relevance and scope. We will also look at the administrative system in India.

Let us begin with few questions. What do we study in Political Science? What is administration? What is the difference between private and public administration?

Political Science studies the state and government. It studies politics at the local, state, national, and international levels. It studies how a society governs itself. Public Administration is a sub-discipline of Political Science. Public Administration, focuses on what we call "government in action". Once decisions are taken through democratic methods they need to be implemented. This is done by the executive arm of the government and is known as public administration.

The government has three branches: the Legislature; Executive and Judiciary. The executive arm of the government is made up of two types of executives:

(a) One, is Political Executives i.e. Ministers who are elected and

(b) Second is Permanent Executives i.e. Bureaucrats who are recruited through open competitive exams like those conducted by the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) or the Maharashtra Public Service Commission (MPSC), etc.

Administration is an activity found everywhere in everyday life. As a process, administration occurs in both public and private organisations. The term 'administration' means management of affairs, this can be in the public or private sector. Public administration as a subject studies the activity and the process of government.

Defining Public Administration:

Public administration can be loosely defined as the organisation and management of human and material resources to fulfil the objectives laid down by the government.

Here are some definitions of public administration:

Herbert Simon: 'By Public Administration is meant, in common usage, the activities of the executive branches of national, state and local governments.'

Dwight Waldo: 'Public administration is the art and science of management as applied to the affairs of the State.'

Luther Gulick : 'Public Administration is that part of the science of administration which has to do with government and thus concerns itself primarily with the executive branch where the work of the government is done.'

Inter-relationship between Political Science and Public Administration

As we have already discussed above, Political Science studies the manner in which public policies and laws are made. It studies the role of the political parties and other organisations, various

governmental institutions like the Parliament, Election Commission, etc.. Public Administration basically implements these laws and public policies.

There are many specialised functions which governments have to perform like maintaining law and order; providing education; securing public health; promoting agriculture; providing social security, social welfare, sanitation, transport and communication facility etc. Each of these is a specialised activity requiring special skills. For instance, public health requires doctors, law and order requires trained police. When the administration of these activities is carried on by the government and its different organisations they fall into the domain of public administration. Thus a District Collector, Tehsildar, Block Development Officer, Police Officer, Anganwadi Worker, etc. are all part of the public administration in India. They assist the government in implementing various policies and programmes of the government. When some of the same functions mentioned above (like providing Education or Healthcare) are performed by private organisations (institutions/companies) or any non-governmental organisations the word used would be private administration or business administration.

Public Administration broadly includes following:

- Activities of the government especially, that of the executive branch.
- Management of public affairs and activities.
- Public welfare and well-being of the people.

Scope of Public Administration: Narrow and Broad

The scope of public administration can be divided into two broad categories.

(i) Narrow Perspective

In a narrow sense it focuses on those aspects of administration which are related with only the executive branch of the government. This view was given by Gullick and Urwick in their famous acronym POSDCORB. This view of the scope of public administration is limited to following things:

P- Planning: The first step in administration is planning where broad outline or a blueprint is prepared. This happens at all three levels : National, State and Local. For instance the NITI Aayog has adopted a bottom –up approach where planning begins at the grassroots level and then reaches at the top.

Do you know ?

The National Institution for Transforming India, also called NITI Aayog, was formed via a resolution of the Union Cabinet on 1st January 2015. NITI Aayog is the premier policy 'Think Tank' of the Government of India, providing both directional and policy inputs. While designing strategic and long term policies and programmes for the Government of India, NITI Aayog also provides relevant technical advice to the Centre and States.

O- Organisation: The planned objectives and goals are achieved by establishing the formal structure of authority through which the work is arranged, defined and coordinated. For

example, All India Services, Central, State and Local Services.

S- Staffing: Human resources are the backbone of any administrative system. The personnel who actively engage in the process of administration are to be recruited and trained. It is also important to maintain favourable working conditions for them. For example, recruitment through UPSC and State PSC.
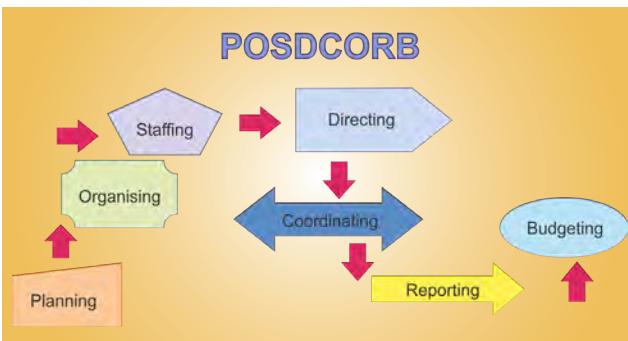
D- Directing: Administration is a continuous activity. Therefore making decisions and embodying them in specific and general orders and instructions is also necessary.

CO-Co-ordination: Administration is a complex and interrelated process and hence different parts of organisation such as branches, divisions, sections need to be co-ordinated. This helps in elimination of overlapping work and prevents conflict.

R-Reporting: Information related to the on-going or completed task and its reporting to higher authorities is a key aspect of administration. This ensures accountability and responsibility within administration.

B-Budgeting: Finance is a key aspect

of any activity. Therefore accounting, fiscal planning and its control are maintained through budgeting.

Do this activity.

You want to organise a cricket match in your college. Students should form groups. Each group will do the following task:

Group A: Plan the event. Decide the dates, venue etc.

Group B: Decide who would take up various responsibilities for the sports match. Create small committees for each task that is to be done.

Group C: Coordinate with the college authorities (Teachers, Principal, Administrative staff).

Group D: Prepare a budget for this activity.

(ii) Broad Perspective

In a wider sense (broader sense), public administration includes the activities of all the three branches of the government. This is quite different from the narrow or managerial view of public administration that focuses only on the activities of executive branch of the government. The broader view of public administration involves the activities of legislature, executive as well as judiciary and their

inter-relationships. This broader view of public administration is seen as a cooperative group effort. It also focuses on formulation of policy and hence it is part of the larger political process.

In a wider sense, public administration is also engaged in collaborations and interactions with numerous private groups and individuals in providing basic services to the community. This would include specialised functions of the government such as defence, finance, education, health care etc. This means broader view of public administration is concerned with both, the techniques of administration such as POSDCORB and with other substantive matters of administration.

Do you know?

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Companies try to integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations. CSR is not charity but a way to improve society. These activities include work like limiting pollution, disaster relief, clean water and educational programs in developing countries, etc.

Evolution of Public Administration

Since ancient times, various thinkers have contributed to the area of administrative thought and practice. Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' is a text on administration in ancient India. Aristotle's 'Politics' and Machiavelli's 'The Prince' also are works on administration. However, credit for the systematic study of the discipline should be given to 18th century system of Cameralism in Germany and Austria which was concerned with the systematic management of governmental affairs.

Do you know?

Cameralism, refers to a system of "sciences" during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It attempted to extend and improve administrative practices to serve the monarchs of Germany and Austria. The themes taken up by the cameralists are still relevant to public administration.

Public Administration as an academic discipline was born in the United States. Woodrow Wilson was the first to emphasise the need for the study of public administration as a subject. His celebrated essay 'The Study of Public Administration' published in 1887 laid the foundation of the science of public administration. He was one of the first political leaders who emphasised the need to increase the efficiency of the government. Wilson argued that administration is the most obvious part of the government but the least discussed aspect of the government.

Today the subject matter of public administration has expanded to include areas like comparative public administration, development administration, new public administration, new public management, public policy and good governance. Public Policy is one of latest areas of study within the fold of public administration. In the contemporary times public administration is not merely about implementation but increasingly it is oriented towards policy making.

Public Policy

Today the government has become more complex with increasing inter connectivity, technological innovations, forces of globalisation and challenges that arise because of all this. Thus government today undertakes various activities that go beyond what we call simple administration of activities in the public sphere. Today government is increasingly about making and implementing public policy for the welfare and well-being of people. The new approach to understand this aspect of government activities is called Public Policy.

Availability of electricity in rural areas is a major issue in India. So the task of the government is to provide electricity to these areas. The Government of India came up with a programme called Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Vidyutikaran Yojana. This is a Public Policy aiming to electrify rural hinterland of India. The Ayushman Bharat is another example of public policy. The aim is to provide universal access to good quality health care services without anyone having to face financial hardship.

Public policy can be understood in three steps:

(i) **Policy Choice:** Citizens face several problems. Ministers, politicians, members of parliament, bureaucrats or other authorities decide on issues to be dealt with. Then various options are discussed about how to deal with those issues. For example, the issues may be of water supply to the city, or anti malaria programme. On the basis of this discussion a policy or a programme is decided.

(ii) **Policy Output:** This stage is of actual implementation of the policy. This determines the policy output.

(iii) **Policy Impact:** The third is to understand the impact of the policy. This is the evaluation stage. The objectives of the policy are assessed to determine the impact of the policy.

Let us try to understand the process of public policy making and its implementation through this following example. The local government of your area is facing the problem of waste management or garbage disposal. The critical issue here is of hygiene and sanitation. The people's representatives (i.e. Municipal Corporators, office bearers and members of Gram Panchayat, etc.), government officers (Ward officers) and local residents discuss this and decide upon a particular policy choice about garbage disposal. Suppose the decision was to segregate the waste at source and its separate collection and treatment. It will then formulate a plan about the method to implement the decision mentioned above. This falls into what we said earlier a Policy Choice. The second stage is to implement it i.e. Policy output. While implementing the decision government as well as non-government agencies can be involved in the task. The third stage is Policy Impact which tries to look at whether it has worked in the manner expected. This is the evaluation stage. It tries to understand the problems in implementation so that the work can be improved upon later.

> **Do this.**
> Find out how waste management is done in your locality.

Administrative System in India

Administration in India has been

influenced by the framework and institutions that British had created during their rule. However, even before the British, India had a structured administrative system. Kautilya's Arthashastra is a detailed text on administration during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. The Gupta Dynasty, the Mughal rule and Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's contribution to the administrative system is equally important. The British introduced a centrally controlled administrative system in India. This was implemented through a series of important acts like Government of India Act of 1909, Government of India Act of 1919 and Government of India Act of 1935.

Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.

After Independence India declared herself as Union of States with a federal structure. It opted for a parliamentary form of democracy. The Indian Administrative System is primarily guided by broad values and goals as mentioned in the Constitution of India. These values act as guiding posts for all the politicians, ministers, bureaucrats etc. who are involved in the process of administration. These values are Liberty, Equality, Justice, Fraternity and Secularism.
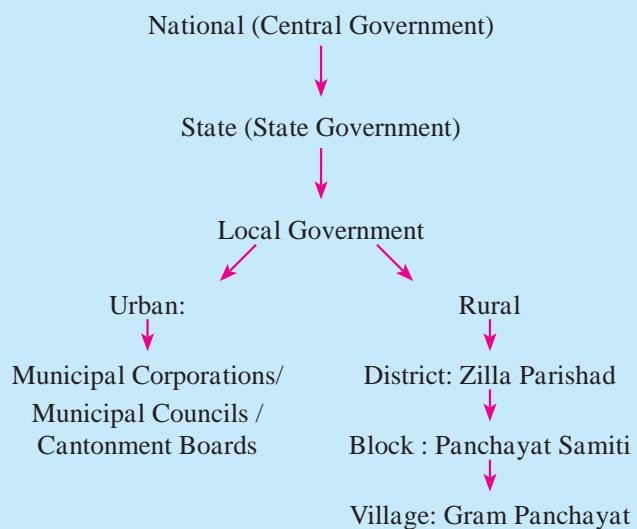
Let us try to first understand the broad framework of administration in India. Indian administration has to be understood at two levels:

(1) One is the three level administrative structures that India has as a federal system of government: National, State and local level.

(2) The second refers to the three arms of the government: Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. The executive consists of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. These ministers look after the ministries. The task of the Legislature (Parliament in the Centre and Assembly at the State level) is to pass laws and also to keep a watch on the work done by the executive. The task of the Judiciary is to interpret and adjudicate cases.

CHART ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

National (Central Government)
↓
State (State Government)
↓
Local Government
↓ ↓
Urban: Rural
↓   ↓
Municipal Corporations/   District: Zilla Parishad
Municipal Councils /
Cantonment Boards   ↓
     Block : Panchayat Samiti
     ↓
     Village: Gram Panchayat

Mantralaya, Mumbai

How does the administration function?
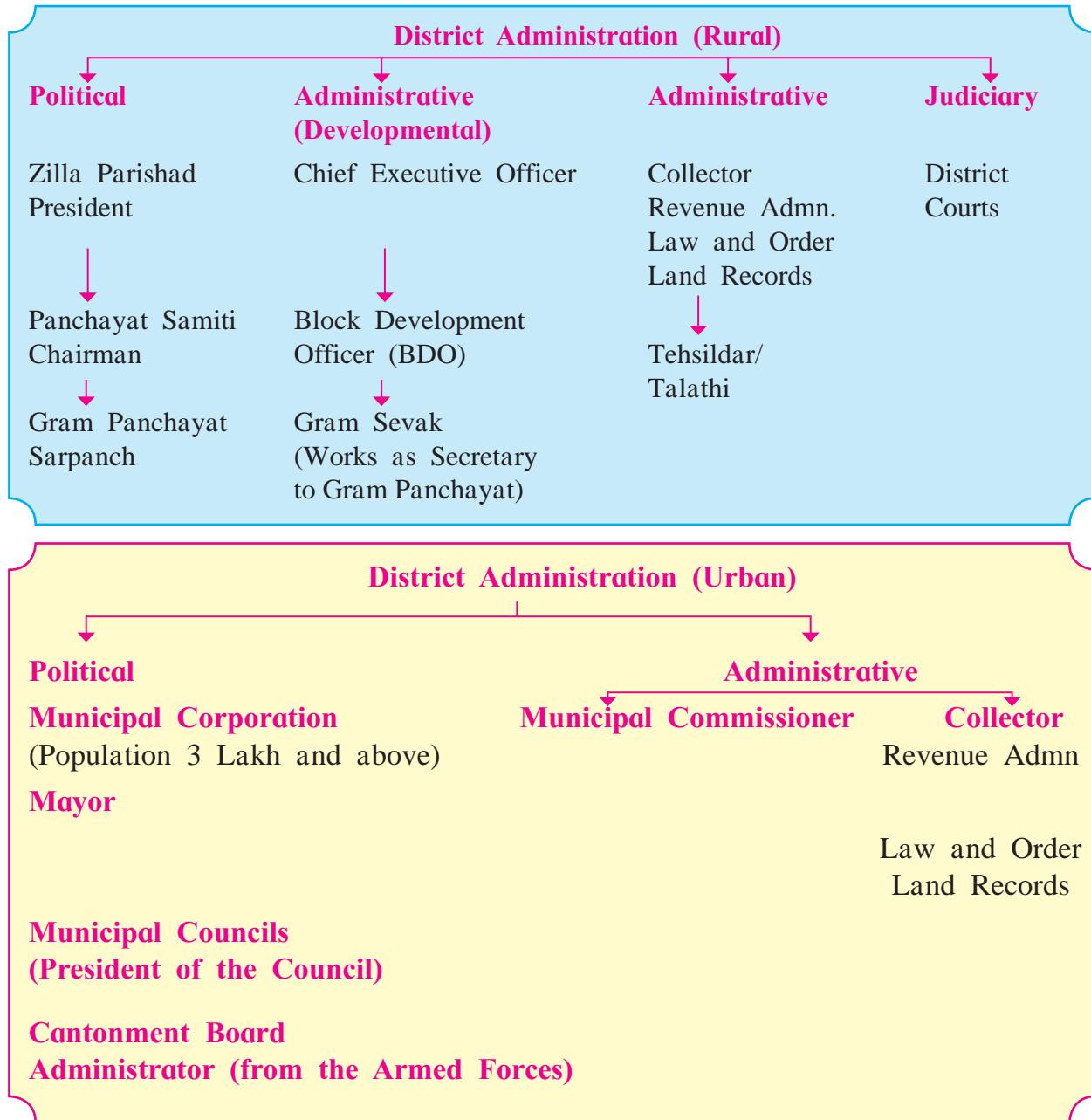
(i) At the national level, the work of the Central Government is conducted by various ministries (departments). For example there are ministries of Agriculture, Health, Home, Defence, etc. Each ministry (or department) is headed by a minister. Below the minister is the bureaucracy or the administrative machinery. Besides the ministries there are such institutions like the Election Commission, Union Public Service Commission, National Commission for Backward Classes, NITI Aayog, etc. These also require administrators or a bureaucracy.

(ii) At the state level also, there are various ministries and commissions that do the work of the government. Like the Central government, the ministries of the State are also headed by a minister and staffed by the bureaucracy.

(iii) At the local level administration is of two types: urban and rural administration. At the district level the highest administrative officer is the Collector. In large cities, the Municipal Commissioner is in charge of the Municipality or Municipal Corporation. In rural areas, at the level of the Tehsil the Tehisildar looks after the administration.

(iv) There is a close link between the political leadership and the administrative machinery. The Ministers are in charge of the ministries and the departments at the national and the state levels. At the local level also the political leaders are closely linked to the administrative machinery. For example at the rural level, the President of the Zilla Parishad or the Chairperson of the Panchayat Samiti or the Sarpanch are in close contact with the administration. At the urban level, Municipal Corporation and the Municipal Council has elected members who are in contact with the administration.

(v) The recruitment for all administrative posts at all levels is done through competitive examinations conducted by the government. At the central government level, the UPSC and Staff Selection Commission are the bodies that conduct these examinations. At the State level, the State Public Service Commissions conduct these examinations.

(vi) The bureaucracy follows the principle of political neutrality. They owe allegiance to the constitution and not to any political party.

In the next chapters we will learn about Development Administration.

Local Government Administration

District Administration (Rural)

Political	Administrative (Developmental)	Administrative	Judiciary
Zilla Parishad President	Chief Executive Officer	Collector Revenue Admn. Law and Order Land Records	District Courts
↓	↓	↓	
Panchayat Samiti Chairman	Block Development Officer (BDO)	Tehsildar/ Talathi	
↓	↓		
Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Gram Sevak (Works as Secretary to Gram Panchayat)		

District Administration (Urban)

Political

Municipal Corporation
(Population 3 Lakh and above)

Mayor

Municipal Councils
(President of the Council)

Cantonment Board
Administrator (from the Armed Forces)

Administrative

Municipal Commissioner   **Collector**
Revenue Admn

Law and Order
Land Records

Do this : Visit any government office near your school/college/home. It may be a Panchayat Office, the Zilla Parishad, Municipal Corporation or any other government office. Observe how the work is done. Talk to the people who have come to the office to do their work.

Discuss in the classroom your experience. Write a one page note on the experience.

Exercise

1. **(A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.**

   1. The backbone of any administrative system is ――――― .
   (material resource, human resource, natural resource, geographic resource)

   2. Gulick and ――――― putforth the acronynm POSDCORB.
   (Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Simon, Urwick, Dwight Waldo)

   (B) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.

   (a) Kautilya - Arthashastra
   (b) Aristotle - The Politics
   (c) Machiavelli - Republic

   (C) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.

   1. The systematic management of governmental affairs in 18th century Germany and Austria -

   2. Efforts of companies to integrate social and environmental concerns -

2. **State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.**

   1. The first step in administration is staffing.

   2. Public Administration as an academic discipline was born in India.

3. **Explain the co-relation between the following.**

   1. Narrow and Broad perspective of public administration

   2. National Administration and State Administration

4. **Answer the following.**

   1. Explain the functioning of the administration

   2. Explain the steps in public policy making.

5. **Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.**

   1. Define public administration and explain its scope with reference to the following points.
   (a) narrow perspective
   (b) wider perspective

Activity:

Look at the latest Annual Report of the Ministry of Home, Government of India. Make a list of the main activities of the ministry.

8. Development Administration

In this chapter, we will to look at development administration, its evolution, meaning and scope as well as development administration in India.

Let us begin with a few questions. What is development? Why is development administration necessary? What is the meaning and significance of development administration?

Development is a very complex term. Nonetheless, in simple terms, it means growth, change, improvement or progress. When we are able to improve from one stage to the next stage it is called development. This change and improvement is in all areas including economic, social and cultural. It concerns the life of ordinary people, how they can live a better life. In the previous chapter, we studied about public administration which primarily is concerned with 'government in action'. It focuses on studying the activities of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government. When public administration studies government in action for growth or development, it becomes development administration.

Evolution and Meaning

You may have read about the concept of Welfare State. A welfare state is when the State plays a key role in the promotion of economic and social wellbeing of its citizens. Such a state usually takes care of the basic needs of its citizens like food, shelter, clothing, education and health.

The concept of welfare state dominated the idea of development during the early part of the 20th century. This had an impact on the traditional concept of public administration. It now focused on bringing change through unified, organised and properly directed governmental action and not merely performance of routine functions of the government.

In the period after the Second World War several countries of Asia and Africa became independent. Nation building was one of the great concerns before such newly independent countries. They did not want the governments to do only routine administrative work. These countries were keen to initiate the process of development. These countries had complex, heterogenous societies and their economies were struggling. The various aid programmes that were provided by the developed world did not help these countries to develop. It was necessary for these countries to adopt new approaches to face the challenges of economic and social inequality, hunger and poverty, etc. This realisation led to the emergence of the concept of development administration.

The government in these countries was to become an agent of change and development. The socio-political circumstances in these emerging states necessitated redefining and reorientation of the idea of development. Development was conceived from holistic perspective, focusing on not only economic growth but also on social change, political

development and cultural progress. Accordingly, governments took on several important tasks in these countries such as centralised economic planning, the preparation and execution of development programmes and projects, the promotion and management of industrial growth, and meeting the basic needs of citizens through the provision of social services, economic opportunities and other social welfare programmes. Governments in most of the developing nations focused on development by means of planned change and people's participation. Thus, development administration as an area of study and as a means to realise developmental goals assumed increasing importance.

Definitions

Edward Weidner: defined it as "The process of guiding an organisation toward the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or the other".

Merle Fairsoul: defined development administration as "a carrier of innovating values, it embraces the way of the new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernisation and industrialisation".

The traditional approach to public administration has been bound by rules and hierarchy. While this approach is not wrong, sometimes it creates delays and obstacles that are generally called 'red tape'. It is necessary to have innovation in planning to create a better society. This approach that is change and growth oriented is called Development Administration.

Do you know?

In government administration when official rules and procedures create unnecessary delays in the work it is called 'red tape'. Discuss your various experiences about 'red tape'.

In order to understand the changes that Development Administration has brought in, it is necessary to understand traditional public administration. Traditionally, the study of public administration would cover the following main areas:

(i) Organisation of the governmental machinery: This would include the structure, various departments, ministries and related organisations of the government. (Examples: The structure of the ministry that includes the Secretaries and other officials; various boards and commissions like the UPSC, Election Commission, etc.)

(ii) Management of different tasks: The focus is on the leadership, planning and coordination between various departments. (Examples: the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog).

(iii) Personnel Administration: This refers to the recruitment process, the training, and other related activities. (Example: How recruitment is done in India through UPSC or State Civil Service Commissions, the training facilities, issues dealing with promotion, salary, pensions, etc.)

(iv) Financial Administration: The focus here is on the process of making the budget, financial committees of the parliament and audit. (Example: How the Parliament controls the expenditure, committees like the Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee, etc.)

(v) Administrative law: On the basis of the laws passed by the Parliament rules are framed. There are also tribunals for resolving disputes. (Example: Tribunals like the Income Tax Appellate Tribunal)

The above mentioned traditional functions of public administration are important functions in developing countries. However, the developing countries have some unique problems of development. They are post-colonial countries. They are trying to create their own independent approach to development. Such an approach is based on aspects of economic and social justice and political modernisation. It also requires the adaptation of new technologies. Therefore it is necessary to make changes in the traditional approaches to public administration. This type of administration is focused more on setting development goals and achieving them through the medium of administration.

In developing countries like India approach to Public Administration and Public Policy has also undergone some changes. The focus is on issues of development. The framework used for this is called 'Development Administration'.

Development Administration focuses on the socio-political and socio-economic development of the country. Its stress is on the projects, programmes and policies that are aimed at securing the objectives of development.

Development Administration has mainly two important aspects:

(i) Administration of Development: The first task is of setting goals of development. The second is to try to achieve them.

(ii) Development of Administration: The existing system of administration needs to be improved so as to be able to achieve the goals of development.

Development Administration

The main features of development administration are as follows :

(i) **Change oriented:** The traditional administration is essentially pro-stability and prefers the status quo. Development administration seeks to bring about change and tries to reorient towards developmental goals. In the post-world war period when various nations became independent in Asia and Africa, the biggest task before their governments was to promote the process of development. They desired progress in all spheres such as economic, social and political. For this to materialise the governments had to focus on transformations, innovations and development.

In post-independent India, fighting poverty, hunger and economic backwardness was the biggest challenge before the government. Hence, the government did not only focus on traditional sector of economy i.e. agriculture but deliberately chose to develop industries, dams and hydro-electric projects with public sector investment. These projects were referred to as Temples of Modern India by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Examples of Indian Industrialisation:

Bhakra-Nangal Dam

Bhilai Steel Plant

(ii) **Output-oriented:** Development Administration aims to achieve certain outcomes and results for which it sets out clear-cut norms of performance. These are usually quantitative norms. If change orientation is one of the goals of development administration, then to make it happen certain targets need to be set. This enables the administrative units to produce the desired output. The focus on targets pushes the administration to produce desired results. For instance, when government sets the target that the economy of the country has to grow at the rate of 8 to 10 percent per annum, it is trying to set some reasonable and feasible goals to be achieved.

(iii) **Citizen participation:** Development being a process of social and economic change, it is important that people participate actively in it. If the process of development is cut off from the grassroots then it eventually fails to materialise the objectives it has set. This necessitates peoples' participation in the process of planning, implementation and its eventual evaluation.

In a diverse society like India people's participation is necessary. In India the needs, requirements and choices of people may vary vastly according to regions. Indian government had introduced a Community Development Programme in 1952 followed by National Extension Service in 1953. The focus was to promote development in the rural and remote areas. The experience of these programmes helped the government to focus on rural India. The purpose of participation of the rural and urban people was sought through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act.

The 73rd Amendment Act of 1992 gave constitutional status to the panchayati raj institutions. The act is a significant landmark in the evolution of grassroot democratic institutions in the country. The 74th Amendment Act of 1992 gave constitutional status to the municipalities. The act aims at strengthening the urban governments so that they function effectively as units of local government.

(iv) **Public Commitment :** Development Administration requires a firm commitment, a sense of involvement and concern on the part of civil servants or the bureaucracy. The process and path of development is filled with challenges and that can create hurdles in the implementation of the programmes. Therefore, the bureaucracy needs to have a sense of belongingness, commitment and spirit to work for national growth to achieve developmental objectives.

Development Administration in India

Development administration is change-oriented. It is anti-status quo. Every development function has a goal to be achieved. For example, economic development has the goal to improve the quality of life. It includes rise in per capita income, literacy rate, life expectancy and reduction in poverty rates, etc. For these goals to be achieved planning, organisation and optimum utilisation of resources is required. Planning aids in deciding the resources required for achieving the goal, and also sets target to achieve them in a time bound manner.

Discuss : What are the different remedies to eradicate poverty in India?

India's journey began as a newly independent poor and underdeveloped nation. Our main goal was to regain past glory and prosperity. Post-independent India was struggling to rise from the ill effects of brutal colonial exploitation. India needed to take some important decisions regarding the development model that we as a nation would like to follow.

India's goals of development since independence have been as follows:

(i) **Modernisation of the economy:** The main focus was industrialisation. Industrialisation provided employment. It would increase the quantum of employment for maximum utilisation of manpower. This would modernise the economy and increase the national income.

(ii) **Land Reforms:** When India became independent the ownership of agricultural land was mainly concentrated in the hands of a few landowners. To solve this issue land reforms were initiated.

(iii) **Agriculture:** There was a focus on the use of high yielding seeds (hybrid seeds) to increase agricultural production. This would help the development of the relatively backward regions and reduce rural poverty.

(iv) **Self-reliance:** India had become independent from colonial rule. Therefore, it wanted to be independent from foreign domination. India accepted foreign aid for its industrial development but it did not want to be dependent on foreign capital.

(v) Socialist pattern with social justice: The concept of socialist pattern of economy was based on the concept of welfare state. The purpose was the mitigation of inequalities of income and wealth. The State would take the lead in providing various welfare services to the public. Planning was an important part of this strategy. India created the Planning Commission whose goal was to improve the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community.

NITI Aayog

The Planning Commission was developed as an apex planning body. India after independence also adopted the tool of Five Year planning which identified short term and long term goals of development. The Five Year Plans have focussed on various issues including agriculture; irrigation; power projects; industrialisation; removal of poverty; food production; nutrition; social security; etc.

In the 1990s India adopted the new economic policy that focused on economic liberalisation. In this new setup there was a need to change the approach to planning. In 2014 the Planning Commission was replaced by the NITI Aayog. India moved away from centralised planning to a decentralised planning. The NITI Aayog proposes grassroots planning where in the planning should be built right from the village, block and district levels and these should be harmonised with planning at the state level. National planning should be the consolidation of state-level plans along with the planning infrastructure and service requirements for the country as a whole worked out at the union level.


NITI Aayog

Find out!

Who are the Chairperson and the Members of the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog?

Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHADA) Pune is a training institute having a dual role : as an Administrative Training Institute and a State Institute of Rural Development.

Development Programmes

One of the important ways to implement the concept of development administration is to prepare specific plans and programmes aimed at development. Here are a few examples of programmes initiated by the Government of India that are a part of development administration in India:

(i) **1952 :** Community Development Programme (CDP): To promote overall development of rural areas and people's participation.

(ii) **1966-67 :** Green Revolution: To increase agricultural production.

(iii) **1975 :** Command Area Development Programme: (CADP) For better utilisation of irrigational capacities

(iv) **1975 :** Twenty Point Programme (TPP): For poverty eradication and an overall objective of raising the standard of living

(v) **1980 :** Integrated Rural Development Programme : IRDP : For overall development of rural poor

(vi) **1989 :** Jawahar Rozgar Yojna (JRY): To provide employment to rural unemployed.

(vii) **1995 :** Mid-day Meal Scheme: Nutrition to students in primary schools to improve enrolment, retention and attendance.

(viii) **2000 :** Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna: Connect all villages with nearest pukka road.

(ix) **2005 :** Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission: (JNNURM) To improve urban infrastructure.

(x) **2005 :** The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA): It is an Indian labour law and social security measure that aims to guarantee the 'right to work'.

(xi) **2009 :** Aadhaar: The Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) was created with the objective to issue Unique Identification numbers (UID), named as ''Aadhaar'', to all residents of India . It became a statutory authority established under the provisions of the Aadhaar (Targeted Delivery of Financial and Other Subsidies, Benefits and Services) Act, 2016

(xii) **2014 :** Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY): Financial inclusion and access to financial services for all households in the country is the main objective.

(xiii) **2014 :** Swachh Bharat Abhiyan: The main objective is to fulfil Mahatma Gandhi's dream of a clean and hygienic India.

(xiv) **2017:** Udaan Scheme: The main objective is encouraging girls for higher technical education and aims to provide a platform that empowers girl students and provides them with better learning opportunities.

Do you know ?

Maharashtra State Open Schooling Board (2017) provides formal education for those who are not part of regular educational stream to such individuals who are physically challenged, artists, sports people, house wives, workers, those who are extra-ordinary talented, etc.

These programmes have tried to provide help to the socially and economically marginalised sections of the population. These programmes can succeed only with the active participation of both, the bureaucracy and the citizens. Today, the citizens have become more active in the process of governance. One of the reasons for this active participation is the increasing awareness of the people due to the information technology revolution.

Please see the following websites for further information:

An Overview of the Sustainable Development Goals
NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India), Government of India
http://www.niti.gov.in/content/overview-sustainable-development-goals
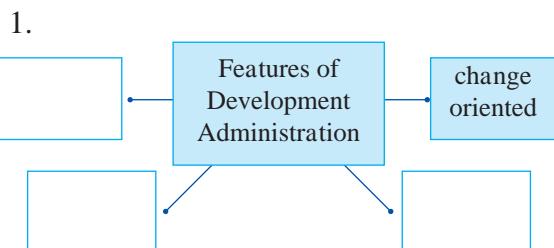

Exercise

1. State the appropriate concept for the given statement.
   1. State that promotes economic and social well being of its citizens -
   2. Unnecessary delays in administrative work is called -

2. Complete the concept map.
   1.

3. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.
   1. Change and growth oriented aproach is called Development Administration.
   2. In post-independent India, government deliberately invested in public sector.

3. The 73rd amendment act gave constitutional status to municipalities.

4. Explain the co-relation between the following.
   Planning Commission and NITI Aayog

5. Answer the following.
   1. Discuss any 4 areas of study in traditional public administration.
   2. Write in brief about NITI Aayog.

6. Express your opinion of the following.
   Citizen participation is necessary in development administration.

Activity :
   Take up any one development programme and study it. Find out how it has been implemented. Discuss this in class.

Section IV: International Relations

You may have read in the newspapers about the Indian Prime Minister meeting with the President of the United States or President of Russia. There would also be news about some foreign dignitaries visiting India. This is international relations. But all this seems so far away. You may feel that this has nothing to do with your daily life. But think again.

When there is a rise in petrol and diesel prices in India you feel the pinch. Why did the petrol price rise? Newspapers would tell you that the reason for this is tensions in the region of West Asia. We import petroleum and when its supply is affected by some conflicts in the region where it is produced, prices rise. Maybe, someone whom you know from the Indian Army lost his life on the border

in Kashmir. Such news is not something that is happening far away. It has something to do with your daily life. All this is also a subject matter of international relations.

History and Geography

History and geography are important in understanding international relations. Look at the world map. The world map will give you the locations of countries. It will give you information of where India is located and who are its neighbours. Similarly, you would understand the locations of countries of Europe, United States, China and Russia. History is not just a chronology of events; it helps us to understand how changes have taken place in the world.

It is also a study of war, of diplomacy, of treaties, agreements, etc. All this is part of international relations.

Subject matter of International Relations

When was international relations studied as a separate subject? The First World War had seen a massive devastation. People believed that it was necessary to avoid any future conflict. It is in the memory of the soldiers who died in this war that the University College of Wales (now Aberystwyth University, United Kingdom) started the study of international relations in 1919. The initial focus was on how to avoid wars and establish peace. Later on, the focus widened to include political, economic, socio-cultural issues besides security problems.

Some of the important questions that international relations tries to answer are: Why do nations behave as they do? The answer to that is that nations will take decisions to protect their interests. They protect their national interest. Foreign policies of countries are based on their national interests.

This section provides a survey of major events since the end of the Second World War. The purpose is to understand the policies of countries since the Second World War. It will look at such concepts like cold war and nonalignment. It will discuss the role of the United Nations.

The two chapters in this section are as follows:

Chapter IX : The World since 1945 (I) : This chapter deals with the events from the end of the Second World War until 1959. The main focus of this chapter is on the cold war and the growth of regionalism in Asia and Africa.

Chapter X : The World since 1945 (II) : This chapter deals with the period from 1959 until 1991. It looks at the changes that came about in the sixties. They include the growth of nonalignment and the changes that took place during cold war. The chapter ends with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. The changes that took place after 1991 are to be studied in the XIIth standard.

The period between the end of the First World War (1919) and the beginning of the Second World War (1939) was a period of change in international relations. The League of Nations was created as an international organisation to establish peace and order in the world. However, the conflicts in Europe did not stop and eventually the world experienced yet another war.

It is after the Second World War that several important changes took place in world affairs that are relevant to the contemporary times. These changes became the foundation of the world order that was to emerge in the post second world war era. It saw the beginning of the era of 'Cold War'. This chapter presents an overview of the key events that have taken place in the world since 1945.

Effects of the Second World War

The changes that had begun in the inter war years took a more concrete shape in the aftermath of the Second World War. These changes now included the following:

(i) **End of the primacy of Europe :** The world had been described as 'Eurocentric' because of the dominant position enjoyed by the main European powers in the 19th and the early 20th century. The Second World War had seen the defeat of the major European powers including Germany, France and Italy. United Kingdom witnessed severe devastation. On the other hand, the United States and Soviet Union emerged as new powers. With the European powers having lost their importance the world ceased to be 'Eurocentric'. The emergence of United States and Soviet Union as two important players in world affairs also diminished the importance of the European powers.

(ii) **Division of Europe :** During the Second World War the Soviet forces occupied the area of Eastern Europe. The Western countries of United States, France and United Kingdom occupied the area of Western Europe. After the defeat of Germany and the end of the war, both sides wanted to retain their influence on the areas under their control. With the end of the war Europe was divided into East and West Europe.

(iii) **Role of Ideology :** The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 had brought in a new factor in international relations: role of ideology. The revolution created the Soviet Union as a Socialist State. The East European states that were under the influence of the Soviet Union adopted the socialist ideology. The West European states that were under the American influence adopted the capitalist ideology. Now the division of Europe had a new dimension, that of ideology.

(iv) **United Nations :** The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 was another important milestone. The objective was to use international organisations as a means to establish peace and security. The UN was to substitute the League of Nations as an international organisation.

(v) **Rise of Asia :** Yet another important trend that one can see in the post Second World War era is the rise of anti-colonial or national liberation struggles in Asia and Africa. This eventually lead to countries of Asia and Africa attaining freedom from colonial rule.

Do you know ?

The main Organs of the United Nations (UN):

(i) **General Assembly :** The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN. All the members of the UN are represented in the General Assembly.

(ii) **Security Council :** The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has 15 Members (5 permanent and 10 non-permanent members).

(iii) **Economic and Social Council :** The Economic and Social Council is the principal body for coordination, policy review, policy dialogue and recommendations on economic, social and environmental issues, as well as implementation of internationally agreed development goals.

(iv) **Trusteeship Council :** The Trusteeship Council was established to provide international supervision for 11 Trust Territories. Steps were taken to prepare the Territories for self-government and independence. By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence. The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994.

(v) **International Court of Justice :** The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Its seat is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands).

(vi) **Secretariat :** The Secretariat comprises the Secretary-General and UN staff members, who carry out the day-to-day work of the UN. The Secretary-General is chief administrative officer of the Organisation. He is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year term.

Find it.

(1) Total membership of UN.

(2) Permanent members of the Security Council.

(3) Location of the Head Quarters of the UN.

(4) Names and tenure of all the Secretary Generals of the UN.

Role of the United Nations

(i) **Maintain International Peace and Security :** The United Nations came into being in 1945 with one central mission: the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN does this by working to prevent conflict; helping parties in conflict make peace; peacekeeping; and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish.

(ii) **Protect Human Rights :** The promotion and protection of human rights is a key purpose and guiding principle of the UN. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was created.

(iii) **Deliver Humanitarian Aid :** One of the purposes of the United Nations is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character."

The international community relies on the UN to coordinate humanitarian relief operations in times of natural and man-made disasters.

(iv) **Promote Sustainable Development :** The global understanding of development has changed over the years. The UN seeks to promote sustainable development, that is, development that promotes prosperity and economic opportunity, greater social well-being, and protection of the environment.

(v) **Uphold International Law :** The development of and respect for international law has been a key part of the work of the Organisation. This work is carried out in many ways - by courts, tribunals, multilateral treaties and by the Security Council.

Cold War

The division of Europe between East and West Europe led to tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is this confrontation between United States and Soviet Union in Europe that gave rise to the Cold War. The term cold war has been used to describe the nature of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. This confrontation had several dimensions:

(i) **Political :** One was the aspect of struggle for political influence over the areas under the control of the two countries. Areas under Soviet influence included East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. Areas under United States influence included Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, West Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Greece and United Kingdom. Finland was forced to opt for neutrality to ensure that both the United States and the Soviet Union did not clash in the region.

(ii) **Ideological :** Eastern Europe adopted socialist ideology under the influence of the Soviet Union and followed a socialist form of government. Western Europe adopted capitalist ideology under the leadership of the United States. These countries had democratic governments.

(iii) **Economic:** East European countries with socialist governments followed the socialist economic system. This meant that the government or the public sector would play a dominant role in the economic system. West European countries that followed the democratic system of government

Do you know?

Division of Berlin : When the Second World War ended the Soviets had control over East Germany while the United States, United Kingdom and France had control over West Germany. This was the division of Germany. The city of Berlin that was the capital of Germany was also divided between East and West Berlin. East Berlin was under Soviet influence while West Berlin was under American, British and French control. The city of Berlin lies inside the territory of East Germany. Thus, West Berlin was surrounded by East Germany from all sides.

Map showing location of Berlin

had a capitalist form of economy. Here the private sector played a dominant role in the economic system.

(iv) Security: Military alliances were created in Europe to protect these countries. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was created in 1949 as a military alliance to defend West European countries and the United States from the threat of invasion from the Soviet Union and East Europe. Warsaw Pact was created in 1955 to defend East European countries and the Soviet Union from the threat from Western Europe and the United States.

While there was no actual war between the United States and the Soviet Union, there existed a continuous state of tension between the two countries. The term cold war is used to describe this situation: a state of tension but no actual war. Thus, the two adversaries were preparing for a possible war that did not take place.

Now we would look at some of the major events and trends that have taken place since 1945. This is a brief survey of events and trends.

Phases of Cold War

Phase: 1945 to 1949/50 (Formative years)

This is the formative phase when cold war takes shape. The focus is on the division of Europe on the basis of political, ideological, economic and military aspects. The political division was based on the influence and control over the areas of East and West Europe; ideological differences in goals and aspirations of these countries; the economic division on economic policies and military division on the creation of military alliances. This division of the world in two groups or blocs is sometimes called the East-West division. The East represented the countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the West represented the countries of Western Europe and the United States.

Do you know ?

Iron Curtain : The former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill during his visit to the United States in 1946 gave a speech at the Westminster College in Fulton where he described the situation in Europe as "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." . This speech was the first clear expression of the division of Europe between the West and the East.

Find out.

Who are the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)?

In Asia there were some significant developments:

(i) India became independent in 1947. This was a success of Asian anticolonial struggle.

(ii) In 1949 China became a communist country under the leadership of Mao Zedong. In 1950 it signed a military alliance with the Soviet Union.

Division of Europe after World War II

Military Alliances: NATO and Warsaw Pact

Phase: 1949/50 to 1959 (Cold war in Asia)

China's becoming communist was the beginning of a change in the politics of Asia. 1950 saw the beginning of the Korean War. It started with the attack by North Korea on South Korea. The latter approached the United Nations for help. The United Nations sent in armed forces to defend South Korea. The war lasted from 1950 to 1953. The war ended in a stalemate and Korea was divided between North Korea and South Korea.

Find out.

Did India participate in the Korean War? What was the nature of Indian participation?

A series of military alliances were made in Asia. These alliances included the following:

- ANZUS : (1952) Australia, New Zealand and US

- South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) : (1954) Thailand, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, France, UK, US

- Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) : (1955) Turkey, Iraq (Iraq withdrew in 1958), Iran (Iran withdrew in 1979) and Pakistan.

- The Soviet Union and China also signed a military alliance in 1950.

- In Europe, the Soviet Union created the military alliance called Warsaw Pact in 1955. Its members were Albania (Albania withdrew in 1968), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

The 1950s saw a change in the leadership in the Soviet Union. Joseph Stalin died in 1953 and was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev brought in some changes in Soviet Union's policies. He brought in the policy of 'Peaceful Co-existence'. This policy meant that the Soviet socialist system and the American capitalist system could and would have to coexist. The main reason for this change was that both the United States and the Soviet Union had nuclear weapons. There was a fear that in case a nuclear war takes place the entire world would be destroyed. Therefore, there was no alternative to co-existence.

This phase also saw the growth of regionalism in Asia and Africa. India had hosted the first Asian Relations Conference in Delhi in 1947 to promote a sense of regionalism. The Asian Relations Conference brought together many leaders of the independence movements in Asia. Representatives of 25 Asian countries participated at the conference. The objectives of the conference were: (i) to bring together the leading men and women of Asia on a common platform to study the problems of common concern to the people of the continent; (ii) to focus attention on social, economic and cultural problems of the different countries of Asia; and (iii) to foster mutual contact and understanding. This conference is looked at as the beginning of the attempt to create a sense of regionalism in Asia.

Do you know ?
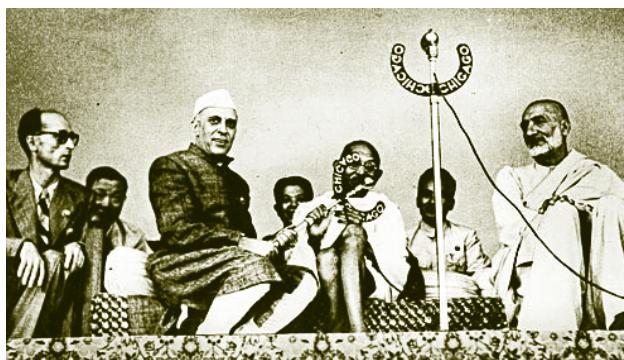
What is Regionalism?

Regional organisations are created by countries from a particular geographic region. They form groups to promote their national interest in a cooperative manner. They try to

establish their independent identity. This process of regional level cooperation is also called regionalism. While geographic linkages are important, sometimes some functional issues become the basis of regional cooperation. These can be in areas like transport and communication, energy, health, etc. The process of regionalism usually begins with a political dialogue amongst the participants. Such a dialogue may lead to the creation of an organisation. Organisations like the European Union (EU), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) or South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) are examples of such regional groupings.

Venue of the Asian Relations Conference, Delhi

Jawaharlal Nehru with Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Gafar Khan at the Asian Relations Conference

This was followed up by the Bandung conference of 1955 in Indonesia. This was the first Afro-Asian conference that sought to broad base the concept of regionalism to include the countries of Africa. The conference had 24 participating countries besides the sponsoring countries, namely Burma (now, Myanmar), Ceylon (now, Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan. The main purposes of the conference were:

(i)   To promote goodwill and cooperation

(ii) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and problems of special interest to Asian and African people.

(iii) To view the position of Asia and Africa in the world today and the contribution they can make to world peace.

The Bandung Conference was a historic event. It tried to spread the concept of regionalism to Asia and Africa.

Venue of the Afro-Asian Conference, Bandung

In Western Europe, regionalism was to take a new form. It used the logic of economic cooperation. It started with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951.

The European Union (EU) was set up with the aim of uniting European countries

economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace. The process of this regional integration was to take a new leap forward in the form of the efforts at European integration through the creation of the European Parliament and the European Community.

In 1959 President Dwight Eisenhower of the United States and Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union met at Camp David in the United States. This was the first serious attempt at seeking a dialogue between the two cold war rivals.

President Dwight Eisenhower of the US and Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union at Camp David (1959)

Camp David Summit is important as it was a turning point in the history of cold war. Let us see the changes that happened after 1959 in the next chapter.

Do you know ?

In international relations the word Summit Meeting is used only when the Heads of State or Heads of Government meet to discuss issues relating to their countries.

Please see the following websites for further information:
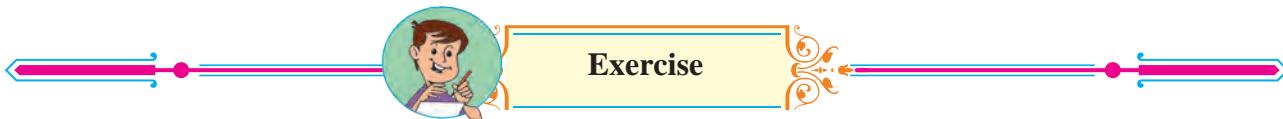
(1) **World After World War II**
COEP History Club COEP (College of Engineering Pune) History Club arranged the last lecture of its eighth lecture series on the topic of "World After World War II".
https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=shrikant+paranjpeThe World after World War II (in Marathi)

(2) **UN Peacekeeping**
UN Peacekeeping is the largest and most visible representation of the United Nations. It is a collective investment in global peace, security, and stability.
https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/india

Exercise

1. **(A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.**
    1. In 1949, China became a communist country under the leadership of _____ .
    (Krushchev, Mao Zedong, Joseph Stalin, Ho Chi Minh)

2. The principle of peaceful co-existence was put forth by _____ .
(Eisenhower, Joseph Stalin, Krushchev, Jawaharlal Nehru)
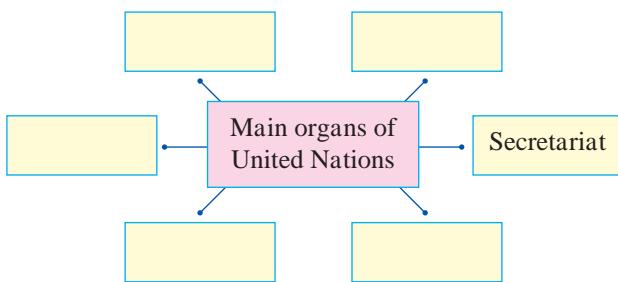
**(B) State the appropriate concept for the given statement.**
    1. Period of dominance of European powers.

2. Conflict between America and Soviet Union.

(C) Find the odd word in the given set.
1. Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, France
2. Italy, Poland, Spain, Greece

2. (A) Complete the concept map.

(B) Observe the given map and answer the following questions.
See map of Division of Europe after World War II.
(i) Name two East European countries under the influence of Soviet Union.

(ii) Name two West European countries under the influence of United States.

3. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.
1. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Soviet Russia became a capitalist nation.
2. The Bandung Conference brought cold war in Asia.

4. Answer the following.
1. Explain the term regionalism.
2. Discuss the role of United Nations.

5. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.
1. Elaborate the dimensions of Cold War.
(a) political   (b) ideological
(c) economic   (d) security
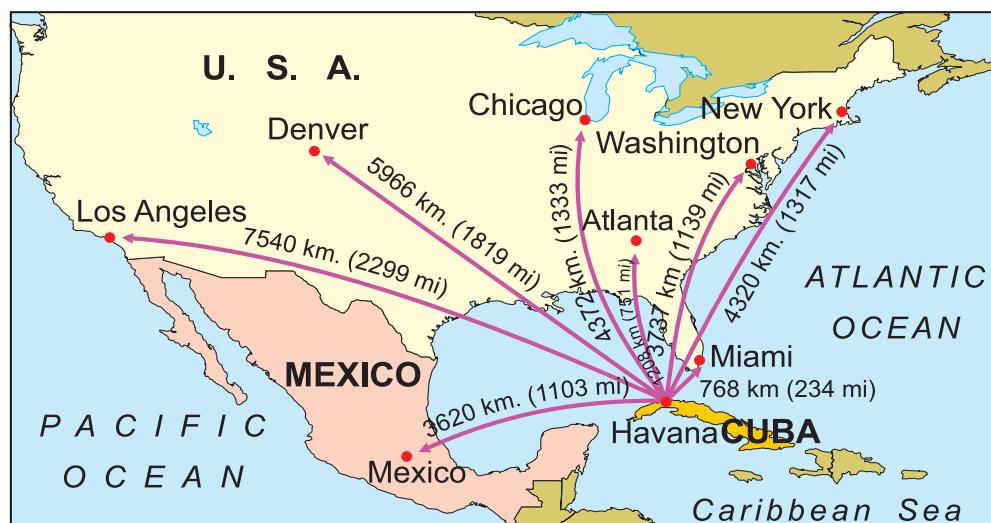
Activity :
Make a list of various regional organisations in the world.

We studied the developments since 1945 in the earlier chapter. We saw how the cold war began in Europe. We also saw the developments that took place in Asia. Let us now see the developments since 1959.

Phase 1959 to 1962 (Shifts in cold war)

The Camp David Summit began a new era in cold war. The meeting had sought to create goodwill between the two cold war adversaries. However tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union continued to escalate. In 1961 the Soviets started to erect the Berlin Wall. This wall virtually cut off the city of West Berlin from the rest of the country. People could not travel between East and West Berlin. Families and friends were cut off from each other.

In 1962 came the Cuban Missile Crisis. This was one of the most significant events of the cold war. Soviet Union placed missiles in Cuba that were a direct threat to the United States. Americans retaliated with a naval blockade of Cuba. This was the first direct confrontation between the cold war rivals. For the first time since 1945 American and Soviet naval ships faced each other and there was a real possibility of a war. It was feared that such a war would be a nuclear war. This forced the two countries to reduce tensions. The situation was de-escalated after the Soviets withdrew the missiles from Cuba.

Location of Cuba vis a vis United States

Picture of the Berlin Wall

What is a Naval Blockade?

A naval blockade is prohibiting ships from entering the port or a country. This is done by using the Navy. The United States Navy established a blockade around the island to prevent any offensive weapons from entering Cuba.

Another important development took place in the Third World in the 1960s. In 1961 the first nonaligned summit conference was held at Belgrade. The concept of nonalignment was based on two important principles: independent understanding of world affairs and peace approach. Thus the nonaligned countries were to stay away from cold war alliances. Nonalignment as a movement grew over a period of time as new countries became independent and joined the movement. The idea of nonalignment does not mean that the states would remain passive and neutral in international politics. It wants the states to participate in world affairs to promote peace and development.

Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia were the founding members of the nonaligned movement.

The nonaligned movement has grown over the past fifty years. The Movement helped the developing world to gain economic and political rights. Today the movement faces many challenges. These include eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective, etc.

The founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1960-61: (L-R) Nehru of India, Nkrumah of Ghana, Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia and Tito of Yugoslavia.

Since the first conference at Belgrade the movement has held regular summit meetings. The movement began with 25 members at Belgrade in 1961. Today it has 120 members.

Do you know?

The **Third World** is a collective name for the countries of Asia, Africa and South America. Most of these countries had been colonies in the past. They are also described as developing, less developed, or least developed countries. This is because they have a slow pace of industrialisation, low literacy rate and high level of population. Most of these countries have joined the nonaligned movement. During the cold war the Western capitalist economies aligned with the United States were described as the First World and the Eastern socialist economies aligned with the Soviet Union were referred to as the Second World.

Find out!

Make a list of the entire nonaligned summit meetings since 1961. Write the place and the year that the summit was held and the main issues discussed in the summit.

Phase : 1962 to 1972 (Foundations of détente)

The impact of the Cuban crisis on the progress of cold war was tremendous. It brought in a realisation of a possible nuclear confrontation and the need to de-escalate the tensions. The United States and the Soviet Union took several efforts at reducing bilateral tensions. The two countries established the Hotline as a direct telephonic link between themselves. The purpose of this Hotline was to have a direct telephone conversation between the two leaders in time of a crisis. Various agreements were also signed to reduce the nuclear weapons.

In 1972 the American President Richard Nixon and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev met at Moscow. This meeting was significant as it began the process of reduction of tensions. An important agreement was signed to limit the nuclear missiles that the two countries had. The 1972 Moscow summit meeting signaled the beginning of the era of détente. Détente means reduction of tensions. The United States and the Soviet Union tried to reduce tensions between themselves.

US President Richard Nixon and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev met at Moscow (1972)

Find out !

Can you find out some of the summit meetings that have taken place between leaders of India and Pakistan in recent years? Who were the leaders who participated and when and where did the meetings take place?

The other significant event of this period was the breakthrough in relations between United States and China. The United States had not recognised the Communist government of China since the time of the Chinese revolution of

1949. President Richard Nixon visited China in 1972. Now, by visiting China in 1972, the United States had recognised the communist government of China. This was the first visit by an American President to China after China had become communist.

Chairman Mao Zedong and US President Richard Nixon (1972)

Phase 1972 to 1979 (Détente)

Détente is not friendship. It is a process of reduction of tensions. This process began slowly. Several initiatives were taken by the United States and Soviet Union to reduce tensions. These included:

(i) Efforts were made to halt the war in Vietnam with a conference at Paris in 1973.

(ii) The Apollo-Soyuz joint flight was conducted in 1975

(iii) The Helsinki Conference on Security in Europe 1975 (35 European nations including US and Soviet Union participated) was held to reduce tensions between Eastern and Western European countries.

(iv) In 1978 the United States held a conference at Camp David to resolve the Arab Israel dispute. American

President Jimmy Carter, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin signed a 'Framework for Peace for Middle East'. This meeting tried to reduce tensions between Israel and the Arab world.

Postage Stamp celebrating the Apollo-Soyuz joint flight

This phase also saw some other significant developments. These developments had an economic significance.

• The Arab - Israel war took place in 1973. In order to put pressure on Israel, the Arab world decided to reduce the production of oil. This resulted in the sudden increase in the price of oil. This was done through the organisation called the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). This resulted in the increase of petroleum prices all over the world.

• Another event was the initiative taken by the nonaligned countries. The nonaligned group placed a demand for the New International Economic Order (NIEO). The purpose was to demand participation by the poor countries in the global economic decision making process that was dominated by the rich countries.

This phase saw the growing importance of economic issues in international relations. On one hand, the political tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were reducing. On the other hand, the Third World was becoming more active in its demands. It is during this phase that a new terminology starts to be used. The division of the world is now described as North – South division. The North represented the rich countries of the Northern Hemisphere (Soviet Union, Europe, and North America). The South represented the poor countries of the Southern Hemisphere (Countries of Asia, Africa and South America).

This was also a phase of economic interdependence. Here the cooperation is mainly on economic issues. This phase has seen the creation of organisations for economic cooperation. Now economic organisations focussed on trade as an important motive for cooperation. The idea was to remove trade barriers like customs duties. Free flow of goods from one country to the other would generate goodwill and a sense of cooperation amongst people. This is done by signing agreements for 'Free Trade'. These organisations are also called 'trade blocs'. This was seen in case of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Union. Both these regional organisations signed free trade agreements. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was established as a 'trade bloc'. This included Canada, United States and Mexico.

Besides these there are regional organisations established to foster a dialogue and create a stable regional environment. These organisations were to promote economic and trade related cooperation. Some examples of such organisations are the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Organisation of American States (OAS) and the African Union (AU).

What is a Trade Bloc?

A trade bloc is created when a group of nations make special agreements regarding their economic relationships with each other. The agreements generally focus on the relaxation or elimination of trade barriers. The most common types of trade barriers are tariffs (taxes on imports) and quotas (limits on the quantities of various imports).

SAARC

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established in 1985.

SAARC comprises of eight Member States: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The Secretariat of the Association was set up in Kathmandu.

The objectives of SAARC are:

i. Promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;

ii. Accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region;

iii. Contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of

one another's problems;

    iv. Promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields; strengthen cooperation with other developing countries.

Phase 1979 to 1985/86 (New Cold War)

Two events of 1979 changed the story of détente.

- A revolution took place in Iran and the Shah of Iran was ousted. Iran became an Islamic state under the leadership of the revolutionary Islamic leader Ayatollah Khomeini. The new government ended all its ties with the United States and also withdrew from the military alliance CENTO.

- In Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal took control as the Head of the State with the help of Soviet Union. Afghanistan became a socialist country with close military ties with the Soviet Union.

These changes brought an end to the period of détente. The new era that began has been described as 'New Cold War' because the tensions of cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union returned back.

Phase: 1985 to 1991 (The Gorbachev era)

This phase saw some significant changes in the Soviet policy. Soviet Union had a new leader Mikhail Gorbachev who brought in several changes in the policies of the country. His concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost and his visions of a new foreign policy changed the Soviet perspective. Gorbachev's new foreign policy had the following features: (i) Open a dialogue with China; (ii) focus on arms control and disarmament; (iii) withdraw from Afghanistan; and (iv) improve relations with India.

Do you know?

Perestroika refers to the reconstruction of the political and economic system established in the Soviet Union. The political change referred to the introduction of democratic practices like free elections and ending the monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The changes in the economic system were ending the centralised control over the Soviet economy. Economy was decentralised. The term "Glasnost" means "openness". It gave the Soviet people freedom of expression. Writers and journalists could now criticise the government's policies.

The impact of Gorbachev's new policies was felt in the domestic politics of the country. People were given the freedom to criticise the government's

Mikhail Gorbachev : General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of USSR

policies. The control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) ended.

This was also a period that saw momentous changes taking place in East Europe. The changes in Soviet policies had their impact on the politics of East European countries. The people started to demand more political freedom. There was a popular uprising against the communist governments of Eastern Europe in 1989. This East European revolution ended the rule of communist parties in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, East Germany and Bulgaria. These countries now had democratic governments.

The winds of change that swept East Europe continued into the Soviet Union. On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev resigned as President of the Soviet Union. The next day the Supreme Soviet (Soviet Parliament) voted a formal end to the existence of the Soviet Union as a country. The Soviet Union as a country ceased to exist. The Soviet Union disintegrated and in its place new countries were created.

> **Find out!**
>
> Make a list of countries that were created after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In Europe, East and West Germany unified in 1990 to create one German nation. In case of Czechoslovakia, it split to form two countries: Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Yugoslavia also split into Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia, Kosovo, and Montenegro. We thus have several new countries in Europe and in the area of the former Soviet Union.
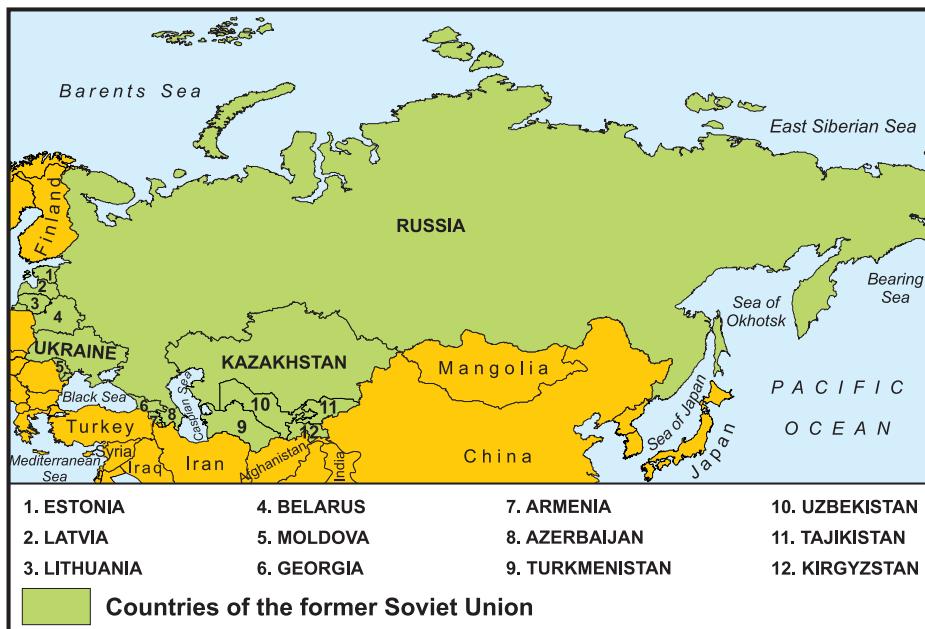
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (1991)

This was created after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. The members are the former states of the USSR. Members: Founder members: Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Subsequent members: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Common affairs are conducted on a multilateral, interstate basis. It provides a framework for military, foreign policy and economic co-operation.

Cold war was a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union the era of cold war ended. Two new phrases came to be used to describe the world after 1991: 'Post Soviet era' and 'post-cold war era'. This new era saw the rise of China and countries like India, Brazil, and South Africa. New organisations like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), G 20 (Group of 20 countries), BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) started to play an important role in world affairs.

These and some other trends we will see in the next year in the XIIth standard.

Countries of the former Soviet Union

1. ESTONIA	4. BELARUS	7. ARMENIA	10. UZBEKISTAN
2. LATVIA	5. MOLDOVA	8. AZERBAIJAN	11. TAJIKISTAN
3. LITHUANIA	6. GEORGIA	9. TURKMENISTAN	12. KIRGYZSTAN

Countries of the former Soviet Union

East Europe today

Please see the following websites for further information:

(1) **History and Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, August 22, 2012**
https://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?20349/History+and+Evolution+of+NonAligned+Movement

(2) **India and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations January 26, 2014 By Lt Gen Satish Nambiar (Retd) Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India**
https://mea.gov.in/articles-in-indian-media.htm?dtl/22776/India+and+United+Nations+Peacekeeping+Operations

1. (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

1. The _____ Missile Crisis took place in 1962.
   (American, Cuban, Russian, Chinese)

2. In 1978, the United States held a conference at _____ to resolve the Arab Irsael dispute.
   (Camp David, Helsinki, Paris, Geneva)
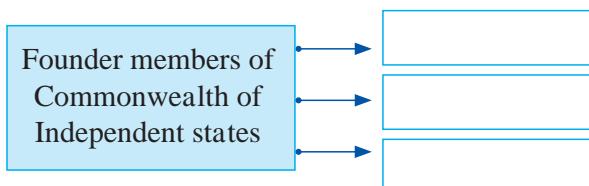
(B) Identify the incorrect pair in every set, correct it and rewrite.

(a) Iran   - Ayatollah Khomeini

(b) Afghanistan   - Babrak Karmal

(c) Soviet Union - Richard Nixon

(C) Select the appropriate concept for the given statement.

1. Prohibiting ships from entering the port or a country.

2. Reconstruction of the political and economic system established in the Soviet Union.

2. (A) Complete the concept map.

Founder members of Commonwealth of Independent states	→	
	→	
	→	

(B) Observe the given map and answer the following questions.

1. Map of East Europe today.
   (i) Name any 4 countries formed after the disintegration of Soviet Union.

(ii) Name two neighbouring countries of Hungary.

3. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons.

1. Non-aligned countries put forth the demand of NAFTA.

2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the founder of ASEAN.

4. Explain the co-relation between the following.

Cold war and Non-aligned movement

5. Answer the following.

1. Explain the term - New Cold War.

2. What is a trade bloc?

6. Express your opinion on the following.

India played an important role in the Cold War.

7. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points.

Eleborate the period of Détente.

(a) meaning

(b) initiatives taken by superpower to reduce tensions

Activity :

Make a list of all summit meetings of SAARC.

Note down national and international developments with the help of news in the media.

Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research, Pune.

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